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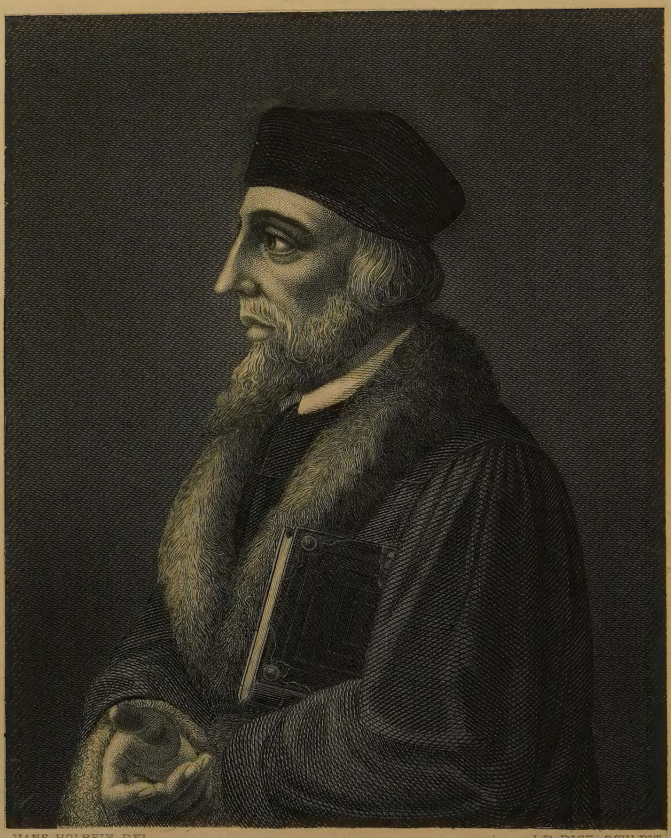

HANS HOLBEIN. DEL. J.R.RICE SCULPIT

JOHN HUSS.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE CHURCH KNOWN AS

THE UNITAS FRATRUM

OR

THE UNITY OF THE BRETHREN,

FOUNDED BY THE FOLLOWERS OF JOHN HUS, THE BOHEMIAN REFORMER AND MARTYR.

BY

EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ, S.T.D.

Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum.

BETHLEHEM, PA.
MORAVIAN PUBLICATION OFFICE.
1885.

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PREFACE.

THE history of the Church founded in the fifteenth century by followers of John Hus has excited, in recent times, no little interest among Bohemian scholars. This is owing, on the one hand, to the spirit of inquiry roused by the abrogation of the Austrian censorship of the press, and on the other, to the discovery of new and important sources, especially the Lissa Folios. Such sources have been examined by Dr. Franz Palacky, the late Historiographer of Bohemia, by Professors Anton Gindely and Jaroslav Goll, of the University of Prague, and by other writers, all of whom have produced, in the German and Bohemian languages, valuable works on the subject. The majority of these historians are Roman Catholics, which circumstance renders their labors the more remarkable. No less important are the researches of Bernhard Czerwenka, a Protestant clergyman of the Austrian Duchy of Steiermark, who has written a German History of the Evangelical Church in Bohemia. Of writers connected with the Moravian Church, Bishops Ernst William Croeger and Henry Levin Reichel have used the newer sources; but their works are likewise in German. In order to find an English History of the Bohemian Brethren, the reader was

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obliged to fall back upon the brief and antiquated narratives of Cranz, Bost and Holmes, written prior to the discovery of the newest sources.

In the pages which follow I have attempted to supply the existing want and to set forth, in an English History based upon those sources, the faith, works and sufferings of the Bohemian Brethren, as Reformers before the Reformation and as the fathers of the Moravian Church.

My preparations for this History have been lectures which, for nearly twenty years, I have been delivering in the Theological Seminary, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Throughout this period I have been studying the subject. I have endeavored to produce an authentic History in strict accordance with the sources at my command. At the same time I have not hesitated to express my own opinions, and to correct what appeared to me to be wrong views, or unwarranted deductions, on the part of other writers, especially of those who are Roman Catholics.

The object which I have in view is, not only to make the members of the Moravian Church familiar with the history of their fathers and to set before the general reader a narrative that will, I trust, be found interesting and profitable; but also to furnish a work of reference for scholars who may wish to consult the authorities upon which the facts are based. Hence I have furnished abundant references in the foot-notes and a complete table of the literature relating to the subject.

The various names that the sources give to the Church of which I treat, I have used indiscriminately. All these names —that is, *The Unitas Fratrum*, *The Unity*, *The Bohemian Brethren*, *The Brethren*, and *The Brethren's Church*—were recognized and acknowledged by that Church. The title by

which it is commonly known at the present day is, *The Moravian Church.*

The orthography of the Bohemian and Polish proper names varies greatly, according as they are used by different writers. It is owing to this circumstance that the same name will occasionally be found, in the following pages, spelled in different ways. When these discrepancies were discovered it was too late to correct them.

As the chapters of my work were originally published in the columns of the official journal of the American Moravian Church, it may be well to add, that before being made up in book form they were thoroughly revised and corrected, and that consequently the only History of the Unitas Fratrum which I acknowledge as from my pen, is the one contained in the volume herewith published.

The "Malin Library of Moravian Literature," recently presented to the Moravian Church by Mr. William Gunn Malin, of Philadelphia, has afforded me such constant and valuable aid that I can not forbear an expression of deep gratitude for this magnificent gift. It is owing to the generosity of the same gentleman, that this volume is adorned with so beautiful a frontispiece. This engraving is a reduced copy of one by Wolff from the picture of Holbein, and the fac-simile which it exhibits of the handwriting of John Hus, is taken from an official entry made by him in the year 1401, as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, in the records of the University of Prague.

My sincere acknowledgments are due to Professor Severin Ringer, U. J. D., of the Lehigh University, at Bethlehem, for the valuable aid which he gave me in translating important parts of the original Polish History of the Brethren by Lukaszewicz, not found in the German version.

To the memory of my late friend, Professor Theodore Wolle, of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies, at Bethlehem, I reverently bring an affectionate tribute, for his kindness in reading the proofs, the last of them when he was already near to the shadow of the dark valley.

I send forth this History with the humble prayer, that it may serve to promote the glory of Jesus Christ the Divine Head of the Church Universal, which He has founded upon Himself as the Rock of Ages and against which the gates of hell shall not prevail.

If my life is spared, I propose, in the course of the next few years, to issue, as a supplementary volume, the History of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church.

BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA, April 17, 1885.

LITERATURE RELATING TO THE UNITAS FRATRUM.

To adduce all the manuscripts and printed works relating, directly or indirectly, to the Unitas Fratrum, would require a separate volume. Those here presented, comprise the most important sources and upon them is based, as the foot-notes show, the History which follows. In order to avoid, in these foot-notes, the repetition of the titles in full, abbreviations have been used which, in the subjoined list, appear in brackets.

I. CHRONICLES AND GENERAL HISTORIES OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA.

1. [Scriptores Rerum Boh..] Scriptores Rerum Bohemicarum. Tom. I. Pragæ, 1783; Tom. II. 1784; Tom. III. 1829.

   The first and second volumes contain the Latin Chronicle of Cosmas, the father of Bohemian history; the continuation of this Chronicle; the Chronicle of Franciscus; and the Chronicle of Benessius de Weitmil. The third volume comprises Annals in Bohemian.

2. [Æn. Syl.] Æneæ Sylvii De Bohemorum, et ex his Imperatorum aliquot Origine ac Gestis. Basileæ, Anno M.D. LXXV.

3. [Stransky.] Respublica Bohemiæ a M. Paulo Stranskii Descripta. Lugd. Batavorum, Anno 1634.

   The same work in German, corrected from a Romish point of view, by Ignaz Cornova, Professor in the University of Prague, and entitled: "Paul Stransky's Staat von Böhmen. Uebersetzt, berichtigt und ergänzt." Prag. 1792–1803.

   Paul Stransky was a learned Professor of the University of Prague; according to Cornova, a member of the Church of the Bohemian Brethren and "showing in this his religion a zeal that degenerated into intolerance." In the Anti-Reformation he was banished and wrote his work in exile. See pp. 468 and 469 of our History.

4. [Balbin.] Epitome Historica Rerum Bohemicarum. Authore Bohuslao Balbino è Societate Jesu. Pragæ. Anno 1677.

5. [Palacky.] Geschichte von Böhmen. Grösstentheils nach Urkunden und Handschriften. Von Franz Palacky. Erster Band; Zweiter Band, zwei Abtheilungen; Dritter Band, drei Abtheilungen; vierter Band, zwei Abtheilungen; fünfter Band, zwei Abtheilungen. Prag. 1844–1867.

The Abtheilungen are published as volumes; hence there are ten volumes, and we cite accordingly, not according to the Abtheilungen. Palacky was a Protestant, a direct descendant of the Bohemian Brethren, a pronounced Czech, and Bohemia's most distinguished historiographer. His work must be regarded as the highest authority on that part of Bohemian history of which it treats, from about B. C. 388 to A. D. 1526.

6. [Schlesinger.] Geschichte Böhmens, von Dr. Ludwig Schlesinger. Herausgegeben vom Vereine für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen. Prag. 1870.

Written from an ultra German point of view, as an offset to Palacky's work.

7. [Pal. Bœhm Geschicht.] Würdigung der alten Böhmischen Geschichtschreiber, von Franz Palacky. Prag. 1869.

8. [Pelzel.] Franz Martin Pelzel's Geschichte von Böhmen, von den ältesten bis auf die neuesten Zeiten. Vierte fortgesetzte Auflage. 2 Bde. Prag. 1817.

9. [Illust. Chronik.] Illustriste Chronik von Böhmen. Ein geschichtliches Nationalwerk. Herausgegeben von einem Vereine vaterländischer Gelerheten und Künstler. 2 Bde. Prag. 1852–1854.

II. PARTICULAR PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA.

10. [Gindely's 30-jæhr. Krieg.] Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges von Anton Gindely. Prag. 1869–1880.

Four volumes have been published which bring the history of the Thirty Years' War to 1623. An abbreviated popular edition in three volumes has appeared, and been translated into English by Andrew Ten Brooks. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

11. [Gindely's Rudolf.] Rudolf II. und seine Zeit. 1600–1612. Von Anton Gindely. 2 Bde. in one. Prag. 1868.

12. [Gindely's Majestætsbrief.] Geschichte der Ertheilung des Böhemischen Majestätsbriefes von 1609. Von Dr. Anton Gindely. Prag. 1868.

This is substantially a reprint of the Fourth Book of his "Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder."

13. [Borott Majestæsbrief.] Der von Kaiser Rudolph ertheilte Majestätsbrief vom Jahre 1609. Aus einer Böhmischen Urkunde übersetzt mit Anmerkungen, von Johann Borott. Görliz. 1803.

14. [Bucholtz.] Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten. Von F. B. von Bucholtz. 9 Bde. Wien. 1831–1838.

15. [Apologia.] Apologia, oder Entschuldigungs Schrifft, aus was für unvermeidlichen Ursachen, alle drei Stende des löblichen Königreichs Bohaimb, sub utraq.; ein Defension Werck anstellen müssen. Prag. M. DC. XVIII.

16. [Andere Apologia.] Die Grosse oder Andere Apologia der Stände dess Königreichs Böheimb, so den Leib u. das Blut unsers Herrn und Heylands J. C. unter Beyder Gestalt empfahen. Sampt den darzu gehörigen Beylagen. s. l. M. DC. XIX.

17. [Deductio.] Deductio, Das ist Nothwendige Ausführung, Bericht u. Erzehlung, deren Ursachen u. Motiven: darumb Kayser Ferdinandus der Ander, des Regiments im Königreich Böheimb und demselben Incorporirten Länder, verlustigt: und wodurch die Länder zu der Befugten und Rechtmässigen Wahl jtzt Regierender K. Majestät in Böheimb, vermöge ihrer Freyheiten, zu schreitten bewogen u. getrungen worden. Im Jahr M. DC. XX. s. l.

18. [Pescheck.] Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen. Von Mag. Chr. A. Peschek. 2 Bde. Leipzig. 1850. 2te Ausgabe.

The first edition has been translated into English: "The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia." London, 1845.

As a general thing we cite this English edition. It is, however, faulty, omits entire paragraphs, and nearly all the important notes.

19. [Pescheck's Exulanten.] Die Böhmischen Exulanten in Sachsen. Von Christian Adolph Pescheck, Theol. Dr. u. Archidiaconus zu Zittau. Leipzig. 1857.

20. [Daum.] Die Verfolgungen der Evangelischen in Böhmen. Eine ernste Warnung für alle Evangelische. Von Hermann Daum. Darmstadt. 1800.

III. LOCAL HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY.

21. [Schottky's Prag.] Prag wie es war u. wie es ist. Von Julius Max Schottky, Professor. 2 Bde. Prag. s. a.

22. [Burg Puerglitz.] Das Pürglitzer Thal u. die Burg Pürglitz. Von J. Nitsche. Wien, 1876.

23. Lissær Geschichte.] Das Wichtigste u. Merkwürdigste aus der Geschichte der Stadt Lissa. Von Pflug, Lissa.

24. [Lissær Gymnasium.] Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Gymnasiums der Reformirten Brüder Unitat, jetzigen Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Lissa, am Dienstage, dem 13. November, 1855. Gedruckt in Lissa.

    For years we tried to secure this rare and important work but without success, until we visited Lissa in 1879, and found that there were three copies remaining in the hands of the Faculty. One of these copies the Rector of the Gymnasium presented to us, through the courteous intervention of the Rev. Dr. Koch, one of the Pastors of the *Unitätsgemeinde*.

IV. BOHEMIAN LITERATURE.

25. [Dobrowsky.] Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und Literatur, von J. Dobrowsky. Prag. 1818.

26. [Talvi.] Historical view of the Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nations. By Talvi. (Mrs. Robinson, wife of the Rev. Dr. Edward Robinson.) New York. 1850.

V. JOHN HUS AND THE HUSSITES.

27. [Palacky's Vorlæufer.] Die Vorläufer des Husitenthums in Böhmen. Von F. Palacky. Prag. 1869.

28. [Palacky's Waldenser.] Ueber die Beziehungen und das Verhältniss der Waldenser zu den ehemaligen Secten in Böhmen. Von Dr. Franz Palacky. Prag. 1869.

29. [Hœfler.] Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen. Von C. Höfler. 3 Bde. Wien, 1856–1866.

    Ultra Romish and full of faults.

30. [Palacky's Hœfler.] Die Geschichte des Husitenthums und Prof. C. Höfler, von Franz Palacky. Prag. 1868.

    A severe criticism of No. 29.

31. [Documenta Hus.] Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus, vitam, doctrinam, causam in Constantiensi Concilio actam, et Controversias de Religione in Bohemia annis 1403–1418 motas illustrantia, quæ partim adhuc inedita, partim mendose Vulgata, nunc ex ipsis Fontibus hausta. Edidit Franciscus Palacky, Regni Bohemiæ Historiographus. Pragæ. 1869.

    A most important collection of documents.

32. [Hist. et Mon.] also [Hus Opera.] Historia et Monumenta J. Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis. Norimbergensem, 1715. I et II Tomi.

    A collection of the Latin works of John Hus. An earlier edition appeared in 1558, also at Nuremberg. We cite the edition of 1715.

33. [Gillett.] Life and Times of John Huss by E. H. Gillett. 3d ed., 2 vols., Boston. 1871.

34. [Wratislaw.] John Hus. The Commencement of Resistance to Papal Authority on the Part of the Inferior Clergy. By A. H. Wratislaw, M. A. London, 1882.

35. [Berger.] Johannes Hus und König Sigmund. Von Dr. Wilhelm, Berger. Augsburg. 1871.

36. [Schwabe.] Die Reformatorische Theologie des J. Hus. Von Dr. F. Schwabe. Friedberg. 1862.

37. [Friedrich.] Die Lehre des J. Hus. Von Dr. J. Friedrich. Regensburg. 1862.

38. [Helfert.] Hus und Hieronymus. Studie von Josef Alexander Helfert. Prag. 1853.

39. [Von der Hardt.] Magnum Œcumenicum Constanticnse Concilium VI. Tomis comprehensum. Opera et labore Hermanni Von der Hardt. Helmestadt. 1697–1700.

40. [Hus Predigten.] Joh. Hus Predigten. Aus der Bôhmischen in die. Deutsche Sprache übersetzt von Dr. J. Nowotny. 3 Abtheilungen Görlitz. 1855.

These sermons are translated from a Bohemian Postil which the Moravian refugees brought to Herrnhut, in the eighteenth century.

41. [Huss Sermons.] The Sermons of John Huss, by Rev. E. H. Gillett, D. D. From the "New Englander," October, 1864.

42. [Gillett's Taborites.] The Taborites and the Germ of the Moravian Church. By Rev. E. H. Gillett. From the American Presbyterian and Theological Review.

43. [Hus und Wiclif.] Zur Genesis der Husitischen Lehre. Von Dr. Johann Loserth. Prag u. Leipzig. 1884.

An English translation by the Rev. M. J. Evans, has been published in London.

This work appeared after those chapters in our History which treat of Hus had been electrotyped, so that we could make no use of it. It sets forth Hus as a mere slavish imitator of Wycliffe and is one-sided in its tendency, as has been shown in a review of the work written by the Rev. J. Max Hark and published in the *Andover Review*, September, 1884.

44. [Krummel.] Geschichte der Böhmischen Reformation im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert von L. Krummel. Gotha. 1866.

45. [Krummel's Ut. u. Tab.] Utraquisten und Taboriten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Reformation. Von L. Krummel Gotha. 1871.

46. [Bezold's Sigmund.] König Sigmund u. die Reichskriege gegen die Husiten. Von Dr. F. von Bezold. München. 1872.

47. [Bezold Husitenthum.] Zur Geschichte des Husitenthums. Von Dr. F. von Bezold. München. 1874.

48. [Lechler.] Johann von Wicliff u. die Vorgeschichte der Reformation. Von G. Lechler. 2 Bde. Leipzig. 1873.

A large part of the second volume is devoted to the Bohemian Reformation.

49. [Reiser's Ref.] Friedrich Reiser's Reformation des K. Sigmund. Mit Einleitung u. Commentar von Dr. Willy Boehm. Leipzig. 1876.

VI. HISTORY OF THE UNITAS FRATRUM.

50. [L. F.] The Lissa Folios. MSS. Herrnhut Archives.

The Lissa Folios comprise fourteen folio volumes of historical documents collected by the Brethren after the destruction of their earlier archives in the great conflagration at Leitomischl, in 1546. Thirteen of these Folios were found, in 1836, by the Rev. Frederick Emmanuel Kleinschmidt in the vestry of the Church of St. John, at Lissa. Two years later they were examined by the Rev. John Plitt, the Historian of the Unitas Fratrum, who reported that they contained papers of the utmost value. Thereupon they were purchased by the authorities of the Moravian Church, for 500 *Thaler*, and placed in the Archives at Herrnhut. The fourteenth Folio has since been discovered in the Bohemian Museum at Prague. That Folio may possibly contain the documents which, according to Lukaszewicz, disappeared after the death of Bishop Jablonsky, (See p. 632, Note 25, of our History). These Folios have been examined by Gindely, who made them the principal source for his "Geschichte d. Böhm. Brüder," as also by Palacky and Goll. Some of the documents are written in Latin; the majority in old Bohemian, and of these latter many have been translated into German by Höck (1841). At the present time the Rev. Joseph Müller who, according to a resolution of the General Synod of 1879, has been appointed Historiographer of the Unitas Fratrum, and who has devoted several years to the study of the the old Bohemian, is engaged in a thorough examination of the Folios. We cite them in so far as they are referred to by Reichel, Gindely and Goll. (See pp. 142, 302, Note 2, 476, 596, Note 13 and 632; Note 25, of our History.)

51. [Jaffet Enstehung d. B. E. or B. U.] Geschichte der Enstehung der Brüder Einigkeit, by John Jaffet, Assistant Bishop. MS. Herrnhut Archives.

52. [Jaffet S. G.] Schwerdt Goliaths, by John Jaffet, Assistant Bishop. MS. Herrnhut Archives.

We cite Nos. 51 and 52, as referred to by Reichel. Both these MSS. are very important, especially in connection with the episcopacy.

53. [Blahoslaw's Summa.] Summa quædam brevissime collecta ex variis scriptis Fratrum qui falso Waldenses vel Picardi vocantur,

de eorundem Fratrum Origine et Actis. 1557. MS., copied from the 8th Lissa Folio.

Since printed as an Appendix to Goll, No. 61. See our Hist. p. 314 and Note 36

54. [Blahoslaw's Boh. MS. Hist.] also [Boh. Hist. Frat.] A MS. History of the U. F., in Bohemian, quoted by Gindely, Palacky and Goll.

According to Gindely and Palacky it was written by Blahoslaw; according to Goll, the author is unknown. Gindely has furnished a German translation for the library of the Theo. Sem. at Gnadenfeld. The original is in the University Library at Prague. Blahoslaw wrote a second and more voluminous History of the Church, but this work is lost. See our History, p. 145 and Note 11.

55. [Lasitius.] Lasitii Origo, Progressus, Res prosperæ quam adversæ, nec non Mores Instituta, Consuetudines Fratrum. MS. Herrnhut Archives.

We cite this work in so far as it is referred to by Plitt. For an account of its origin see our History, pp. 411 and 412.

56. [Plitt.] Denkwürdigkeiten der Alten Brüder Geschichte. Von Johannes Plitt. MS. 1828.

A copy is in the library of the Theological Seminary at Bethlehem. Plitt wrote his work before the L. F. had been secured and other new sources had come to light. Taking this circumstance into consideration, his History is wonderfully accurate.

57. [Reichel's Zusætze.] Zusätze und Berichtigungen zu Johannes Plitt's Denkwürdigkeiten der alten Brüder Geschichte, nach Jaffet und den 13 Lissaer Folianten. Von H. L. Reichel, Lehrer am Seminarium in Gnadenfeld. MS. 1844–1845.

A very important work to which we repeatedly refer. There is a copy in the Theological Seminary at Bethlehem.

58. [Plitt's Bischofthum.] Vom Bischofthum der Brüder Unität, in alter und neuer Zeit. Von Johannes Plitt. MS. 1835.

59. [Quellen.] Quellen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder, vornehmlich ihren Zusammenhang mit Deutschland betreffend. Veröffentlicht von Anton Gindely. Wien. 1859.

This work gives a large number of the documents contained in the L. F. and is very important.

60. [Benham's Notes.] Notes on the Origin and Episcopate of the Bohemian Brethren, by Daniel Benham. London. 1867.

61. [Goll.] Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder. Herausgegeben von Jaroslav Goll. Prag. 1878.

For a criticism on this work see our History, p. 151, Note 20. The second part, published in 1882, treats of Peter Chelcicky, but reached us too late for use.

62. [Cranz.] The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren, by David Cranz, translated into English, with Emendations and additional Notes, by Benjamin La Trobe. London. MDCCLXXX.

The original appeared at Barby in 1771. The Ancient History is very brief and antiquated.

63. [Holmes.] The History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, by John Holmes. 2 vols. London. 1825.

Brief and atiquated.

64. [Crœger.] Geschichte der Alten Brüderkirche, Von E. W. Crœger Zwei Abtheilungen. Gnadau. 1865 and 1866.

Bishop Crœger follows Plitt, often word for word, but makes use of the newer sources also, without, however, attempting to give a critical history.

65. [Crœger G. E. B.] Geschichte der Erneuerten Brüderkirche. Erster Theil. Gnadau. 1852. By Bishop Crœger.

66. [Gindely.] Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder von Anton Gindely. 2 Bde. Prag. 1857 u. 1858.

Professor Gindely is a Roman Catholic, but writes with commendable fairness and uses all the newest sources. His work is very important, although as a Romanist he cannot understand the true spirit of the U. F., which he looks upon as an interesting development of the national life of Bohemia.

67. [Czerwenka.] Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen. Von B. Czerwenka. 2 Bde. Bielefeld u. Leipzig. 1869 u. 1870.

The author is a Protestant clergyman familiar with the Bohemian language. Although he had no opportunity of consulting the L. F. he has used nearly all the other newest sources and produced a history which deserves the highest praise. He fully understands and forcibly sets forth the spirit of the U. F.

68. [Regenvolscius.] Systema Historico-Chronologicum Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum. Opera Adriani Regenvolcii E. P. Trajecti at Rhenum (Utrecht). Anno M. D C. LII.

The author's real name was Adrian Wengierski, which appeared in the second edition published at Amsterdam in 1679. Both editions came out after his death. For particulars see our History, p. 574, Note 1.

69. [Camerarius.] Camerarii Historica Narratio de Fratrum Orthodoxorum Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia et Polonia. Heidelbergae. 1605.

Written originally at the request of the Brethren, but not published until thirty years after the death of the author. The volume contains a large number of additional documents. See our History, p 412.

70. [Rieger.] Die Alte und Neue Böhmische Brüder, Von M. Georg Cunrad Rieger. 6 Bde. Züllichau. 1734–1739.

71. [Lochner.] Entstehung u. erste Schicksale der Brüdergemeinde in Böhmen u. Mähren, u. Leben des Georg Israel. Von G. W. K. Lochner. Nürnberg. 1832.

72. [Anbeten des Sacraments.] Vom Anbeten des Sacraments des heyligen Lychnams Christi. Mart. Luther. Wittemberg. Anno M. D. XXIII.

See our History, pp. 234 and 235, and Note 13.

73. [Reichel's Geschichte.] Kurze Darstellung der alten Böhm.-Mähr. Brüder Kirche, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Leben der Bischöfe Horn, Augusta u. Comenius. Rothenburg. s. a.

Written by Henry L. Reichel and based on the newest sources. A second edition published at Bunzlau.

74. [Hist. Persecutionum.] Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiae Bohemicæ. Anno Domini. M. D. C. XLVIII.

A remarkable book written by exiled Protestant ministers, chiefly by Comenius and Adam Hartmann, giving a full account of the persecutions in Bohemia, and intended for Fox's Book of Martyrs; but completed (1632) too late to be incorporated with that work. It was originally published in Holland, according to a resolution of the Synod of the U. F., to which church the majority of the contributors belonged. See our History, p. 534, Note 3, 568, 569.

75. [Elsner's Verfolgungs-Geschichte.] Martyrologium Bohemicum, oder die Böhimsche Verfolgungs-Geschichte, Von S. T. Elsner, Nebst einem hist. Vorbericht u. einigen Zugaben. Berlin. 1766.

A German translation of No. 74.

76. [Persekutionsbuechlein.] Das Persekutionsbüchlein. Von B. Czerwenka. Gütersloh 1869.

The newest and best German translation of No. 74, with important notes.

77. [Hist. of Persecutions.] The History of the Bohemian Persecution. London. M D C. L.

A quaint English translation of No. 74.

The Bohemian version appeared at Lissa in 1655, at Amsterdam in 1663, and at Zittau in 1756; earlier German versions in Switzerland in 1650 and 1669.

78. [Comenii Hist.] Jo. Amos Comenii Historia Fratrum Bohemorum. Halae. 1702.

The first edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1660; the edition of 1702, which we cite, was edited by Buddeus. In both the above History forms the introduction to the Ratio Disciplinæ (No. 100). See our History p. 602. A German translation. Schwabach. 1739.

79. [Mueller's Reports.] Reports of his Historical Researches, by the Rev. Joseph Müller, the newly appointed Historiographer. Published in German and English. 1884 and 1885.

80. [Fischer.] Versuch einer Geschichte der Reformation in Polen. Von G. W. T. Fischer. 2 Theile. Gratz. 1855.

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THE HISTORY

OF

THE UNITAS FRATRUM.

PART I.

THE HISTORY OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA
PREPARATORY TO THE HISTORY OF
THE UNITAS FRATRUM.
A.D. 451–1457.

PERIOD I.

THE HISTORY OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA
PRIOR TO THE TIME OF HUS.
A.D. 451–1369.

CHAPTER I.

The Introduction of Christianity and its earliest Developments. *A. D.* 451–885.

Bohemia and Moravia.—Coming of the Czechs.—Their Manners, Customs, Government and Religion.—First Introduction of Christianity through the Latin Church.—Christianity as introduced by the Greek Church.—Cyrill and Methodius.—Their Labors in Moravia.—They are cited to Rome.—Death of Cyrill and Consecration of Methodius as Archbishop of Pannonia.—Spread of Christianity in Bohemia.—Methodius again cited to Rome.—His Death.

BOHEMIA is the original home of the Brethren's Church. It is a country that lies in the heart of Europe, like a natural fortress, with four mountain-chains for its ramparts and its rocky bastions directed to the four points of the compass. The Erzgebirge and Riesengebirge defend its northern sides; the Böhmerwald and Saarer ranges form its bulwarks on the South. Although but a small kingdom of the Austrian Empire, comprising only twenty thousand square miles, it is a land of plenty. Its meadows are rich and its fields fruitful. Mineral springs abound. Numerous rivers bring the tribute of their waters to the Elbe, which makes its way toward the German Ocean through a rugged gorge on the Saxon frontier.

To the southeast of Bohemia is Moravia, a still smaller margraviate of the same Empire, embracing about eighty-five hundred square miles. There the Brethren found adherents at so early a day that it may be said to constitute the twin land of their birth. In former ages it embraced a larger extent of territory than at present, stretching into Silesia and Hungary. Bohemia and Moravia have substantially the

same history. One in their joys and in their sorrows, they look back upon a joint ancestry of Reformers before the Reformation and upon a common but most disastrous Anti-Reformation.

About the time that Attila had left the Catalaunian plains reeking with the blood of his followers and retreated to Hungary by way of Bohemia and Moravia (451),[1] there migrated into these two countries a body of Slavonians led by Czech. Tradition says that they came from Chrowatia, in the northern regions of the Carpathian Mountains. The remnant of the Boji and Marcomanni, which had survived the devastations of the Huns, passively submitted to their sway. By way of distinction they adopted the name of their leader and called themselves Czechs.

During the first five centuries of their history they were devoted to the pursuits of peace; whenever they took up arms, it was in self-defence.[2] They tilled the ground, raised cattle, and opened an extensive traffic with neighboring nations in grain and horses. Patient industry distinguished them, and a tenaciousness which has become proverbial. Social in their habits, they pressed hospitality to unlawful extremes, not hesitating to rob their neighbors in order to entertain their guests. Music and dancing, but especially singing, for which they are still celebrated, constituted their pastimes. Family ties were held sacred.[3] The shades which darkened their character were their frivolity and dogmatical ways, their quarrelsome disposition, their vindictiveness.

In the court of the castle at Wyssehrad,[4] under the open heavens, stood a block of hewn stone, called the *Fürstenstuhl*.

[1] Palacky, I. p. 70. Great uncertainty exists with regard to the time in which the Czechs took possession of Bohemia and Moravia.

[2] Palacky, I. p. 185.

[3] The chastity and faithfulness of the Slavonian women seemed to the Greek writers to be superhuman, and filled them with astonishment. Palacky, I. p. 60.

[4] An ancient castle, on the right bank of the Moldau, at the southern extremity of Prague, the earliest seat of the Dukes, inclosed, in the fourteenth century, by Charles the Fourth, within the city walls.

In this rude throne inhered the limited sovereignty of the Duke. If the stone was taken from him, his reign came to an end. A senate of twelve *Kmety*, or Elders, constituted his advisers. Upon important occasions a diet was convened, embracing, besides the *Kmety*, the *Lesi*, who were owners of large estates, and the *Wladyka*, who constituted the heads of the clans into which the freeholders were divided. Prior to the ninth century serfdom was unknown, although some of the peasantry rendered service to the *Lesi*.

The country was laid out in circuits, or counties, each governed by its own magistrate, with a fortified castle for its capital. Within the fortifications were temples, built of wood and enshrining the images of the gods to which they were dedicated. None but priests were allowed to enter the inner sanctuary, and they held their breath when approaching an idol. Sacred groves surrounded the temples. The principal temple stood within the Wyssehrad.

The mythology of the Czechs is obscure.[1] Although the Slavonians were originally monotheists, a polytheism, rivaling that of Greece and Rome, had grown up among them and extended to Bohemia and Moravia. *Perun* was their Jupiter, the thunderer, the god of gods. Around him were grouped *Swatowit*, the god of war, *Radihost*, the god of industry, *Weles*, the god of cattle-breeding, *Lada*, the goddess of love, *Ziwa*, the goddess of corn, *Dewana*, the goddess of forests and the chase, *Morana*, the goddess of death, and many other divinities; but the relation in which they stood to him, and the forms under which they were represented, are unknown. The forces of nature and the affections of the human heart were set forth as nymphs and demons; while each family had its own household idols, to which visitors invariably bowed on entering or leaving a dwelling. Even formal worship was not restricted to temples. The country was full of sacred hills and fountains and rivers, where the Czech brought his offering in the twilight hour, smiting upon his forehead and singing a hymn of praise.

[1] Palacky, I. p. 178.

Into the darkness of such superstition shone the light of Christianity, in the first half of the ninth century. It dawned in Moravia and came from the Latin Church, through the agency of the Franks. Everything else touching its introduction remains unknown. Prince Mojmir, whose seat was at Welehrad,[1] on an island of the March, embraced the new faith, and three churches were dedicated, at Neitra[2] (836), Olmütz, and Brünn. Nor did the night of paganism continue unbroken in Bohemia. On New Year's Day, of 845, fourteen of its nobles, while visiting Louis the German, were baptized at Regensburg. In both countries, however, the new light shone feebly. It did not shed its beams upon the nation. A few spots only were illumined. It was in the East, above the horizon of the Greek Church, that the Sun of Righteousness appeared to the Czechs as a people.

In 846, the German Emperor deposed Mojmir, and invested Rastislaw, his nephew, with the ducal dignity. Rastislaw shook off the Frankish yoke. In order to be entirely independent of German influences, but moved also by higher motives, he sent to Constantinople for Christian teachers. His ambassadors found two distinguished Missionaries, Constantine, or Cyrill, and Methodius, at the court of the Emperor Michael.

Their early history is obscure.[3] They were brothers, the sons of Leo, and born at Thessalonica. Both displayed extraordinary talents and were known for their singular piety. Cyrill was honored with the title of "The Philosopher;" Methodius saw the highest political distinctions within his reach. But both turned their backs upon worldly prospects, however flattering, and entered a monastery, where they lived in seclusion until a call for Missionaries to the heathen reached their ears. Then they came forth full of zeal and courage. Cyrill took his way to the Khazares, a Hunnic-Tartaric tribe,

[1] Now Hradist.

[2] Now in Hungary, twelve miles from Presburg, on the river Neitra.

[3] Palacky, 1. Bk. 2, Chap. 5; Bily's Cyrill u. Method, p. 1. Bily gives a number of legends concerning their early years.

whose country extended from the Volga and Caspian Sea across the Caucasian Isthmus and the Peninsula of Taurida as far as Moldavia and Walachia, and converted the Khan, together with the greater part of his people. Methodius brought the Bulgarians to a knowledge of the Gospel, and made a penitent of their proud king Boris, by painting for him a startling picture of the last judgment.

The success of these Missions gave to the two brothers a name which was in all the churches of the East. They had won to the side of Christianity nations that had long been its wild and formidable foes. Accordingly, in response to Rastislaw's application, Michael sent them to Moravia. They arrived in 863, and made Welehrad the centre of itinerancies that extended throughout the country. Wherever they came, they preached repentance and remission of sins.

The principles which guided them in such work were calculated to open a way for the Gospel into the hearts of the people. They trained young Czechs as native priests. They finished that Slavonian version of the Bible which Cyrill had previously begun, and for which he had invented an alphabet known as the *Cyrilitza*.[1] They rendered the liturgy into the same tongue, and introduced it into every parish. They caused the reading of the Scriptures, public worship, and preaching to be conducted in the vernacular. They built up a national Church, in which the Czechs felt at home. Cyrill and Methodius, therefore, deserve their title of "Apostles of

[1] The *Cyrilitza* was invented by Cyrill in 855. It consisted of 46 letters, and was based on the Greek alphabet. According to the latest researches the Old or Church Slavonian language, into which Cyrill and Methodius translated the Bible, was not, as writers formerly supposed, the mother of all the living Slavonian dialects, but a dialect like these, only developed at an earlier time. It is no longer a living tongue, but the sacred language of the Slavonian nations, whose common property it has long since become. Cyrill translated the Gospel lessons, the Epistles, the Psalms, and the Old Testament lessons; Methodius the rest of the Bible. That, as some writers assert, the *Cyrilitza* was a mere modification of the so-called Glagolitic letters, whose origin is obscure, cannot be substantiated. Even if such letters existed in Cyrill's time, it is very doubtful whether he was acquainted with them.

the Slavonians." Both in its character and results, their work resembled the Missionary activity of the primitive Christians, and stood out in bright contrast to the system which Rome introduced wherever she gained a foothold.

Her priests who had been sent to Bohemia and Moravia from Germany, used the Latin language in public worship, impressed upon the minds of the heathens the importance of tithes far more earnestly than the necessity of a conversion to God, and set forth doctrines which, even in that early age, constituted a wide departure from the standard of the Bible. Cyrill and Methodius, on the contrary, drew their inspiration from the Greek Church, which taught purer doctrines and unfolded the Gospel, not as a succession of unintelligible chants and lessons, but, in the vernacular, as "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

Both the countries in which they labored were, however, claimed by Rome upon the strength of the original introduction of Christianity through the Franks. This claim was urged the more persistently, because the controversy, which eventuated in their total separation, had begun between the Latin and Greek Churches. Nicholas the First, with the triple crown upon his head[1] and the forged Isidorian decretals in his hand, asserted his supremacy over Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and maintained that Rome must be the final court of appeal in all important questions. So bitter did this feud grow, in 867, that Nicholas deposed Photius, and Photius excommunicated Nicholas.

Informed, by envious German bishops, of what was transpiring in Moravia, the Roman pontiff cited Cyrill and Methodius before his tribunal. They obeyed the summons (868), but Nicholas died before they reached Rome. His successor, Adrian the Second, received them with great distinction, not only because they brought with them the reputed bones of St. Clement,[2] discovered by Cyrill in Cherson, but also because

[1] Nicholas the First was the first pope who was crowned (858).

[2] It is said that St. Clement, who was an illustrious contemporary of the Apostles, suffered martyrdom about the year 102.

he hoped that the two brothers would aid him in resuscitating the ancient diocese of Pannonia, which had fallen into decay amidst the Hunnic wars. This was a favorite project at Rome. The resuscitated diocese was to be independent both of the Greek Patriarch and of the German bishops, and to embrace, along with Moravia and Bohemia, the eastern part of the archduchies of Austria, the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, all of Hungary between the Danube and the Save, Slavonia, and a section of Croatia and Bosnia. In this way Moravia and Bohemia would remain under papal jurisdiction; their peculiar privileges were to be recognized merely until an opportunity would offer to withdraw them.

With such a purpose hidden in his heart, Adrian sanctioned the Slavonian Bible and liturgy, allowed the Greek system of theology to be taught, and appointed Cyrill and Methodius Bishops of the new diocese.

But Cyrill, whose health was failing, declined the honor. He preferred the vows of a monk and the solitude of a cloister, that he might prepare for death. In a few weeks, on the sixteenth of February, 868, death came and brought his illustrious career to a close.[1] After his decease, Methodius, satisfied with the concessions of the Pope, promised him obedience and was consecrated Archbishop of Pannonia. He returned to Moravia in 869.

A few years later, probably in 871, Boriwoj, Duke of Bohemia, together with his wife, Ludmila, while visiting Swatopluk, who had wrested Moravia from Rastislaw and married a Bohemian princess, received baptism, at Olmütz, at the hands of Methodius. Christianity now spread rapidly throughout Bohemia. Whether Methodius himself labored in that country is not known. But his fatherly eye directed the work, and his pious heart gave to it the same tendency as in Moravia. A National Church was built up, with the Slavonian Bible for its light, and the promises of the Gospel,

[1] It was as a monk at Rome that he assumed the name of Cyrill, by which he is now universally known.

proclaimed in the Czechish mother-tongue, for its joy. The first Christian sanctuary which was erected stood on the left bank of the Moldau, about seven miles from Prague, near the Castle of Lewy Hradec.

These new victories over heathenism but intensified the jealousy of the German bishops, especially those of Salzburg and Passau, who filled all Rome with their lugubrious complaints. Methodius was cited a second time before the papal throne. He appeared and triumphantly vindicated his course. John the Eighth renewed the concessions of Adrian, but adroitly interwove with them the following stipulations: The Gospels were to be publicly read first in Latin and then in Slavonian; should the Duke desire it, mass was to be celebrated in Latin also; a German suffragan was to be appointed. Harmless conditions they seemed to be! And yet they prepared the way on which Bohemia and Moravia were led into the arms of Rome. The influence of Methodius began, at once, to wane, while Wiching, the German suffragan, grew in importance and power. Many bitter experiences saddened the declining years of the last of the two Apostles of the Slavonians. He died, according to tradition, on the sixth of April, 885, and was buried at Welehrad, in the church of St. Mary.

CHAPTER II.

The further History of Christianity in Bohemia and Moravia.
A. D. 885–1347.

The German faction in the ascendency.—Persecutions on the part of the heathen.—Murder of Ludmila and Wenzel.—Suppression of Heathenism.—Increasing influence of the Roman Catholic Church and spread of her principles.—Gregory the Seventh forbids the Slavonian ritual.—Final supremacy of the Romish system.

THE German party now gained the ascendency. Gorasd, whom Methodius had appointed as his successor, was set aside and Wiching became archbishop. Under his administration the native priests were persecuted. Many of them fled to Bulgaria, where they introduced the Slavonian Bible and liturgy, both of which, in a later period, passed into the keeping of the Russians.

But the German faction did not constitute the only power which interfered with the progress of Christianity. Heathenism, too, assumed a hostile attitude, and did not hesitate to dye its hands in blood. Ludmila, who had received the surname of The Holy, on account of her many pious works, was peacefully spending the days of her widowhood in the castle of Tetin. Thither Drahomira, her pagan daughter-in-law, sent a body of armed men who surrounded the castle, while two of their officers burst into her apartment. They found her in the act of prayer and strangled her with her own veil (927). The next victim was the Duke himself, Wenzel, Drahomira's older son, illustrious as a promoter of the Gospel and distinguished by a life of faith and charity. His brother Boleslaw, surnamed The Cruel, supported by other conspira-

tors, fell upon and killed him as he was about to enter the church at Altbunzlau, where he had been the assassin's guest (936). But the fratricide could not murder Wenzel's fame. It lived from generation to generation. Bohemia crowned him as a martyr and chose him for her patron saint. Boleslaw seized the government and maintained his antagonism to the Christian religion until he was forced by the Emperor Otho the First to re-establish its rights.[1] More than a century elapsed, however, before heathenism was finally suppressed. In 1092, Bretislaw the Second banished the remnant of its priests and soothsayers, and set on fire the last of its sacred groves.

Important events in the history of the national ritual preceded this forcible triumph of Christianity. Boleslaw the Cruel was followed by Boleslaw the Pious. He deserved this surname. A wise ruler and an earnest Christian, he made the growth of religion to keep pace with the extension of his realm. While Moravia, Upper and Middle Silesia, and the southern half of Poland fell to him, numerous churches arose through his munificence, widows and orphans found in him a protector, and justice stretched out a firm but gentle hand. Cosmas, the oldest chronicler of Bohemia, contrasting him with his father, calls him a rose blooming on a thorn-bush, a lamb begotten of a wolf.[2] He was, however, devoted to the Roman Catholic Church. The great service which Otho had rendered Bohemia in the preceding reign, and the alarming progress of the Magyars, had brought about a close fellowship with Germany, which formed one of the strongholds of the Hierarchy. Hence, when a bishopric was established at Prague (973), as a part of the archbishopric of Mayence, the

[1] Palacky represents the murders set forth above as the result of jealousies in the ducal family and says nothing of their having been instigated by hostility to the Christian religion. We follow the Hist. Persecutionum, even if we do not accept all the details of its narrative. (See Chap. III.) Schlesinger says, p. 31: "Aber einer Partei im Lande war nichts verhasster als das Christenthum und der Deutsche Einfluss."

[2] Cosmae Chronicon. Scriptores Rerum Boh., I. p. 46.

Emperor persuaded Boleslaw to disregard the wishes of his subjects and to accept the conditions which the Pope had fixed. The Latin language, the Romish ritual, the papal system of doctrines, was introduced, and Dietmar, a German, received the episcopal office. About the same period, monasteries were, for the first time, founded in Bohemia.

In this way Romanism began a defiant march through the country, favored by the court, the nobility, and such of the inhabitants as traded with Germany, but bitterly opposed by the common people, who clung to their ancient usages with all the tenacity of their national character, and conceived a hatred of the Germans which has never died out. Importunate calls were heard for a native bishop and the re-introduction of the vernacular in public worship. At last, both the Pope and the Emperor promised to fulfill these demands. On the death of Dietmar (982), Adalbert, a Bohemian by birth and the scion of a noble house, was actually appointed to the vacant see. But when he attempted to carry out the wishes of the people, the Emperor as well as the Archbishop called him to an account. Baffled and perplexed, he twice relinquished and twice returned to his diocese. On leaving it a third time, he found a martyr's grave among the Prussians (997).

Romanism now spread unhindered for many years; while the Czechish language and Greek ritual fell into disuse more and more. The accession of Wratislaw the Second to the throne, in 1061, brought about a change. This prince enjoyed the love of his people in an extraordinary degree, and fostered the national feeling until it burst into new life.

His reign occurred in eventful times. Henry the Fourth was Emperor, Gregory the Seventh, Pope. The one passionate and fickle; the other calm, cold and determined, striving for a universal theocracy and the elevation of the pontificate to supreme power upon earth as the one unchanging object of his life. The result was a protracted conflict between these two heads of Latin Christendom. In the midst of this struggle, Wratislaw, who had formed an alliance with Henry

in 1075,[1] sent a deputation to Gregory and begged him to sanction the Slavonian ritual (1079). Such a petition could not have been presented at a less auspicious time and addressed to a more unyielding pontiff. A chief means by which Gregory endeavored to render the papacy supreme was a common ritual for the Christian world. Hence his reply assumed the form of a bull, dated January the second, 1080, and directed to the Duke, but without the usual greeting and benediction.

"Your Highness," wrote the haughty Pope, "has asked us that we should allow your people to make use of the Slavonian tongue in divine worship. We can in no wise sanction this petition, in as much as a frequent study of the Holy Scriptures has convinced us, that it has pleased Almighty God, and not without reason, to allow certain parts of them to remain hidden, lest, if they were clearly open to all, they might, perhaps, become of trifling value and be subjected to contempt, and being incorrectly understood by minds of mediocre capacity, might lead men into error. Nor does the fact that certain holy men formerly bore with patience what the people asked for in simplicity, or let it pass uncorrected, serve as a precedent. The primitive Church took no notice of many points which were afterward corrected by the holy fathers, in consequence of more accurate investigations, when Christianity had been established and religion had increased. Hence that which your people imprudently ask for may not be done. We forbid it, by the authority of the blessed Saint Peter, and command you to resist such foolish rashness with all your strength, to the honor of Almighty God."[2]

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[1] As a reward for the services which Wratislaw rendered in consequence of this alliance, he was constituted the first king of Bohemia, in 1086.

[2] The above letter differs materially from that given by Plitt, Holmes, Croeger, and others, including even Czerwenka, who have all taken their version from the Hist. Persecutionum, which got it from Hagek's old but notoriously unreliable chronicle. Our version is translated from the original Latin letter as found in Palacky, I. p. 338, Note 143, who took it from the correspondence of Gregory the Seventh, published in Vol. VI. of the Acta Conciliorum. Compare also Dobrowsky, pp. 48 and 49. The

This edict was a death-blow to the newly awakened hopes. Wratislaw, indeed, in spite of the Pope, continued to favor the convent on the Sazawa, where the ancient ritual had its principal seat; but his successor, Bretislaw the Second, expelled the Slavonian brethren, owing chiefly to their own unceasing disputes, and transferred the monastery to Latin monks (1096). There followed other measures which gave Rome the victory at last. The vernacular in public worship was prohibited, the clergy were forbidden to marry, the cup in the Lord's Supper was withdrawn from the laity. Yet even now the Bohemians did not wholly yield the ground on which their fathers had stood. Families and single churches, here and there, could still be seen maintaining the national worship, and priests administering the cup. Married priests were found as late as the reign of Charles the Fourth. For the next two centuries and a half religious liberty slumbered but was not dead. It only needed a bold hand to break its sleep.

Some writers assert that a national Christianity was not merely kept up but even purified in doctrine and life, through the agency of the Waldenses.[1] Numerous churches arose, it is said, representing a union of the old Slavonian and Waldensian elements, and flourished greatly to the glory of God. This view was first promulgated by Paul Stransky,[2] and adopted by Plitt.[3] Modern researches, however, especially those instituted by Palacky,[4] show that however convenient it is wholly without foundation. If the Waldenses appeared in Bohemia at the close of the thirteenth century, which is barely possible, they were few in number, exercised no influence, and cannot, from any point of view, be recognized as a power in its religious development.

Hist. Persecutionum, moreover, as also Plitt, Holmes, Croeger, and Czerwenka, gives a wrong date and prefixes the apostolic salutation, which was intentionally omitted in order to show the Pope's displeasure with the alliance between Wratislaw and the Emperor.

[1] Cranz, p. 5; Croeger, I. p. 9; Holmes, I. p. 14.

[2] Stransky, p. 256.

[3] Plitt, Chap. I. Sec. 5.

[4] Palacky's Waldenser, p. 18; Compare also Krummel, p. 51.

CHAPTER III.

The Forerunners of John Hus. *A. D.* 1347–1369.

Gradual breaking up of the medieval Church-System.—Decline of Scholastic Theology.—The reign of Charles the Fourth, the Golden Age of Bohemia.—The Archbishopric, the Convent of Emmaus, and the University of Prague.—The three Forerunners of Hus.—Conrad of Waldhausen.—Milic of Kremsier.—Matthias von Janow.

About the middle of the fourteenth century signs began to appear that the medieval church-system was breaking up. It had held the human mind bound in its icy fetters for ages, but it could not bind the Spirit whom God had sent. Under His divine influences a reaction set in and slowly gained strength, sometimes in silence and again amidst the noise of storms, until at last it burst forth as an overwhelming flood. Such a result was rendered inevitable by the abuses of the papacy and its perversions of the fundamental principles of the Gospel.

A decline of scholastic theology constituted the beginning of this movement. Men began to think for themselves, and not as the Church commanded. An issue was made which still separates Protestantism from Romanism. The authority of the Bible as the only source and norm of belief was set up against the pretensions of the Church to promulgate doctrines of its own creation. It is true that such an issue did not become prevalent, but it constrained single reformers to unsheath the sword of the Spirit, and prepared the way for a general reformation. Nor did the revival of classical literature, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, fail to send the human mind forward on its new course of thought and liberty.

John Wycliffe was the first leading representative of such reformatory movements, and England the realm where they gained temporary strength; but they were fully developed in Bohemia and Moravia. These twin countries had always given religious liberty a home; now they furnished its battle ground. For two centuries, until the opening of the Thirty Years' War, the conflict was kept up. Then Rome triumphed again, and the land of the Czechs, a second time, lay helpless at her proud feet.

In 1347 Charles the First, of the house of Luxemburg into which the Bohemian crown had passed by marriage, ascended the throne, and eight years later, in 1355, became Emperor of Germany, assuming the title of Charles the Fourth, by which he is generally known. However unequal he may have been to the duties of this position, and however little he may have understood the times in which he lived, Bohemia was the object of his love and the end of his ambition. Under his guidance it entered a golden age. Its bounds were extended; its agricultural and commercial prosperity was furthered; and its capital enlarged to a metropolis which rivaled Paris.[1]

Three of his undertakings were particularly important. In 1344, while he was still Margrave, he emancipated the Bohemian Church from the control of the archbishopric of Mayence by the creation of the archbishopric of Prague; in 1347, he organized, in the same city, the Slavonian Monastery of Emmaus; and, in 1348, founded the University of Prague, which soon became one of the most illustrious in Europe.

[1] The origin of Prague is unknown. It is ascribed to Libusa, a distinguished princess of the mythical period of Bohemian History. The city is situated on both banks of the Moldau, in a basin-shaped valley, on whose slopes the buildings rise in tiers, giving to the town something of oriental splendor. That part of it which stands on the right bank is called the *Altstadt* (Old Town) and the *Neustadt* (New Town); the part on the left bank the *Kleinseite* (Small Side). A massive stone bridge and a chain bridge connect the two parts. Charles the Fourth built the *Neustadt* and the stone bridge, enlarged the *Kleinseite*, began the palace of the *Hradschin*, which stands on that side, and erected a number of churches.

These enterprises were meant to advance Romanism, but God overruled them for the spread of the Gospel of His Son. The archbishopric re-invested the Church with a national character. Ernst of Pardubitz, its first incumbent, a man of apostolic ways, originated diocesan synods, which caused the Christian life of Bohemia to revive.[1] The Convent of Emmaus, where the Slavonian ritual, although in a Romish form, and the Czech vernacular had been re-introduced, gave to such life something of an evangelical tendency. This tendency grew to be a power in the University, which sent forth John Hus, ordained to wake religious liberty from its sleep.

Three illustrious forerunners prepared the way for his coming.

Between the years 1340 and 1360 there flourished, at Vienna and other places in Austria, a distinguished preacher named Conrad of Waldhausen.[2] The jubilee proclaimed by Clement the Sixth, in 1350, brought him to Rome. There his eyes were opened. He saw the danger of such pilgrimages and the evil of selling indulgences. Multitudes, from every part of Europe, came swarming into the city, paid the price of absolution without a thought of repentance, and immediately, amidst the abominations of the papal capital, fell into deeper sin. On his return to Austria he set forth the scriptural conditions of forgiveness with words of power and an earnest heart. Charles the Fourth invited him to Bohemia, whither he was drawing other celebrities. Waldhausen accepted the invitation, settled at Leitmeritz, either in 1360 or 1362, and labored with great success. After a time he

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[1] Lechler, II. p. 114.

[2] Palacky's Vorläufer. p. 1, &c.; Neander, VI. p. 240, &c.; Krummel, p. 57, &c. Since the publication of Cochlaeus' Hist. of the Hussites, in 1549, Conrad in all works that treat of him, down to recent times, has received the family name of Stekna. This is an error. John von Stekna was a Cistercian monk and priest, who flourished at Prague, after Conrad's death, as incumbent of the Bethlehem Chapel, and in other capacities. The error originated in the omission, by Cochlaeus, of a comma between Conrad's and Stekna's name, as Palacky has shown. Waldhausen was the name of the village in which Conrad was born.

began occasionally to preach at Prague. There his congregations grew so large that no building could hold them, and they were forced to assemble in a market place. In 1364 he was appointed incumbent of the Thein Church, the most important in the capital.[1] He preached in German. His bearing was calm, his thoughts were set forth with great clearness, his language was plain but forcible and eloquent. With a boldness that came from God and feared neither man nor devil, he exposed the vices of the times and called sinners to repentance. The result was wonderful. Women who had been leaders of extravagant and immodest fashions laid aside their costly robes, glittering with gold and pearls, and devoted themselves to works of charity; usurers, fattening on unrighteous gains, made restitution; notorious libertines set an example of holy living.

Such success excited the jealousy of the mendicant friars, whose churches were almost deserted. But when Conrad, to use his own figure, drew the bow of God's Word against these monks themselves, their envy was turned into hate bitter as gall. And yet his arrows told, for they came with the force of truth. He directed them against the hypocrisy, simony and degenerate ways of the various orders. He said that if their founders were to come back to earth in order to resuscitate first principles, they would be stoned; that the monks, instead of assuming voluntary poverty and humbly walking in love, manifested insatiable avarice, inordinate pride, and selfishness in its worst forms; that their appeals for alms were morally wrong, because alms ought to be given to the poor; that the idolatry which they practised with relics was abominable; that holiness deserved more reverence than the saints.

Smarting under sharp truths such as these, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines and others, forgot their own incessant quarrels, and made common cause against Waldhausen.

[1] The Thein Church stands in the *Altstadt*, on the *Grosser Ring*, opposite the Council House. It is famous in the history of the Hussites and the Brethren.

But his popularity was so great that they did not venture to attack him openly until the Vicar General of the Dominicans had arrived at Prague. His presence gave them courage to lay twenty-four articles of accusation before the Archbishop (1364). These charges Conrad triumphantly refuted, in the presence of many witnesses, and prepared a written defence of his course for Duke Rudolph, who urgently requested that he should come back to Vienna. But he preferred Bohemia, and continued his victorious career until 1369, when he died, on the eighth of December, beloved by the people and blessed of God.

Although he did not directly attack the dogmas of the Romish Church, he taught the necessity of a living Christianity, of a renewal of the heart, and of saving faith in Christ. In view of such principles he deserves to be counted as the first forerunner of Hus.

The second was Milic, of Kremsier, in Moravia.[1] His early life is shrouded in obscurity. He took orders about 1350, and subsequently became an arch-deacon and a canon of St. Vitus.[2] At the same time he filled a responsible post in the imperial chancellor's office, and owned an estate which brought him a considerable income, in addition to his many emoluments. But neither honors nor wealth could satisfy him. He longed to serve the Lord in poverty and lowliness. Hence, in 1363, he resigned all his lucrative and high positions. The Archbishop reasoned with him. "In what better work could you engage," he said, "than helping your poor Archbishop to feed the flock which has been committed to his care?" But Milic remained firm, and retired to Bischof Teinitz, where he began to labor as a preacher of the people.

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[1] Neander, VI. pp. 228, &c.; Palacky's Vorläufer, pp. 18, &c.; Czerwenka, I. Chap. III.; Krummel, pp. 62, &c. There is no authority for the name John, which is commonly given him.

[2] This cathedral was begun in 1344 and stands within the enclosure of the Hradschin, the celebrated palace of the Bohemian kings, built by Charles the Fourth, in 1353, rebuilt by Ferdinand the First in 1541, but not completed until 1756.

His stay in this village was short. The incumbent had a pleasant garden which, Milic feared, might tempt him to idleness. Hastening back to Prague, he gained access to various pulpits. At first his congregations were small and his Moravian dialect excited ridicule. But he persevered, until he found acceptance. In course of time he became as famous an orator as Waldhausen. His style, however, was wholly different. It was mystical, excited the imagination, and glowed with figures borrowed from the Apocalypse.

The biblical studies in which Milic diligently engaged, led him to the conclusion that Antichrist would appear between the years 1365 and 1367, and that, therefore, the end of the world was at hand. This view he set forth in his work *De Antichristo*, and urged from the pulpit, pointing, in the way of proof, to the degeneracy of the age. His denunciations were bold and terrific. He spared no one, from the Archbishop to the lowest monk, from the Emperor to the meanest peasant. On one occasion he publicly reproved the Emperor by name. But Charles recognized his motives and honored his zeal. Nor could his enemies, although their number increased, prevail against him. It is true that they induced the new Archbishop to order his arrest; but he was soon set at liberty. Milic himself, however, grew discouraged, especially in view of the unwillingness of the Bohemians to accept his apocalyptical theory, relinquished his work, and went to Rome to consult the Pope.

Urban the Fifth filled the papal chair and was about to transfer his court from Avignon, where his predecessors had lived for more than half a century, to its proper seat (1367). While awaiting his arrival, Milic was, as he says, moved by the Spirit to announce, through a poster affixed to the door of St. Peter's, that he would preach on the coming of Antichrist. For this bold act he was cast into prison. But Urban, as soon as he had reached the city, set him free and punished his persecutors. The consultations in which he now engaged with the Pope and various ecclesiastics led him to recognize the propriety of giving less prominence to his prophetical

views, but encouraged him to return to Prague and resume his activity in other respects.

On the death of Waldhausen, he was appointed his successor in the Thein Church. In order to reach the German population he began to study their language, and persevered until he could preach in it with fluency. He delivered daily sermons, besides attending to his pastoral duties, visiting the poor, and instructing students in theology. The most notable instance of his success in reforming the morals of Prague was the breaking up of a whole block of brothels, which had long been infamously known as "Little Venice." More than one hundred of their inmates repented in a body. The houses were torn down, and a chapel and home erected, in which the penitents found an asylum. Their number increased by accessions from the country. There were often as many as three hundred women in this retreat, which received the name of "Jerusalem." Near by stood a house that Milic had converted into a Seminary for his students, who assisted him in his work.

His growing fame and widespread influence incited his enemies to renewed activity. The mendicant friars, in particular, opposed him. Twelve articles of accusation were sent to Gregory the Eleventh, which aroused his utmost displeasure. He wrote to the Emperor, to the Archbishop, and to several Bishops in Moravia, Silesia and Poland, condemning the entire course which Milic was pursuing. Milic hastened to Avignon, where the papal court had again been established, in order to defend himself, and succeeded in refuting the charges that had been brought against him. While waiting for the final decision of the Pope, he fell ill and died, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1374.

His solemn protest against the vices of the age, his earnest call for the convocation of a General Council that the Church might be reformed, his eloquent plea for the preaching of the pure Gospel that the spiritual kingdom of Christ might spread, constituted him the second forerunner of John Hus. "In Milic that religious thought and feeling which have

always distinguished the Bohemians, found its embodiment," says Palacky in substance. "He stirred the spirit of the people to its depths, and first caused it to rise in those waves which, at a later time and with the co-operation of new elements, grew to be the billows of a great storm."[1]

The last precursor of Hus was Matthias von Janow,[2] the son of a Bohemian Knight, and an enthusiastic pupil of Milic. In 1381, he was appointed a prebendary of the Cathedral at Prague and a father confessor. Distinguished for his learning which he acquired at the Universities of Prague and Paris—whence his title of "Parisian Master"—converted, while searching the Scriptures, from a vicious life to the service of God, he used both his knowledge and his experience in bravely promoting the Truth. He was a writer and not a preacher. The collection of his works, composed between the years 1388 and 1392 and entitled *De regulis Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, exercised an unprecedented influence in its day.[3]

His position is bold and evangelical. He bewails the worldliness of the clergy and their neglect of the Bible, rebukes their pride and hierarchical pretensions, and disapproves of monastic orders as well as of that wide distinction between the ministry and the laity which conflicts with the scriptural idea of a universal priesthood. He protests against the worship of pictures, the invocation of saints, and the idolatry practiced with relics. He urges that the Gospel shall be preached in the vernacular, that Christians shall receive the Lord's Supper daily, and that the cup shall be given to the laity, although he does not consider this absolutely essential. He asserts that Antichrist is already in the world, in the form of the hierarchy which has become

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[1] Palacky, IV. p. 173.

[2] Neander, VI. p. 252, &c.; Palacky's Vorläufer, p. 47, &c.; Krummel, Chap. V.

[3] This collection was divided into five books, each book containing a number of treatises. It exists in manuscript only and is very rare, excepting one treatise, on *The Abomination in the Holy Place*, which essay was printed along with the works of Hus to whom it was incorrectly ascribed.

wholly secularized; predicts the renewal of the Church in its primitive purity and dignity; defines it to be a living organism whose members ought all to work together, including the Pope, who must direct the bishops in the proper discharge of their duties, but not exalt himself above them and seek his own ends through the agency of princes and kings; and finds a chief cause of its corruption in its many decretals, which usurp the place of the Scriptures. Finally, he sets forth the immediate relation of the soul to Christ, the necessity of faith, and the insufficiency of works when separated from faith.[1]

Some of these views Janow was forced to recant, at the Diocesan Synod of 1389.[2] But this seems to have been a mere form, for we find them still more fully developed in his later writings. He died in the prime of manhood, on the thirtieth of November, 1394. But the truths which he promulgated were a trumpet-blast that announced the coming Reformer and the dawn of a new epoch. Indeed, if we may trust tradition, he appears to have looked even beyond the days of Hus and to have foretold the rise of the Brethren's Church. "We find it also recorded," says the History of the Bohemian Persecution, "that this Parisian, his death approaching, amongst others gave this comfort to his friends: The rage of the enemies of truth hath now prevailed against us; but this shall not be always; for an ignoble people shall arise without sword or power, over whom they shall not be able to prevail."[3]

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[1] Czerwenka, I. p. 50.

[2] Documenta Hus, pp. 699 and 700, where the retraction is given in full and the penance set forth, namely, suspension, for half a year, from ministerial functions outside of his own church.

[3] History of the Bohemian Persecution, London, 1650, Chap. VII. 5, p. 19, the quaint English version of the Hist. Persecutionum.

PERIOD II.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN HUS, THE PRECURSOR OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

A. D. 1369–1415.

CHAPTER IV.

The Beginning of the Bohemian Reformation as inaugurated by Hus. *A. D.* 1369–1411.

Birth and Education of Hus.—His moral Character.—A Professor in the University of Prague.—Magnitude of the University.—State of Latin Christendom.—The Philosophical and Theological tendencies of Hus.—His Friends and Coadjutors.—Incumbent of the Bethlehem Chapel.—Hus as a Pastor and Preacher.—Appointed Synodical Preacher.—Condemnation of Wycliffe's articles in the University.—Beginning of the Reformation.—The miracle at Wilsnak.—The Reformatory Labors of Hus and the Opposition they evoked.—The Reformation strengthened by the State of the Country and Empire.—Exodus of the Germans from the University.—The Reformation about to die a natural Death.

FOUR years after the death of the last of his forerunners John Hus himself appeared on the stage of history. Through his instrumentality the new ideas, to which his age was giving birth, were developed into a national reformation that proved to be the harbinger of the General Reformation. In bringing this about he opened the way, on the one hand, for the coming of the Unitas Fratrum which was founded by his followers and inherited his principles, and, on the other, led Bohemia and Moravia out of the darkness of the Middle Ages a century before it began to disappear from other countries.

In the southern part of Bohemia on the Planitz, not far from the Bavarian frontier, stands a small market-town called

Husinec. It constituted, originally, one of twenty-four villages which belonged jointly to the royal exchequer and the Castle of Hus, built, in 1341, by the Barons of Janowic. In that town John Hus was born on the sixth of July, 1369.[1] He took his name from the Castle.[2] His family name is not known. Although his parents ranked no higher than peasants, they were in good circumstances. His early years are shrouded in obscurity.[3]

He studied at the University of Prague and took his first degree in 1393. In 1396 he was constituted a Master of Arts. His talents were not brilliant but his diligence never flagged. He devoted himself to his books with the patience of a student and the tenacity of a Czech. Such perseverance had its reward. He became a man of comprehensive learning, and slowly but surely made his way to the side of the greatest celebrities of his age.[4] His moral character was blameless. It was never aspersed even by his bitterest enemies. They were constrained to recognize the purity of his heart and the holiness of his life. In other respects, however, he is stigmatized by some modern writers of the Romish school, who call him "a vain declaimer, a plotter, a proud Czech, a fanatic, a revolutionist, an ignorant fellow, as rude and bold as a peasant."[5] While such denunciations recoil upon their authors, there may be some truth in the charges of Palacky. He asserts that Hus was rash, obstinate, greedy of popularity and ambitious to win a martyr's crown.[6] Tradition has it, that on

[1] Gillett, Croeger and other Moravian writers, give the year 1373, but 1369 is adopted by all the best modern authorities.

[2] Not Huss, but Hus, is therefore the correct way of spelling his name. It has been adopted by German and ought to be adopted by English writers.

[3] The details given by Becker, Die Böhm. Reform, u. Märt. J. Hus u. H. v. Prag, 1858, and found in Croeger, I. p. 18, &c., are without historic foundation.

[4] Berger, p. 79, Note 2, asserts that the learning of Hus was not extraordinary, but merely such as was common among all scholars of his day. In what estimation Berger's testimony is to be held, will appear later.

[5] Helfert, Höfler and Friedrich.

[6] Palacky, IV. p. 215. In Note 218, he adds: "That Hus, at an early period of his life, dwelt upon the possibility of his suffering martyrdom, is

reading an account of the cruel execution of St. Lawrence, who was roasted alive in an iron chair, he thrust his own hand into the fire in order to test his ability to endure such torments. Greatness and faults are inseparable. We must not expect the record of Hus to be spotless. In his intercourse with others he was modest and kind. A spirit of melancholy gave tone to his whole bearing. It seemed as though he could not forget the degeneracy of the Church and the evil of the times in which he lived. He was a tall man, with a thin, pale, sad face.

Two years after he received the Master's degree, he was called to a professorship in the University (1398.)

This school, next to that of Paris, after which it was modeled, constituted the most distinguished seat of learning on the Continent of Europe. It formed a state within the state. It enjoyed peculiar privileges and extraordinary immunities. It grew to be a Bohemian republic of letters with an authority second only to that of the king. It was pervaded by a literary spirit, active, keen, thorough, delighting in disputations on the grandest scale. It embraced four faculties, one for theology, one for law, one for medicine, and one for philosophy; and was divided into four nations, the Bohemian, the Bavarian, the Polish, and the Saxon. Its teachers and students far outnumbered those of modern universities however large.[1]

A school such as this inspired Hus with enthusiasm. He became one of its lights. In 1401 he was elected Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, and in 1402 Rector of the University.

evident from various passages of his Bohemian works which bring out his individuality in sharper lines than his Latin writings."

[1] Some authorities give fabulous figures. It is said that, about 1408, there were 200 Doctors and Masters, 500 Bachelors, and more than 30,000 students. Others assert that there were never more than 4000 students, and only 2,500, about 1408. (Lechler, II. p. 153.) But this estimate is incorrect; for we have data which show that in that year, there were 64 Doctors and Masters and 150 Bachelors belonging to the Bohemian nation alone. Palacky thinks there must have been more than 7,000 students. (Palacky, IV. p. 183.)

Dire confusion reigned throughout Latin Christendom. For more than twenty years the Church had been rent by a disgraceful schism. Two popes, each claiming to be Christ's vicar upon earth, the one at Rome, the other at Avignon, were hurling anathemas at each other.[1] This was a gross scandal that called forth protests from the University of Paris, than which no literary seat exercised a higher authority. Peter D'Ailly, John of Gerson, Nicholas of Clemanges and others, scrutinously investigated the claims set up by the popes, asserted the supremacy of a General Council, and, in ringing tones, proclaimed the necessity of reform. Nor did the University of Oxford remain silent. Wycliffe was dead, but his writings were exercising a widely spread influence.[2] They found their way to Bohemia through Bohemian students who studied at Oxford, and soon began to play an important part in the theological history of that country.[3]

Charles the Fourth died in 1378, and was succeeded by Wenzel, his oldest son. He was an incompetent ruler. The sceptre fell from his weak grasp into the hands of unworthy favorites who governed in his name. Although not without good qualities, he acted, for the most part, in the words of Palacky, like a spoiled child, offending his nobles, maltreating the clergy, quarreling with his brother Sigismund, and giving

[1] The schism began in 1378 by the election of Urban the Fifth and Clement the Seventh.

[2] John de Wycliffe, written also Wickliffe, Wyclif, or Wiclif, was born near Richmond, England, in 1324. A controversy with the Mendicants led to his illustrious career as a Reformer before the Reformation. He attacked some of the most cherished dogmas of Rome, such as plenary indulgence and transubstantiation; drew a sharp line between Biblical Christianity and Romish ecclesiasticism; translated the Bible into English from the Vulgate; and labored by his writings, sermons, and lectures at Oxford for the spread of the pure Gospel. Protected by the Duke of Lancaster, he withstood every persecution, and died, as parish priest at Lutterworth, December the thirty-first, 1384. His followers were the English Lollards. The newest and best work on Wycliffe is Lechler's Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation. 2 Vols. Leipzig and London, 1873.

[3] In 1382, Anne, a daughter of Charles the Fourth, married Richard the Second. This brought about a close connection between Bohemia and England.

occasion for the appearance of a rival Emperor in the person of Ruprecht, who disputed the crown for ten years.

It was in such a period of European history, when no honest mind could fail to recognize the necessity of reforming the Church, that Hus began his public career. His earliest lectures were mostly philosophical. He was a decided adherent of the realistic school.[1] His theology received its tendency from Matthias of Janow and Wycliffe. The theological writings of the latter were brought to Bohemia in 1398, by Jerome of Prague. When Hus had overcome the prejudice which he entertained against them and began to study them, he was attracted by their reformatory spirit and the supreme authority which they ascribed to the Bible. The longer he searched this sacred volume the more he became convinced of the corruptness of the Church and the necessity of a reformation. But he did not set out with the intention of inaugurating such a work. Nor did he take a position antagonistic to Rome in

[1] Realism and Nominalism constituted the two conflicting doctrines of scholastic philosophy. The former taught, that general notions, such as the notion of a tree, have an objective existence and reality; in other words, "that genus and species are real things, existing independently of our conceptions and expressions" (Fleming's Vocab. of Phil., p. 422). The latter, "that general notions, such as the notion of a tree, have no realities corresponding to them, and no existence but as names or words" (Ib. p. 346). Applied to theology, realism set up the reality, that is, the absolute truth of the dogmas of the Church, which were binding upon all and might not be questioned by any. Nominalism, on the other hand, subjected such dogmas to critical investigation, and asserted the right of research as a necessary consequence of that capacity to investigate which has been given to every man. From this point of view the realism of Hus is surprising. Indeed, Czerwenka (I. p. 59), denies its existence. But while Hus, in many of his theological views, was practically a nominalist, because he recognized the authority of the Bible as supreme, yet in his philosophical views, which had an influence upon his theology also, he was technically, without question, a realist. For he took his philosophical views from Wycliffe whose work on the "Reality of General Ideas" was, for years, a text-book in the University of Prague. His national feelings, moreover, had much to do with this position. He would not uphold a system to which the German Doctors, who were mostly nominalists, adhered, and which, in itself considered, did not satisfy his aspirations.

obedience to an inward development. Every forward step was induced by outward circumstances.

His doctrinal system was circumscribed in the same way. He searched for truth, and the truth as found in the Bible constituted the foundation on which he built. But as long as he did not recognize any discrepancy between the Scriptures and a dogma of the Church, he upheld the latter even if it was not explicitly taught in the former. On the other hand, whenever such a disagreement became plain, he rejected the dogma and followed the Scriptures. "From the very beginning of my studies," he writes, "I have made it a rule, whenever I meet with a sounder opinion, to joyfully and humbly give up the one I previously entertained. For I am well assured, as Themistius says, that what we know is far less than what we do not know."[1]

The Bohemian Doctors were not slow to acknowledge the commanding position which Hus occupied. A distinguished circle gathered around him. His most intimate friend and active coadjutor was Jerome of Prague, a highly gifted man, an acute reasoner and eloquent speaker, but of a restless disposition and fiery temperament.[2] He had studied at Prague, Oxford, Cologne, Heidelberg and Paris, was honored with two degrees, and had visited many countries, including Palestine. Other associates of Hus were Stanislaus of Znaim, one of his teachers, Peter of Znaim, Stephen of Palec, Christian of Prachatic, John of Jesenic and Jacobellus of Mies, a disciple of Janow and the illustrious advocate of the cup in the Lord's Supper.[3] They were accustomed to meet at the house of John Protzwa, the incumbent of St. Michael's. The bond of fellowship between them was not only a common philosophical tendency but also a strong national feeling. They were pronounced Czechs and looked upon German Bohemians with no

[1] De Trinitate Sancta, Hist. et Mon., I. p. 131.

[2] Jerome of Prague, incorrectly surnamed Faulfisch, which name belonged to an entirely different person, was a native of Prague, and descended from a noble family. He was several years younger than Hus.

[3] Jacob of Mies, called Jacobellus on account of his small stature, was born at Misa and graduated at the University of Prague.

favor. Hus himself was an intense patriot. He never ceased to labor for the development of the Czech element.[1]

The mission of Hus was not circumscribed by his academical labors. On the fourth of March, 1402, after having been ordained to the priesthood, he was installed as the incumbent of the Bethlehem Chapel at Prague.[2]

This historic edifice had been erected at his own expense, in 1391, by John de Milheim, an enthusiastic pupil of Milic and Janow. He called it Bethlehem, because, in the language of the deed of gift, it was to be "a house of bread for the common people in which they were to be refreshed with holy preaching in the vernacular." Such an undertaking became possible only because Milheim stood high in the favor of the King. It constituted one of the signs of the times. No other church of the capital afforded the same opportunity for teaching the Word of God. While the reading of mass was left to the discretion of the incumbent, he was bound to preach twice, on every Sunday and feast-day, and only in Bohemian.

Hus entered upon the duties of his office with zeal. It opened a wide field from which he garnered plentiful harvests. It brought him into personal contact with the wants of the human soul. It led him to search the Scriptures, not in order to enrich scholastic theology, but in order to find words of eternal life. It carried him forward directly in the way of a reformation. It proved the means whereby he found that truth which renewed and sanctified his own heart.[3]

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[1] The German Doctors of the University devised the following genealogical travesty: "Stanislaus of Znaim begat Peter of Znaim, Peter begat Palec, Palec begat Hus."

[2] The Bethlehem Chapel stood next to the College of Lazarus, on the street leading from the bridge to the Ring of the *Altstadt*. It could seat 3,000 hearers. The pulpit was four-cornered, with a staircase at the side of it leading to the dwelling-room of Hus. Zach. Theobald, p. 37. This Chapel was eventually given to the Bohemian Brethren. In the Anti-Reformation it passed into the hands of the Jesuits. It was closed in 1786, and subsequently torn down. Since 1868 a marble tablet marks its site.

[3] Hus has nowhere recorded the time or the particulars of his conversion. He merely says that the study of the Scriptures and especially the life of the Saviour led him to a knowledge of the truth.

As a pastor he distinguished himself by self-denying faithfulness and an earnest desire to benefit his fellow-men. It is said of him: "He was untiring in the confessional, unwearied in his efforts to convert sinners, assiduous in bringing comfort to the afflicted. He sacrificed everything, he sacrificed himself, in order to save souls."[1] His own favorite saying was borrowed from St. Ambrose: "Prayer and tears are the weapons of a priest." Laboring in such a spirit he won esteem and confidence. Queen Sophia chose him for her confessor; he was welcomed to the houses of the nobility; the common people loved him as a friend.

His success in the pulpit was extraordinary. Vast congregations thronged to hear him representing every class of society, except the clergy of rank, the German Masters and the monks. Nobles, Bohemian Masters, students, merchants, mechanics and peasants, all hung upon his words. The Queen was one of his most faithful hearers. And yet, according to the standard of our day, his sermons were not eloquent. They either consisted of expositions of the appointed Gospels and Epistles interwoven with practical applications and passages from the church-fathers, or treated of doctrinal points, or brought out some subject relating to the history of the times. An occasional anecdote occurred, but rhetorical ornaments were wanting. Their biblical character and the evidences with which they abounded that they were the outflow of personal conviction and living faith, gave them power; while the pure Bohemian which gushed from his lips, the idiomatic phrases which he used, and the transparent simplicity of his style rendered them exceedingly attractive.[2]

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[1] Sermo habitus in Bethlehem a quodam Pio, in Memoriam novorum Martyrum M. Joan. Hus et M. Hieronymi. Hist. et Mon., II. p. 537.

[2] The Brethren who founded Herrnhut brought from Moravia the Postil of Hus containing his Bohemian sermons. A series taken from this work has been translated into German by Dr. John Nowotny. It was published at Görlitz, in 1854 and 1855,in four Parts: Johannes Hus Predigten. The late lamented Dr. Gillett wrote a review of these sermons in "The New Englander," for October, 1864.

One year after his installation he received another important appointment. The first Archbishop of Prague had introduced not only diocesan synods but also the preaching of synodical sermons. Both these institutions were kept up by his successors. In 1403 Zbynek Zajic von Hasenburg was elevated to the see. He knew more of the weapons of carnal warfare than of the sword of the spirit, and was better versed in military affairs than in the things appertaining to the kingdom of God. But his intentions were good. He meant to purify his diocese and elevate the moral standard of his clergy. Hence he appointed Hus synodical preacher and commissioned him to report any abuses which might fall under his notice.

The synodical sermons of Hus differed from his popular discourses. They were delivered in Latin, showed the scholar and the theologian, were more systematically and logically arranged, contained occasional bursts of eloquence and keen satire, and sparkled with gems from the church-fathers. Their chief characteristic, however, was the moral heroism which they displayed, the merciless method in which they set forth, and the terrific maner in which they condemned, the sins of the clergy.[1]

The first intimation which the public had that the University was divided into two factions and that there existed a deep-rooted theological difference between them, was given on the twenty-eighth of May, 1403. Walter Harasser, who had succeeded Hus in the rectorship, called an academical meeting and presented for its examination forty-five articles extracted from the writings of Wycliffe. A stormy debate followed. The articles were condemned and the members of the University forbidden to teach them. This act, combined with the two-fold commission which Hus had received from the Archbishop, may be said to have constituted the beginning of the Bohemian Reformation. Its first development was the correction of a scandalous abuse. At Wilsnak, on the Elbe, amidst the ruins of an old church, three communion wafers

[1] In Hist. et Mon., II. pp. 35–84, we find eight so-called synodical sermons, some of which, however, were delivered before the people.

were found impregnated with what seemed to be blood. The priests having spread the report that it was the blood of Christ and could cure all manner of diseases, pilgrims came streaming to the spot from Bohemia and Moravia, from Hungary and Poland, and even from Sweden, Norway and Denmark. At the instance of Hus, the Archbishop appointed a commission to investigate the reported miracles. They proved to be a fraud and the pilgrimages were forbidden. This was a hard blow at the superstition of the age. It opened the eyes of many to the priestcraft by which they were beguiled, and caused an intense sensation among the clergy.

Hus followed it up by efforts to purify both the doctrine and life of the Church. In the University, where the condemnation of Wycliffe's writings had remained practically a dead letter, he devoted special attention to exegetical lectures and imbued the minds of the students, and through them, the popular mind, with such a love for the Holy Scriptures as had never been known before. In the Bethlehem Chapel he discussed the essential doctrines of the Christian religion, setting forth the difference between their biblical form and that in which they were ordinarily presented, pointing out the evils to which such perversions had led, and calling, with the authority of a prophet, the people to repentance and faith. In his synodical discourses he probed and laid bare the moral sores of the clergy to the very bone, gave to every sin its right name, burst in upon it with a tempest of indignation, and blew an alarm that startled the hardest heart. And thus the work went bravely on. Anti-scriptural usages, however time-honored, were recognized in their real character. New ideas sprang into life. The true light began to shine. Men's responsibilities to God outweighed their duties to the Hierarchy. The people of Prague and of all Bohemia were profoundly moved.

On the eighteenth of October, 1407, Hus delivered a sermon before the clergy[1] which was so full of stinging invectives that

[1] This sermon, on Ephesians vi, 14 and 15, is found in Hist. et Mon., II. p. 47, &c.

it led to his deposition from the office of synodical preacher. This was but one instance of the hostility which his course evoked. Enemies met him at every step. The clergy of rank, the foreign Doctors and the monks, formed an unbroken phalanx against him. They were joined by the Archbishop himself. Instigated by John the Iron, Bishop of Leitomischl, the leader of the conservative party, he forgot the favor with which he had originally looked upon Hus, denounced him as a disobedient son of the Church, forbade him to preach, put him under the ban, laid an interdict on the city of Prague, and made himself notorious throughout Europe by committing to the flames, amidst the tolling of bells and the singing of the Te Deum, more than two hundred volumes of Wycliffe's writings, beautifully engrossed and splendidly bound, (July the sixteenth, 1410). Appeals and counter-appeals to the Pope followed. Commissioners were appointed at Rome to try Hus; advocates were sent from Prague to defend him. Papal bulls against him were met by royal edicts in his favor. Amidst such experiences he stood firm as a rock and his work went on. This would have been impossible if dire confusion had not continued in church and state. Popes and anti-popes still hurled anathemas at each other. The Council of Pisa accomplished nothing (1409). At one time there were three Popes and three Emperors. Old landmarks disappeared. The foundations of government and of society were shaken. In such a period of history the Bohemian Reformation grew rapidly; in any other, it would have been nipped in the bud. It was, moreover, upheld to a certain extent by Wenzel himself, although he understood neither its character nor object. One of his acts, in particular, gave a new impetus to the movement. Contrary to the intentions of its founder, the German nations in the University had gradually secured three votes while the Bohemian had but one. This caused great dissatisfaction among the native Doctors. At their instigation, Nicholas von Lobkowic, the favorite adviser of the King, induced him to issue a decree, on the eighteenth of January, 1409, which reversed the academic status. Three

votes were given to the Bohemian nation and one to the foreign nations. Thereupon a large number of German Professors, the majority of whom belonged to the ultra wing of the conservative faction, and several thousand German students, left Prague in indignation.[1] The liberal party gained strength in consequence of this exodus. At the same time it intensified the animosity of the Germans toward the Bohemians, and made Hus, who had been active in bringing about the change, notorious throughout Germany.

While the Bohemian Reformation outlived every attempt to bring it to a violent end, it nearly died a natural death. In July, 1411, the Archbishop was reconciled both to Hus and the King. The ban and interdict were to be annulled, all suits to be quashed, all appeals to be withdrawn, all disputes to cease. Hus consented to cleanse himself from the suspicion of heresy by a public confession of his faith, and Zybnek promised to report to the Pope the complete pacification of the Church. It is true that the Archbishop, persuaded by John the Iron, eventually refused to carry out his part of the compact. But he died while on his way to claim the protection of Sigismund, the King of Hungary,[2] and his successor, Albicus von Unicow, was too intent upon hoarding money to find time for the theological questions of the day. The storm of the past years seemed to have spent its strength. And yet this was merely a lull in the tempest.

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[1] These Professors and students subsequently met at Leipzig, and founded the celebrated University of that city.

[2] After protracted disputes and conflicts between Wenzel and Sigismund, these two brothers entered into a compact (June, 1411), according to which Wenzel was to be Emperor and Sigismund Roman King. After Wenzel's death Sigismund was to occupy both the Imperial and Bohemian thrones. Previous to this compact the latter had been chosen Roman King by some of the Electors, now he was unanimously re-elected (July twenty-first, 1411). He was not crowned Emperor until 1436; Wenzel was never crowned.

CHAPTER V.

Hus and the Papal Indulgences. A. D. 1412.

Election of Alexander the Fifth.—Accession of John the Twenty-third.—Driven from Rome by Ladislaus of Naples.—Crusade proclaimed against him.—Papal Indulgences.—Hus opposes their sale.—Sermons in the Bethlehem Chapel and Disputation in the University.—Speech of Jerome.—The Students burn the papal Bull.—Execution of three young Mechanics.—Hus extols them as Martyrs.—A Crisis in the Reformation.—Hus excommunicated.—Interdict at Prague.—Appeals to Jesus Christ.—Retires from the City.—Futile efforts of Wenzel to bring about a pacification.

THE Council of Pisa elected Alexander the Fifth to the Papal chair, after having deposed both Gregory the Twelfth and Benedict the Thirteenth (1409). Although neither of them would submit, the new pontiff was acknowledged by the larger part of Latin Christendom. But he died the next year (1410), and was succeeded by Balthasar Cossa, an atrocious character, who assumed the title of John the Twenty-third. In the early part of his reign he was driven from Rome by Ladislaus of Naples, who was not only an adherent of Gregory but had also conceived the project of consolidating all Italy under his own sway. The most formidable anathemas were immediately fulminated. Ladislaus was put under the ban and branded as "a perjurer, schismatic, reviler, heretic, traitor and conspirator;" a general crusade was proclaimed against him, and those same indulgences for sin which a campaign against the Turks conferred, were offered to all who would engage in this holy war, or furnish troops or money toward its prosecution.

The sale of such indulgences was intrusted to commissioners. Two of them, Wenzel Tiem and Pace de Bononia, reached Prague in the Spring of 1412, and began their work with unblushing effrontery. The papal bull was read in the churches. Drummers appeared in the public streets, followed by preachers of the crusade who indiscriminately sold certificates of pardon. Three large chests were set out for the safe-keeping of the receipts. In the country the indulgences were disposed of wholesale, for single parishes or entire districts, to the highest bidder who retailed them at a profit. It was the most scandalous abuse which Bohemia had ever seen.

In all his past efforts at reform Hus had avoided a personal conflict with the Pope. He recognized him as the head of the Church, appealed to him, addressed him in respectful language, and showed him due reverence. Such a position was no longer possible. His soul revolted at the sale of the indulgences; and his duty to Christ and the Church required that he should express this abhorrence. He knew the risk. He knew that he was staking his life on the venture. He knew that some of his friends would desert him. He knew that, even though the papacy had lost much of its prestige, to rouse it was to rouse a dragon breathing out fire and smoke. But he knew also that he was right and that the Lord God Omnipotent was on his side. Hence he protested, from his pulpit and cathedra, against the sale of the indulgences. His sermons on the subject were bold and evangelical. In one of them he says: "From all this it appears, dear Christian, that a man can receive the pardon of his sins only through the power of God and by the merits of Christ. Let who will proclaim the contrary, let the Pope, or a bishop, or a priest say: 'I forgive thee thy sins, I absolve thee from their penalty, I free thee from the pains of hell'—it is all vain and helps thee nothing. God alone, I repeat, can forgive sins through Christ, and He pardons the penitent only."[1] His

[1] Sermon preached on Sunday Quasimodogeniti. Hus Predigten, Part III. pp. 25 and 39.

address in the University, at a public disputation held on the seventh of June, 1412, was "a model of acute and striking argumentation,"[2] and proved conclusively that the papal bull ran counter to the Holy Scriptures and was an outrage upon Christianity.

On both these occasions, however, Hus avoided everything calculated to excite his hearers. A different course was adopted by Jerome of Prague. At the disputation he delivered a speech which roused the feelings of the students to the highest pitch. The Rector could scarcely maintain order. When the meeting had adjourned, they accompanied Jerome in a triumphal procession to his lodgings. A few days later they grew still bolder. The bulls in the hands of the commissioners were seized and fastened to the breast of a student disguised as a courtesan. Seated in an open wagon, surrounded by armed men and followed by a large body of students, he passed through the city, sometimes making lascivious gestures and again pretending to impart the papal benediction, while, from time to time, his guards proclaimed: "We are carrying the writings of a heretic to the stake!" Arrived at the pillory the bulls were committed to the flames. Near by stood an iron chest which the students filled with dirt and other foul things, as their contribution to the crusade. Hus took no part in these proceedings.

On Sunday, July the tenth, while the priests of the city were preaching on the indulgences and encouraging the people to buy them, three young mechanics, each in a different church and, no doubt, according to previous agreement, publicly protested against what was said, exclaiming: "Priest, thou liest! We have heard better things from Master Hus; the indulgences are a fraud!" The offenders were instantly seized and beaten, hurried to the Council House and stretched on the rack, brought before the magistrates and condemned to death. When Hus heard of this occurrence he presented

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[2] This is the testimony of a Roman Catholic, Berger, p. 77. The address of Hus is found in Hist. et Mon., I. pp. 215–235.

himself, at the head of two thousand students, before their judges and begged that the lives of the young men might be spared. He said, that he did not approve of their course, but that it was the outgrowth of his teachings and that he alone must bear the blame. Meantime the whole city became profoundly agitated. A mob gathered around the Council House, so that the magistrates were alarmed and begged Hus to pacify the people, promising to grant his request. But scarcely had he induced the multitude to disperse when they ordered the immediate execution of the culprits. They were led to death under a strong guard. When the people discovered this breach of faith they again rushed together from every side, blocking the way and rendering an advance impossible. Thereupon the offenders were summarily beheaded in the street. A great cry of rage burst from the multitude. Many pressed forward exclaiming: "We are ready to do and suffer what these have done and suffered!" Women dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of the slain. A company of students headed by a Master arrived, seized their bodies and reverently bore them to the Bethlehem Chapel, where Hus buried them the next day, with all the rites of the Church. In his funeral discourse he extolled the young men as martyrs.

The stand which he took against the papal indulgences was a turning point in the history of the Bohemian Reformation. A number of his friends deserted him, as he had anticipated, and some of them, notably Stanislaus of Znaim and Palec, became his most embittered enemies. But among the nobility and the lower classes he gained new supporters. Wenzel himself, although the three young men had been executed in consequence of his own edict, was indignant that it had been so literally understood, and allowed Hus to pursue his way unhindered.

Stanislaus and Palec, together with six other Doctors of the University, made two attempts to subdue him, but failed. He was too completely armed with the weapons of truth and used them with too much skill. Then the clergy of Prague

came to their aid. Through the instrumentality of Michael of Deutschbrod, later known as Michael de Causis,[3] who had defrauded the King, fled to Rome and there become a fit associate and tool of John the Twenty-third, they once more appealed to this Pope, denounced Hus as a "son of iniquity," and pitifully called for protection from the fierce wolves that had invaded the flock.[4]

John the Twenty-third hastened to the rescue. Hus was again excommunicated, and in the severest form known to the papacy. No man was to associate with him; no man was to give him food or drink; no man was to grant him a place where he might rest his head; wherever he staid, religious services were to cease; in case of his death, he was not to receive Christian burial.[5] At the same time, the interdict at Prague was renewed. Subsequent decrees commanded the faithful to seize his person and lay the Bethlehem Chapel even with the ground. An attempt to take him was actually made, on the second of October, 1412, while he was preaching, by a large body of armed men, mostly Germans, but the firm attitude of the congregation prevented this outrage. Nor would the Bohemian portion of the citizens permit the razing of the Chapel, proposed by the Germans. Over against such experiences Hus prepared an appeal from the papal tribunal to Jesus Christ, the righteous Judge, which document he read from the pulpit and publicly posted.[6] Meantime the interdict was so strictly observed at Prague, that Wenzel begged him

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[3] John the Twenty-third appointed him *Procurator de causis fidei*, hence this name.

[4] Supplicatio cleri facta papae contra M. J. Hus, Palacky's Documenta, p. 460.

[5] Petri Cardinalis S. Angeli mandata de M. J. Hus excommunicatione, Palacky's Documenta, pp. 461–464.

[6] Hist. et Mon., I. p. 22, etc. Palacky's Documenta, pp. 464–466. According to the sermon which Hus preached on the second Sunday after Easter, it would appear that he left Prague for a short time immediately after the attempt to seize him, prepared his appeal while absent, and read it after his return. (Hus Predigten, Part I. p. 56.) Krummel is the only authority that notices this point. It seems to be obscure.

to retire from the city for a time, promising to use every effort to bring about a speedy pacification. Hus obeyed and left Prague in December.

The King kept his word. First he consulted the College of Twelve Elders, the highest body of advisers in the realm, and at their suggestion a Provincial Synod was convened in February, 1413, which, however, failed to restore peace. Next he appointed a commission which was as unsuccessful, owing chiefly to the intractableness of Palec and Stanislaus. Thereupon, in great wrath, he banished both these leaders, together with two other prominent Professors of theology. This measure put an end to the disputes but not to the two parties. Both at the Synod and before the commission Hus was represented by John of Jesenic.

CHAPTER VI.

Hus in Voluntary Exile devotes himself to Literary Labors.
A. D. 1412–1414.

Hus at Kozi Hradek and Krakowec.—His Literary Labors in the Bohemian tongue.—His Latin Works.—His Views on the Bible.—Summary of his Doctrines.—Natural State of Man.—Predestination.—Faith and Justification.—The Church.—Its Head and the Power of the Keys.—The Papacy.—Rights of the Laity.—The Word and Sacraments.—The Virgin Mary and the Saints.—Purgatory.—Obedience.

Hus spent a year and seven months in voluntary exile. His first retreat was Kozi Hradek, the castle of Baron John von Austi, on the Luznik, near Austi;[1] his second, after Baron von Austi's death, Krakowec, the seat of Baron Henry von Lazan. He devoted himself, in part, to preaching in villages, forests and fields, whither the peasantry streamed from all sides to hear him, but chiefly to literary labors. The majority of his Bohemian and Latin works were produced in this period.

Of the former he wrote fifteen, several of which have never been translated.[2] The most important are his Postil and a Treatise on Simony. His merits as a Bohemian writer can not be overestimated. What Luther did for the German language, and Calvin for the French, Hus accomplished for the Czech. Each was the father of his native tongue in

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[1] This castle was situated in the immediate neighborhood of the town of Tabor, the celebrated centre of the Taborites. Anna von Mochow, Baron Austi's widow, became one of the most ardent supporters of the Hussite cause.

[2] The Bohemian works of Hus, entitled Mistra Jana Husi Spisy Ceske, &c., were published for the first time by K. J. Erben, Prague, 1865–1868.

its modern form. Hus purified the Czech, fixed etymological and syntactical rules, and invented a new system of orthography distinguished for its precision and simplicity. This system was adopted by the Bohemian Brethren, who brought it into general use in the sixteenth century, since which time it has remained the acknowledged standard. He also revised the Bohemian Bible translated by an unknown hand, in the fourteenth century, and composed many hymns which mostly appeared in the Hymnals of the Brethren.[3]

His Latin works comprise theological treatises, academical discourses and polemical writings.[4] The most celebrated of them is the Treatise on the Church, with its two supplements, the one a reply to Palec, the other a refutation of Stanislaus.[5] Nearly one-half of these works are reformatory in their character, and afford a clear insight into the doctrinal system of Hus.

His views with regard to the Holy Scriptures are of primary importance. In all questions of Christian faith and life—so he teaches—the Bible is the only infallible norm. Hence there is but one proof which can be acknowledged as sufficient in the case of such doctrines as are essential to salvation: namely, "Thus say the Holy Scriptures, either directly or indirectly."[6] This position, however, does not require us to

[3] The German Hymn Book of the Renewed Church (edition of 1778) contains two hymns, Nos. 857 and 1124, ascribed to Hus. The latter, found also in the new edition of 1875 (No. 809), is called a translation, by Luther, of the Latin hymn given in Hist. et Mon., II. p. 520. But it is not a translation; scarcely a paraphrase In the same way the so-called English version (Liturgy and Hymns, Am. ed., 1877, No. 637) differs greatly both from the Latin and the German. Hus composed the hymn in prison, on receiving his last communion.

[4] Many of them are found in Hist. et Mon.; Krummel, p. 304, &c., counts up seventeen; Palacky in his Höfler, p. 38, says, that not nearly all the Latin writings of Hus are contained in that collection, and that a number which are ascribed to him belong to Matthias von Janow. Höfler in his second vol. adduces several that had not previously been published.

[5] Tractatus de Ecclesia, His. et Mon., I. pp. 243–365.

[6] "Hoc dicit Scriptura Sacra explicite vel implicite." Hist. et Mon., I. p. 364.

reject the doctrinal explanations of the fathers, or the decrees of Councils, or the laws of the Church, provided that such explanations, decrees and laws agree with the Word of God, or are deduced from the same either explicitly or by implication. For even that which is merely implied may be accepted, if it be not contrary to the explicit instructions of the sacred volume. Hence what the fathers, the Councils and the Church teach, constitutes, as long as it is in harmony with the Scriptures, merely the old truth in a new dress.[7] At the same time, however, the Bible remains the only source of truth. This is the fundamental position of Hus to which he always returns and from which he investigates the doctrines of the Church.[8]

Those relating to God and His attributes, to the creation, preservation and government of the world, to the Trinity, to the person and work of Christ, and to the Holy Ghost and His operations, he accepts in their authorized form. With regard to others he differs, more or less decidedly, from the views of the Church. Krummel says, that the reformatory tenets of Hus led him back to the side of Augustine from whose position the Church of the Middle Ages had lapsed;[9] Lechler, that, like an ellipse, these tenets contained two foci, the one of which was the law of Christ, that is, God's Word, the other, the true Church.[10]

A brief summary of the views of Hus will serve to prepare the way for a correct understanding of the doctrines of the Brethren who, in many instances, followed him closely.[11]

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[7] Krummel, pp. 360–368.

[8] His views with regard to the authority of the Scriptures are set forth fully in De sufficientia Legis Christi, Hist. et Mon, I. p. 55, &c., which treatise he prepared as a part of his defence before the Council of Constance.

[9] Krummel, p. 376.

[10] Lechler, II. p. 233.

[11] Authorities for this summary are the Tractatus de Ecclesia and other theological writings of Hus in the Hist. et Mon.; Lechler, II. pp. 233–270; Czerwenka, I. pp. 89–92; Schwabe's Reformat. Theologie des J. Hus; Friedrich's Lehre des J. H.; and especially Krummel's excellent review in his 15th, 16th and 17th chapters.

We begin with the natural state of man. "Man, on account of sin is blind, impotent, full of error and exceedingly poor. He is blind, because he does not properly recognize God; impotent, because he is unable to accomplish anything in the way of his own salvation; full of error, because he does not walk in the holy laws of God, which are the way of God; and poor, because he has lost everything which he possessed."[12] He cannot fulfill the divine laws without prevenient grace.[13] In consequence of the fall, "Adam lost his dominion over nature, met death and subjected all his posterity, even the new Adam, to death."[14] There is a difference between original and actual sin. No personal guilt attaches to the former, nevertheless in as much as all men fall into actual sin, the human family is, by nature, lost, ruined and depraved.[15] The natural man can accomplish nothing really good and virtuous.

Proceeding to the doctrines involving salvation, we find, in the first place, that there are sayings of Hus which imply predestination in its gross form;[16] but on comparing them with others relating to the same subject, his position becomes milder and more scriptural. Thus he teaches that the grace of God is universal; that it is God's will that all men should be saved; that He does what He can, consistently with their free will, to bring about their salvation; that the lost are condemned in consequence of their unbelief which makes them unwilling to accept salvation, and that, hence, the fault is

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[12] Hus Predigten, II. p. 30.

[13] "Nisi praeveniens ejus adjuvet charitas." Com. Ps. 118, Hist. et Mon, II. p. 433.

[14] De Decimis, Hist. et Mon., I. p. 162.

[15] Com. Chap. iv of 1 Cor., Hist. et Mon., II. p. 148. Hus uses the expressive term, borrowed from Augustine, "massa perdita," or "massa perditionis."

[16] For instance: "Christ loves His Church, which is His spouse, always and will love her after the day of judgment, and in the same way He hates every one who has been foreknown as lost (quemcunque praescitum), and will hate him always after the day of judgment." De Ecclesia, Hist. et Mon., I. p. 250.

altogether their own. He never speaks of a decree of reprobation, and unites predestination with the foreknowledge of God.[17]

His views on faith and justification bring us, in the next place, to a position which is evangelical in a surprising degree.[18] True faith works by love and endures to the end; there is a dead faith which even the devils have and tremble. The former alone saves.[19] Faith "is a state of mind in which eternal life begins in us and induces our understanding to assent to the unseen but irrefutable truths which the inspired Scriptures reveal in a divine way."[20] "It is the foundation of the other virtues with which the Church of Christ is in fellowship."[21] Such faith alone justifies. "Through the law no one is justified, but through faith in Christ, because He removes from us the way of iniquity through the law of grace."[22] "Jesus Christ is the Mediator of our salvation,"[23] "the ground of all merit in the members of His Church."[24] Krummel adds: "The mode in which Hus represents the theory of justification is, however, very different from that of the later Reformers. He does not conceive justification to be a merely objective occurrence, a judicial act of God, but, being connected with faith, he looks upon it also as a subjective occurrence in man. Thus he says: 'If there is no time to do good works, faith alone is sufficient, as is shown by the case of the malefactor on the cross. But if there is time, then not faith alone, and not works alone, but both together are neces-

[17] Ibid.

[18] It is interesting to note, that while Krummel, following Schwabe, asserts the position of Hus on the subject of justification to be "wholly Protestant," Lechler, following Friedrich (a Catholic), maintains that it is wholly Roman Catholic!

[19] De Ecclesia, Hist. et Mon., I, p. 259.

[20] Com. on Chap. I. of St. James, Hist. et Mon., II. p. 182.

[21] De Ecclesia, Hist. et Mon., I. p. 259.

[22] "Per legem nemo justificatur, sed per fidem Christi, quia amovet viam iniquitatis, et de lege gratiae." Com. Ps. xviii (xix), Hist. et Mon., II. p. 144.

[23] Com. Chap. i, of 1 Corinthians, Hist. et Mon., II, p. 132.

[24] Sermo, Ib., p. 79.

sary for salvation and justification.' Justification and sanctification, faith and love, he conceives to be one. Grace, which produces faith, produces also in man a religious moral regeneration, in the strength of which he loves God and man with all his heart and, of necessity, performs good works."[25]

In regard to the Church Hus expresses his views at great length.[26] The representation given in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew shows,[27] that the Church is the communion of all men under Christ as their King. Hence it consists both of sheep and of goats. The holy catholic or universal Church, on the contrary, comprises those only who have been predestinated unto everlasting life by the omniscient God. It includes such as live on earth, such as are dead, and such as are yet to be born; all these are the sheep. Distinct from them are the wicked who live in impenitence, whether they are outwardly in fellowship with the true members or not; these are the goats.

The holy catholic Church is composed of three parts: the militant, or the predestinated on earth; the sleeping, or the predestinated in purgatory; and the triumphant, or the saints in their eternal rest. This is the only true Church, and no human agency, but God alone, can make a man a member of it. For there is a great difference between being of the Church and in the Church. The predestinated are its members, and Christ is its only head. He, too, constitutes its sole foundation; not Peter, nor the Popes. Christ is the rock on which the Church is built; Peter is the Church, which has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The power of the keys is general and particular. In virtue of the former, every Christian has the right to engage in spiritual work, such as teaching, advising, warning and comforting; in virtue

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[25] Krummel pp. 389 and 390. This was essentially the position of the Brethren in the time of Bishop Luke of Prague.

[26] Tractatus de Ecclesia, in 23 chapters.

[27] "And before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats." Matt. xxv, 32.

of the latter, the clergy preach the word and administer the sacraments. The whole system of the Romish papacy is radically wrong. It rests upon the false assumption that Christ made Peter pope. Christ never transferred His authority to one apostle; Peter never claimed the primacy. A single man, mortal and fallible, cannot possibly govern the Church scattered over the whole earth. This tendency to centralization is dangerous. There ought to be national churches, not one ecclesiastical government in the heart of Italy.

The laity have rights and privileges in the Church as well as the clergy and the civil rulers. It is the duty of civil rulers to help the laity to secure these rights, so that their voice, too, may be heard in the management of ecclesiastical affairs. Remembering the age in which he lived, this position of Hus is very remarkable.

Among the means of grace which have been appointed in the Church, the Word and the Sacraments attract his special attention.

As regards the former, its divine origin, power and sufficiency, and the fact that it has been given for the salvation of man, captivate his whole heart. He urges that it must be absolutely free; that neither the Pope nor a Bishop, nor any other man, has the right to prevent humble ministers from preaching; that papal or episcopal permission to proclaim the Gospel need not be given to a Presbyter or Deacon; that such priests as renounce this duty through fear of excommunication, or such laymen as, constrained by the same fear, desist from hearing the Word, betray Christ; that an excommunicated minister is not bound to relinquish preaching until it has been fully established that there are sufficient grounds for his excommunication.[28] This last point Hus consistently carried out in his own case.

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[28] Defensio quorundam Art. J. Wicliff. In primo Actu. Determinatio J. H., de Praedicatione et Auditione Verbi Dei, Hist. et Mon., I. pp. 139–146. As this title shows, the most of the above points were either articles of Wycliffe defended by Hus, or deductions from such articles.

His conviction of the inestimable price of the Word and of the transcendent importance of proclaiming it is further shown by the interesting fact, which Lechler has pointed out,[29] that the earliest letter extant from his hand urges upon the Archbishop of Prague the necessity of providing for the preaching of the Gospel, and that his last letter, written a week before his death, closes with the solemn admonition, addressed to Hawlik, his pupil, in charge of the Bethlehem Chapel: "Preach the Word of God."

As concerns the sacraments, Hus recognizes seven of them, namely, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Penance, Confirmation, Ordination, Marriage and Extreme Unction, and defines them in the authorized way;[30] but he protests against ascribing efficacy to them as an *opus operatum*, and teaches that God, not the priest, gives them efficacy, of which faith on the part of the recipient is an absolute condition. Hence, in the case of the Lord's Supper, while he accepts the doctrine of transubstantiation, he sets forth the believer as the only worthy partaker of this sacrament, who alone receives the essence of it, that is, the grace of being united with the Lord Jesus Christ;[31] and, in the case of penance, ascribes the real power to forgive iniquities exclusively to God, and looks upon genuine contrition of heart and a sincere confession of sin as essential.[32]

The views of Hus on the Virgin Mary and the saints are undecided. Sometimes he teaches the Romish doctrine and

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[29] Lechler, II. p. 234.

[30] The scholastic divinity of the age in which Hus lived accepted seven sacraments; they were not sanctioned by the Church until 1439, at the Council of Florence. Lechler, II. pp. 248 and 249.

[31] "Rem sacramenti, quae est gratia, qua unitur Domino Jesu Christo." De Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, Hist. et Mon., I. p. 51. Also, De Corpore Christi in Sacramento Altaris," Hist. et Mon., II., pp. 511-512. After Hus had gone to Constance, Jacobellus of Mies began to advocate the giving of the cup to the laity, and Hus approved of this position, in several letters and in a treatise entitled: De Sanguine Christi sub specie vini a Laicis sumendo. Hist. et Mon., I. pp. 52–54.

[32] De Ecclesia, Ib. I. p. 267.

then again seems to reject it; at all times, however, he warns against the abuses to which the invocation of the Virgin and the saints may lead, and, in particular, against the idolatry practiced with pictures and relics. Adoration, in the true sense, is never to be given to a creature.[33]

He believes also in the existence of purgatory and does not condemn prayers for souls that are there undergoing purification. The Bible, he says, gives no warrant for such intercessions, but they naturally grow out of the communion of saints. In this case too, however, he protests against the evils which the usage produces, and denounces the sale of masses for the dead and the avariciousness of the priests in encouraging this practice. Nor does he fail to teach that salvation can be gained on earth alone and that the surest way to eternal life is to follow, in this life, the instructions of Christ and the Apostles.[34] "But who knows of a single soul that has been freed from purgatory by thirty masses?"[35]

Finally we find that Hus treats, with much force, of obedience and brings it into connection with the papacy.[36] "Nothing," he says, "constitutes a more essential part of religion than the obedience which men owe to God."[37] But there is a difference between true and false obedience. True obedience is, to do the will of God; false obedience, to do what is contrary to the will of God. True obedience consists in refusing to fulfill any command which is injurious to the Church, or interferes with the worship of the Lord, or stands in the way of one's own salvation. Even the Pope and his college of Cardinals may err; he may be deceived by avarice, or mistaken through ignorance. To resist the Pope, when he errs, is to obey the Lord Jesus Christ.

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[33] De Adoratione, Hist. et Mon., II. pp. 512–515. "Vera adoratio —— nullo modo debemus in aliquam creaturam dirigere," pp. 513 and 514.

[34] Sermo de exequiis seu suffragio Mortuorum, Hist. et Mon., II. pp. 76–84.

[35] Ibid, p. 81.

[36] De Ecclesia, Cap. xvii, &c., Hist. et Mon., I. p. 287, &c.

[37] Ibid, p. 302.

Such is a brief review of the doctrinal system of Hus. It is imperfect, but contains all the elements of a body of pure divinity and develops some of them to evangelical completeness. Had his days been prolonged, he would have attained to a still clearer insight into the truth, and might, perhaps, have anticipated the position and even the work of Martin Luther.

CHAPTER VII.

Hus and the Council of Constance. *A. D.* 1414–1415.

Alarming State of the Church.—A General Council called at Constance.—Hus invited by Sigismund to appear before this Body.—The royal Promise.—Preparations for the journey.—Arrival at Constance.—The Safe-Conduct.—Arrest and Imprisonment of Hus.—Confined in the Dominican Monastery.—Arrival of Sigismund.—Persuaded by the Cardinals to leave Hus in their Hands.—His Sufferings in the Castle of Gottlieben.—His Trial and its three Hearings.

THE state of the Church was continually growing worse. Not only did the schism remain a disgraceful source of confusion, but the general corruption of the clergy and the wickedness which showed itself among the laity were also bringing about the most alarming results. Iniquity in many shapes, each more hideous than the other, stalked abroad unchecked and defiant.[1] Under such circumstances the better classes of Latin Christendom were unanimous in urging the convocation of a General Council. They found a warm supporter in Sigismund, who both in virtue of his office as Roman King and from personal conviction took energetic

[1] As evidence we adduce the testimony of Pileus of Genoa, a R. C. Archbishop, who writes: "The Roman Catholic Church has become a stepmother. The vices which show themselves openly are these: tyranny among the clergy, confusion in the churches, quarrels, lawsuits, suppression of the liberty of the Church, a despising of all virtue and morals, neglect of learning, ridiculing justice, oppressing the people, endless wars between the princes, sacrilege, profanation of that which is holy, adultery, murder, theft, simony, in a word, everything that can be called infamous." Von der Hardt, II. p. 70. Schwabe, pp. 170–186, gives an appalling array of testimony gathered from many writers and showing the corruption of the clergy in particular.

measures to bring about the desired end. The negotiations were protracted and delicate, especially with Pope John the Twenty-third, who, in view of his own character and course, had reason to hesitate; but they proved successful at last. On the thirtieth of October, 1413, a call was issued convening a Council on the first of November, 1414, at Constance.

Before this Council Sigismund invited Hus to plead his cause. He promised him a safe-conduct, a fair hearing, and a free return to Bohemia even in the event of his not submitting to the decision of the Fathers. Barons Henry Lefl von Lazan and Mikes von Jemnist were the bearers of this message.[2]

In spite of the warnings of some of his friends and of one of the King's own messengers,[3] Hus unhesitatingly accepted the invitation. The prospect of meeting, in the presence of the representatives of the entire Western Church, the charges which had been brought against him and of explaining his views, filled him with joy. There was nothing which he

[2] Palacky, IV. p. 306; Krummel, p. 429. The above promise of Sigismund is set forth by Hus himself in a letter to his friends in Bohemia sent from Constance, subsequent to the eighth of June, 1415 Speaking of Sigismund he writes: "Had he at least said, 'Behold I have given him a safe-conduct; if he therefore does not wish to submit to the decision of the Council I will send him to the King of Bohemia with our sentence and the testimony, and he and his clergy may judge him!' For he (Sigismund) made known to me by Henry Lefl and others, that he intended to secure for me a sufficient hearing, and that, if I would not submit to the judgment pronounced, he intended to send me back in safety," (vellet me dirigere salvum vice versa). Documenta Hus, Ep. No. 70, p. 114: Hist. et Mon., I. pp. 87 and 88. Berger, pp. 92–94, the object of whose entire work is to screen Sigismund, asserts that the King could not have given such a promise, and that Baron Lazan either said more than he was authorized to say, or that the memory of Hus failed him when he wrote the above letter! Both of these suppositions are, in the highest degree, unlikely. Would the messenger of Sigismund, in a case of such importance, venture to deliver anything but the exact message? Is it credible that Hus would forget the exact tenor of a promise on which his life depended?

[3] Mikes von Jemnist, who said to him: "Know of a certainty, Master, that thou wilt be condemned." "I think he knew the intention of the King," Hus remarked when a prisoner at Constance. Documenta Hus, p. 114.

desired more: nay, might he not, when the object of his work in Bohemia came to be understood, be permitted to co-operate with the Fathers in reforming the Church?

Conrad von Vechta, the new Archbishop of Prague, who had succeeded Albicus on the retirement of the latter, having convened a Diocesan Synod (August, 1414,) Hus, who had meantime returned to the city, asked permission, through his advocate Jesenic, to appear before this body in order to give an account of his faith. Although this request was declined the Archbishop verbally bore testimony to his orthodoxy, and the Papal Inquisitor, Nicholas, Bishop of Nazareth, gave him a written testimonial to the same effect. Having posted a placard which called upon all who charged him with heresy to meet him at the Council and sent a letter to Sigismund expressive of his gratitude for the promised hearing, he went back to Krakowec.[4] There he composed a refutation of the articles drawn up by his enemies, as soon as his intention of going to Constance had become known; addressed a touching letter to his pupil Martin, which was to be opened only in case of his death and which set forth several small legacies;[5] and wrote a farewell epistle to the Bohemians full of apostolic unction, instinct with the spirit of godliness, and earnest in its requests for their prayers, that God would give him strength to glorify the Gospel, if it need be, even by his death.[6] The nearer the time of his departure from Bohemia approached, the more he realized the risk which he was assuming, and the less he expected a favorable reception on the part of the Council.

The expenses of his journey were assumed by his friends; in order to cover the cost of the prosecution, those of the clergy of Bohemia and Moravia who were opposed to him

[4] The letter is found in Documenta Hus, pp. 69–71. That Berger, p. 94, bases upon this letter, which says nothing of the King's promise of personal safety but expresses the willingness of Hus to die for the truth, a new argument to show that such a promise was never made, is another instance of the illogical deductions with which his work abounds.

[5] Documenta Hus, No. 38, p. 47.

[6] Ibid, No. 37, pp. 71–73.

eagerly contributed a large amount. Sigismund and Wenzel conjointly furnished an escort, consisting of Barons John von Chlum, Wenzel von Duba and Henry von Chlum.[7] John von Chlum was accompanied by his secretary, Peter of Mladenowic;[8] and Kardinalis of Reinstein, a priest and friend of Hus, together with several other Bohemians, joined the party.

On the eleventh of October they left Prague with more than thirty horsemen and three wagons, in one of which Hus rode in his priestly robe. Their route lay through Bernau, Sulzbach, Hersbruck, Lauf and Nuremberg. To his surprise the inhabitants of these towns, Germans though they were, gave him a friendly reception. He had frequent discussions on theological questions with the clergy and caused posters to be affixed to the church doors, inviting such as had charges against him to present them to the Council. From Nuremberg, where the streets were crowded with people eager to see him, Baron Duba traveled to the Rhine to get the safe-conduct from Sigismund, while the rest of the party went directly to Constance. They arrived on the third of November, and entered the city amidst a great concourse. Hus took lodgings with a pious widow, named Fida, on St. Paul Street.[9]

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[7] Henry von Chlum, called Lazembock, did not join the escort until after its arrival at Constance.

[8] Peter of Mladenowic, a Bachelor of the University of Prague, wrote a full account of all that happened to Hus at Constance: Relatio de J. Hus causa in Constantiensi Concilio acta, found, in its original form, in Documenta Hus, pp. 237–324. It has also been given by Höfler, I. pp. 111–320, who has, however, fallen into a multitude of errors, as Palacky has abundantly shown (Palacky's Höfler, pp. 22–37.) The narrative contained in Hist. et Mon, I. pp. 1–37, as also in the second part of Epistolae Hus, edited by Luther, is a free rendering, with interpolations and omissions, of the author's work and belongs to the sixteenth century.

[9] Hus gave an account of his journey in letters to his friends in Bohemia. Documenta Hus, pp. 66–83; Hist. et Mon., pp. 72 etc.; Bonnechose, pp. 86–88. The house in which he lodged is still standing, No. 328, St. Paul Street. It is three stories high, with an attic, and has two wings. On the outside wall is a picture of Hus and the following inscription: "Herberge des Böhmischen Reformators Mag. Joh. Hus, im Jahr 1414;" to the left of the picture is a bust of Hus, put up toward the end of the last century, with another inscription in German; to the right a Bohemian inscription.

The grandest ecclesiastical pageant which the Middle Ages saw was the Council of Constance. It continued for nearly four years, and brought together the Roman King, the Pope, thirty Cardinals, four Patriarchs, thirty-three Archbishops, one hundred and fifty Bishops, several hundred Doctors of Theology and inferior clergy, four Electors, twenty-four Princes and Dukes, seventy-eight Counts and six hundred and seventy-six Barons, together with a multitude of retainers, merchants, artizans and visitors, so that the number of strangers was never less than fifty thousand.[10] Booths were erected outside of the walls for the accommodation of those who could not find room in the city itself.

Constance is beautifully situated on the Swiss bank of the Rhine and occupies a projecting angle of ground at the western extremity of the *Bodensee*. At the time of the Council it was a free imperial town, with fifty thousand inhabitants; now it belongs to Baden, and its population, as though the curse of God had lighted upon the place, has dwindled to ten thousand.

Barons Chlum and Lazembock notified the Pope of the arrival of Hus and asked that he might be protected. "Not if he had killed my own brother," was the answer of John the Twenty-third, "would I, in any wise, wish to molest him, or permit him to be molested. He must be safe while he is at Constance."[11] On the following day, November the fifth, which saw the opening of the Council, Duba reached the city and brought the safe-conduct.

This document has given rise to a protracted controversy.[12] Did it, or did it not, guarantee personal safety under all circumstances? The latest and most astute champion on the Romish side of this question is Dr. William Berger, in his *Johannes Hus und König Sigismund*. He tries to prove, and

[10] Palacky, IV. p. 307, Note 420.

[11] Mladenowic Relatio, Doc. Hus, p. 246.

[12] The safe-conduct was written in Latin. Its original text is given in full in Hist. et Mon., I. p. 2; Documenta Hus, pp. 237 and 238; and Berger, pp. 178 and 179. Krummel, p. 452, furnishes a German version.

in so far as its mere wording is concerned, successfully, we think, that the paper furnished by Sigismund was a passport, drawn up in the style of other passports, protecting Hus from illegal interference and violence, but not from the consequences of a legal sentence pronounced by competent authority; and shows further, that "judicial safe-conducts,"[13] which absolutely guaranteed personal safety for a limited period, were written in a different form. Yet, even if we concede these points, which are not new but have in substance been urged by earlier writers, Sigismund remains branded with disgrace and the Council guilty of infamy. For the passports issued in view of its convocation, by the Roman King, as the head of the Empire, declaring their bearers to be under its "protection and tutelage," had, in every instance, a wider significance than ordinary documents of this kind; in the case of Hus, however, who had been formally assured of personal safety by two royal deputies, the paper set a seal to this promise and assumed the force of a judicial safe-conduct. That Sigismund himself took this view of the case, is evident from the indignation which he manifested on finding that the instrument had not been respected; that Hus supposed himself to be under the aegis of a royal pledge, his letter proves which we have cited in another connection; that his countrymen at home interpreted the document in the same way, becomes clear from the solemn protest against his breach of faith, forwarded to the King, by two hundred and fifty Bohemian noblemen, and their unanimous demand that Hus should be set at liberty, have a public hearing, and then be sent back to Bohemia;[14] that even the Council practically conceded the point at issue, is shown by its resolutions exonerating Sigismund. Moreover, the very argument which Dr. Berger urges, recoils upon himself. Hus, he says, held a passport which was to defend him from illegal interference and violence. What could have been more illegal than his arrest and imprisonment, and cruel sufferings,

[13] "Das gerichtliche Geleite," p. 105.

[14] Letter in full, in original Bohemian, translated into Latin by Palacky, dated May 12, 1415, given in Documenta Hus, pp. 550–553.

without a hearing, without a trial, without a sentence, before the Council had even taken up his case? To attempt a justification of the treatment which the Bohemian Reformer received at Constance, is an intellectual feat that can be performed only by the pliant mind of a Roman Catholic reasoner.

Hus was relieved from his sentence of excommunication and permitted to go about the city; but he preferred to remain in his lodgings, where he prepared for his defence before the Council. Meanwhile his personal enemies, and among them especially Michael de Causis and Wenzel Tiem, bestirred themselves. About the middle of November, they were joined by Stephen Palec, John the Iron and others, who arrived from Bohemia with his latest writings. These men posted placards denouncing him as a most obstinate and dangerous heretic; they spread false reports, that he intended to preach against the clergy and that he had tried to escape from the city in a covered wagon; they hurried from bishop to cardinal, and from cardinal to bishop, urging his immediate arrest.

On the twenty-eighth of November he was cited to an interview with the Cardinals. Baron Chlum, who happened to be with him when their messengers arrived, vehemently protested against his going but Hus declared his willingness to obey the summons. His hostess, in great anxiety, met him in the hall and wept as he gave her his blessing. On leaving the house he found the street full of soldiers, who immediately surrounded him and conveyed him to the episcopal palace, where the Cardinals awaited his coming. They interchanged a few words with him and then retired, leaving him in the hands of a guard. Chlum staid at his side. The afternoon passed in a painful suspense. Toward evening a papal officer appeared and dismissed the Baron; Hus, he said, must remain in the palace. Shameful perfidy! He was a prisoner, in spite of the safe-conduct, in spite of the King's pledge and the Pope's promise. When this breach of faith had been determined on, at a meeting of the Cardinals held at four o'clock in the afternoon, Palec, Michael and other enemies of

Hus, who were present, danced round the apartment exclaiming: "Ha, ha, now we have him! He shall not escape until he has paid the uttermost farthing!"[15]

Chlum, burning with indignation, hastened to the Pope, whose lodgings were in the palace, reminded him of his promise, threatened him with the displeasure of the King, and said that he would proclaim to all the world how grossly the safe-conduct had been violated. But John the Twenty-third cast the responsibility upon "his brethren," as he called the Cardinals, and privately assured him that his own relations to them were of such an uncertain character as to render any interference on his part impossible. "But he deceived him," pithily remarks the chronicler.[16]

At nine o'clock in the evening Hus was taken to the house of the precentor of the cathedral, where he remained a week, closely guarded. On the sixth of December he was removed to the Dominican monastery, on the shore of the lake. From the windows of this building the eyes of the monks could range far over the placid waters and see, in the distance, the snow-clad peaks of the Appenzell Alps glittering in the sun, or covering their sheen with a soft and transparent veil of mist. But the harassed soul of Hus was not to be cheered with such manifestations of God's glory. A few feet from the water's edge rose a round tower, containing a dark and gloomy dungeon.[17] Into this he was mercilessly cast. The drain of the convent passed close by, poisoning the air with its exhalations; he fell ill and was brought to the brink of the grave. At the instance of the physicians whom the Pope sent—that a natural death might be prevented—he was confined in a more healthful cell (January the eighth, 1415), and treated with less rigor, being allowed to read and write and

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[15] Mladenowic Relatio, Documenta Hus, p. 250.

[16] Documenta Hus, p. 252. John the Twenty-third hoped to win the favor of the Cardinals by imprisoning Hus. In a letter which he wrote to the University of Paris, after his deposition, he boasted of what he had done.

[17] "Opacum vel tenebrosum carcerem." Documenta Hus, p. 252.

receive visitors. In this convent he remained for two months and a half.[18]

The Council appointed a commission of three prelates to investigate the charges against him. Weak and helpless though he still was, they began to worry him with questions and brought witnesses—on one day not less than fifteen—who were sworn in his presence, as the canonical law required. His request that he might be allowed the services of an advocate was, at first, granted but subsequently refused. A man accused of heresy, said the commissioners, had no right to expect the protection of the law. "Then let the Lord Jesus be my advocate," replied Hus, "He will soon judge you. To Him I have committed myself, as He committed Himself to God the Father."[19]

While the representatives of the Council were dealing thus unjustly with him, his friends continued to urge his liberation. John von Chlum was particularly active. He wrote to the King, importuned the Pope, tried to rouse all Constance; but his efforts were fruitless. Sigismund, indeed, sent a message requiring the immediate release of Hus, and when he arrived in person, on the Eve of Christmas, and found that his order had not been obeyed, repeatedly and vehemently demanded of the Cardinals that they should respect his safe-conduct, threatening to leave the city, if they would not yield. He actually did withdraw for a short time. But they remained inflexible. Faith, they asserted, need not be kept with a heretic; the Council could free him from his obligations; he had no right, without its consent, to give Hus a safe-conduct; if he left Constance, they would instantly break up the

[18] The Dominican Monastery at Constance is now the Insel Hotel, but retains some vestiges of its ancient character. The long cloisters, surrounding an open court, remain intact, and the old refectory, with scarcely any changes, is used as a restaurant whose doors open upon a narrow terrace extending to the water's edge. On this terrace, around the very tower in which Hus languished, refreshments are served in summer. The Gothic chapel of the convent is the dining saloon, the walls of which are hung with tapestry that can be removed, displaying the original frescoes underneath.

[19] Hist. et Mon., I. p. 92, Ep. xlix; Höfler, I. p. 141.

Council. The King allowed himself to be persuaded, and on New Year's day, 1415, formally withdrew his protest, declaring that, in all matters of faith, the Fathers should be free to act as they might think best. He sacrificed Hus for the sake of the Council.[20]

This body, however, did not at once take up his case. It was the schism which first engaged its attention; and the idea gained ground that all the three Popes should be set aside. In the case of John the Twenty-third other considerations also came into play. Latin Christendom, as with one voice, had brought charges against him. His deposition was imminent. In order to avoid this he resigned his crown, March the second, but subsequently fled to Schaffausen. Thereupon the keepers of Hus, who were John's servants, delivered the keys of the cell to Sigismund and followed their master. This was the King's opportunity; he could now redeem his word and wipe a foul blot from his escutcheon. Chlum, Duba and others, besought him to do so; and their entreaties were supported by the most urgent letters which he had previously received from Bohemia, Moravia and even Poland. But influenced again by the Cardinals, he declined, and sanctioned their decision to commit Hus into the keeping of the Bishop of Constance.

About four miles from the city this prelate had a castle, on the Rhine, called Gottlieben, with two quadrangular towers nearly two hundred feet high. In the night of Palm Sunday, the twenty-second of March, Hus, heavily fettered, was taken, in a boat, to this castle and made to ascend its western tower to the very top, his chains clanking dismally as, with weary steps, he mounted the long stairs. Immediately beneath the roof was a small wooden structure, or cage, divided into two compartments. Into one of these he was thrust; his feet were chained to a block; at night his right arm was pinioned to the wall. In this miserable plight he remained for more

[20] This Sigismund himself practically confessed in a letter, dated Paris, March the twenty-first, 1416, written to the Bohemian nobles. Documenta Hus, p. 612.

than two months, cruelly suffering from hunger and cold and painful attacks of hemorrhage, neuralgia and stone, brought on by the damp spring-winds which swept through the windows of the tower.[21]

For a time his friends knew not what had become of him; when they discovered the place of his imprisonment, they bribed his keepers and tried to alleviate his sufferings. Nor did they fail to protest against the cruel treatment he was enduring. At several formal interviews, in the latter half of May, with representatives of the Council, they demanded that he should be set free, offering bail to any amount and in any form, and that he should have a public trial. Such a trial was promised and fixed for the fifth of June; as regarded his liberation, however, it was, the Fathers said, not to be thought of, even if bail were given "a thousand times." Nevertheless he was removed from Gottlieben, about the beginning of June, brought back to the city, and confined, with far less rigor, in the Franciscan Monastery.

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[21] Dr. Berger—impartial historian!—describes the cruelties which Hus suffered in this tower as follows: "Dort wurde Hus in einem luftigen Gemache und viel schärfer bewacht als zuvor." (Berger, p. 143.) The present Castle of Gottlieben is comparatively a modern building and fronts the Rhine, but the two ancient towers, which flank the rear and are covered with ivy, remain unchanged. In the western, first a wooden stairway, then a circular one of stone, and next two more wooden stair-cases, lead to the prison of Hus which is still to be seen, each of its two compartments being in the form of a parallelogram. Gottlieben is the property of Count Larrasch, of Vienna. In the museum of the *Rosen-Garten*, at Constance, interesting relics are preserved: the block of stone to which Hus was chained, which is about one foot thick and two feet square; the wooden door of his dungeon, with its massive lock, huge bolt and staple for a padlock, having a smaller door in the middle, twelve inches long and four inches wide, according to our own measurement, with a clasp for another padlock, through which smaller door his food was handed him; the bricks with which his prison was paved and on which he traced words that are now illegible; and a large stone, three feet long, containing a narrow opening eighteen inches in length, crossed by two iron bars, which opening constituted his only window. This last relic evidently belonged to the dungeon in the Dominican Monastery, as did, in all probability, the bricks also, and perhaps the door.

A new commission of four prelates had meantime been named, under whose direction the trial began on the day appointed. The first sitting was disgraceful. No sooner did he attempt a defence than "immediately, with one voice, many cried out against him."[22] "They all screamed above measure," he himself writes,[23] besetting him on every side, so that he was obliged to turn continually and meet the vociferations uttered on his right hand and on his left, behind his back and before his face. He attempted to show that the articles drawn from his writings had been misrepresented—"Stop your sophistry, answer yes, or no!" was the cry. He cited the church-fathers—"That does not belong here," called out some. He was silent—"Now you are silent," exclaimed others, "that shows that you really entertain the errors laid to your charge!"[24] Amidst all this wild confusion Hus maintained a dignified bearing and showed a manly self-possession. As soon as order had, to some extent, been restored, he remarked in a loud voice that rang through the apartment: "I supposed, that in a Council like this there would be more dignity, order and piety." "What do you say?" answered the President, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, "you spoke more humbly in the Castle." "Because, in the Castle, no one screamed at me," replied Hus, "but here you all scream at once."[25] This rebuke told. The Council deemed an immediate adjournment to be the only way of escape from its disgraceful position.

Two more hearings took place, on the seventh and eighth of June, at both of which Sigismund was present and better order observed. On the last occasion, however, a tumult again broke out and grew so stormy that Hus, who had suffered all night long from neuralgia, nearly fainted.[26]

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[22] Documenta Hus, p. 275.

[23] Hus Briefe, p. 6.

[24] The above is reproduced almost literally from the Mladenowic Relatio, Documenta Hus, p. 275.

[25] Hist., et Mon., I. pp. 77 and 78. Ep. xii.

[26] Hist. et Mon., I. p. 31.

"They pressed upon me, with threats and deceitful words, to induce me to recant," he wrote to his friends in Bohemia.[27]

Although it cannot be denied that an opportunity was given him, at these two hearings, to defend his views, yet there was a total lack of equity. His explanations, however biblical, were disregarded; doctrines were brought forward which he had never taught; an absolute recantation was demanded, without the least regard to the authority or genuineness of the articles; and—most shameful of all!—their condemnation as heretical had been agreed upon and actually committed to writing before the trial began.[28] "We do not recognize a single trace of impartiality or real justice," writes Lechler.[29] A century later, Erasmus of Rotterdam forcibly said: "John Hus was burned, not convicted."[30]

The trial closed with a solemn asseveration on the part of Hus, that he could not retract articles which he had never taught, but that he would recant such as were his own, provided they were shown to be false. On being led out, John von Chlum warmly pressed his hand; Sigismund, on the contrary, not perceiving that the Bohemian Barons were still present, urged that Hus, unless he recanted, should be burned alive, and that, even in the event of a recantation, he should be deprived of his priestly office and forbidden to return to Bohemia.[31]

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[27] Ibid, p. 78.
[28] Krummel, p. 509; Lechler, II. p. 216.
[29] Lechler Ibid.
[30] "J. Hus exustus non convictus."
[31] Documenta Hus, pp. 314 and 315.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Hus. A. D. 1415.

Injustice of the Council.—Reasons why Hus was condemned.—Sentence delayed.—The Letters of Hus as an Evidence of his Faith and Courage.—His written Prayer.—Attempts to induce him to recant.—The fifteenth General Session of the Council in the Cathedral.—Hus brought before this Meeting.—The Sermon.—Reading of the Articles reputed as heretical.—Comments of Hus.—The Blush of Sigismund.—The Sentence.—Hus degraded.—Delivered to the secular Authorities.—On the way to Execution.—His last Words and Death.—His Ashes cast into the Rhine.—Martyrdom of Jerome of Prague.—Reflections.

THE eyes of John Hus were now opened. He saw the great gathering of the heads of the Latin Church, the representatives of its learning and piety, from whom he had expected at least an impartial hearing, swayed by the grossest injustice, practically rejecting the Bible as the norm of faith, clinging to traditional dogmas of human invention, stooping to the despicable trick of foisting on his system articles which he had never taught, and treating him as a common criminal. And yet the purpose for which this Council was convoked and the end which he had in view, were identical. Both desired to bring about a reformation of the Church; and he had not gone farther, or been bolder, in denouncing its sins than some of the Fathers who sat in judgment upon him. Why was it that he was rejected and that they were honored? The premises from which the Council and Hus severally proceeded were discrepant and irreconcilable. The one upheld the traditional authority of the Church to which authority the individual must unconditionally submit in matters of doctrine and faith; the other maintained the right of private

research and criticism. The one wished to reform the Church organically out of itself and through itself; the other contended for a reformation according to the image of primitive Christianity as set forth in the New Testament.[1] Hence the repeated protestations of Hus, that he was willing to be "instructed,"[2] meant nothing less than a refutation of his doctrinal articles from the Holy Scriptures.

But even this view of the case does not offer a sufficient explanation; there were other forces at work also. The inveterate animosity of the Bohemian clergy whose sins he had mercilessly uncovered, the unceasing machinations of his personal foes, the bitter antagonism of the realistic and nominalistic schools of philosophy, the national prejudices of the Germans against the Bohemians, intensified by the German exodus from the University of Prague, for which occurrence Hus was held mainly responsible—all these things had much to do with his condemnation.

Its formal sentence was delayed for an entire month, Hus remaining a prisoner in the Franciscan Monastery. He knew that death, in a cruel form, was approaching, and prepared for it with the fortitude of the early martyrs. Sometimes a faint hope that God might yet see fit to deliver him, came into his mind, but it was like a dim ray of sunlight struggling through the clouds. He wrote to his friends and bade them farewell. These letters as well as others, sent from the Dominican Monastery, bring out his character in beautiful features and his faith in all its manly strength.[3]

The patience which he exercises amidst his sufferings is

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[1] Palacky, IV. pp. 308 and 309.

[2] The word which Hus invariably used was *informari*.

[3] Four of these letters are found in Luther's German publication (Hus Briefe); a number of them in his Latin Collection (Epistolae Hus); the most of them in Hist. et Mon., pp. 72–108; and all of them, as far as they are known to exist, in Documenta Hus, pp. 83–150, where they are given in their only correct form. In the other works the translation of the Bohemian letters is often faulty. The title which Luther assigns to his Latin collection is characteristic: Epistolae quaedam, etc., J. H., quae solae satis declarant Papistarum pietates, esse Satanae furias.

wonderful. "They are," he says, "a deserved punishment on account of my sins, and a sign of God's love."[4] He forgives his personal enemies and moves Palec to tears by begging his pardon for the sharp words with which he has addressed him. The smallest favors excite his deepest gratitude. He can never forget the grasp of Baron Chlum's hand at the Council; he loves to tell of the kindness of his keepers, especially of one Robert, at whose request he composes, while the theologians of the Church are denouncing his writings as full of pernicious errors, short religious treatises which instruct this unlettered man and fill his heart with joy. The ordeal that is drawing ever nearer leads him to Christ. He does not rely upon himself, but upon divine grace and strength. "O holy Lord Christ!" he writes, two weeks before his death, in closing a letter to his friends at Constance, "draw us after Thee. We are weak, and if Thou dost not draw us, we cannot follow Thee. Give us a strong and willing spirit, and when the weakness of the flesh appears, let Thy grace go on before us, accompany and follow us. For without Thee we can do nothing, least of all suffer a cruel death for Thy sake. Grant a willing spirit, a fearless heart, true faith, steadfast hope, perfect love, that for Thy sake we may, with patience and joy, surrender our life. Amen."[5]

It was the hope entertained both by the Council and Sigismund that Hus would, in the end, recant, which delayed the formal sentence. A recantation would give the victory to the Fathers; the intelligence of the growing excitement in Bohemia and Moravia could not but impress the King. Frequent attempts were made, by individual members of the Council, to induce Hus to yield to its decision; and, on the first of July, a number of prelates and eminent divines officially urged him to take this step. His answer was a written declination. Four days later, July the fifth, Sigismund sent deputies in his own name to make a last attempt.

[4] Hist. et Mon., I. p. 88. Ep. xxxvii.

[5] Documenta Hus, p. 131. Ep. 82.

Hus referred them to the paper with which he had furnished the first deputation; that paper, he said, contained his final reply. The next day, Saturday, July the sixth, was his forty-sixth birthday; he celebrated it at the stake, sealing his testimony with his blood.

The Council met in the Cathedral,[6] and held its fifteenth general session with extraordinary pomp. A strong guard brought Hus to the portal, where he was obliged to wait until the service of mass had been concluded, so that the holy mysteries might not be profaned by his presence. On entering he found, in the middle of the church, a small platform erected, with a table and wooden rack on which hung the vestments of a priest. He was assigned a place in front of this platform, and immediately knelt in silent prayer.[7] That prayer was heard. Hus was not only about to enter the noble army of martyrs, but also showed that he deserves to be counted among those heroes of faith "of whom the world was not worthy," "who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises." In that cathedral an ordeal awaited him which was calculated to torment his mind as severely as the fire would torment his body. He looked around and saw an august and imposing assembly. There was the King on an elevated throne, surrounded by the magnates of the Empire—the Elector Palatine Louis with the imperial globe, the Count of Nuremberg with the sceptre, the Duke of Bavaria with the crown, a Hungarian prince with the sword, and many other nobles in splendid armor and nodding plumes. There were the President of the Council, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, the other Cardinals and many prelates, robed in rich vestments and wearing

[6] The Cathedral of Constance, begun in 1048, is a large Gothic but otherwise unsightly building, which has been greatly changed since the time of the Council, both internally and externally, presenting therefore a very diferent appearance now from what it did then.

[7] Krummel, p. 537, says that Hus was made to ascend the platform as soon as he entered the church, and that he remained there until his degradation. Mladenowic, who is our principal authority, particularly says, Doc. Hus, p. 317, that he took his stand in front of the platform.

scarlet hats or jeweled mitres. There was an array of learned doctors of theology, of abbots and priests and monks, from almost every part of the Christian world. There, finally, appeared a throng of citizens and visitors all eager to see and hear, and filling the church to its utmost capacity. In the presence of this assembly Hus was to be sentenced and degraded. Every eye was upon him, but he flinched not; and, as occasion offered, uttered words so telling, so full of trust, so mighty in their power, that they have inspired the good and the true in all the centuries since. For it was not he that spoke, but the Spirit of his Father spoke in him.[8]

The proceedings began with a sermon, preached by the Bishop of Lodi, on the words of St. Paul, "that the body of sin might be destroyed,"[9] which words he applied to Hus as the heretic who was to be destroyed and to Sigismund as God's agent in so glorious a work, which would bring him "perpetual praise." Thereupon a report of the past proceedings was communicated, including the articles extracted as heretical from the writings of Hus. As soon as the first of these articles had been read, he protested that it did not correctly set forth his views, but was ordered to remain silent; and although he begged, for God's sake, to be allowed to speak, this request was refused and the vergers were told to silence him by force, if necessary. When he heard this, he fell upon his knees and lifted up his folded hands in mute appeal to heaven. The reading continued, but so flagrantly untrue were some of the accusations, that he made another effort to be heard and succeeded in interposing several comments, adding, in a loud voice, while his eyes were fixed full upon Sigismund, that in reliance on the safe-conduct granted him by the King, which was to protect him from violence, he had come to Constance of his own free will, in order to give an account of his faith. As he uttered these words a deep

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[8] Matt. x, 20.

[9] Rom. vi, 6. The sermon is given in full in Hist. et Mon., I. pp. 33 and 34.

blush overspread the royal countenance.[10] Additional formalities having been gone through with according to canonical law, Antonius, Bishop of Concordia, an aged prelate of venerable aspect, ascended the pulpit and published the formal sentence: The writings of Hus were to be publicly committed to the flames; he was to be degraded from the priesthood and to be punished as a heretic.[11] "Lord Jesus," he said as soon as this sentence had been read, "forgive mine enemies! Thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me. Forgive them for Thy great mercy's sake!" At this prayer the eyes of many prelates flamed with indignation and a mocking laugh burst from their lips.

The ceremony of degradation had been committed to six Bishops, who now commanded Hus to ascend the platform and array himself in the priestly vestments which were hanging there. When fully robed they once more exhorted him to recant and abjure his errors. Facing the vast assembly he spoke touching words, in a voice almost choked with emotion. "Behold, these Bishops demand of me that I shall recant and abjure. I fear to do this. For, if I complied, I would be false in the eyes of God and sin against my own conscience and divine truth; seeing that I have never taught what has been falsely charged against me, and that I have rather written and preached the contrary. There is

[10] Lechler, Berger and others omit the incident of the blush; Alzog, in his Roman Catholic Manual of Universal Church History, Cincinnati, 1876, Vol. II. p. 964, denies it and pronounces it to be an invention of the Bohemians, basing this assertion upon the fact that Mladenowic says nothing of it in his *Relatio*. Mladenowic, however, does report the incident, not in his *Relatio*, but in his brief Bohemian chronicle which, as Palacky, IV. p. 364, Note 470, tells us, is found in a Latin version in Hist. et Mon., II. pp. 515–520 (Vide p. 518). Von der Hardt, IV. p. 393, also relates the occurrence, but has evidently taken it from the Latin version of Mladenowic's chronicle, for he uses the very words there found. Of modern authorities, besides Palacky, Krummel, p. 541, Gillett, II. p. 55, Czerwenka, I. p. 105, and Neander, IV. p. 488, all accept the incident as historic.

[11] The sentence which was very lengthy, the first part relating to the writings of Hus and the second to himself, is given in full in Hist. et Mon., I. pp. 35 and 36.

another reason why I cannot recant. I would thereby offend not only the many souls to whom I have proclaimed the Gospel, but others also who are preaching it in all faithfulness."[12] "Now we see," exclaimed the Bishops, "how hardened he is in his wickedness and obstinate in his heresy!" Ordering him to descend, they pressed around him and snatched from his hand the chalice, saying: "We take from thee, thou cursed Judas, who hast forsaken the council of peace and become one with the Jews, this cup of salvation!" "But I," he answered, "confide in the Lord God Almighty, for whose name I patiently bear this blasphemy, and who will not take from me the cup of salvation, but will permit me, I am firmly persuaded, to drink it, this day, in His kingdom." Then they tore from his person the priestly vestments, piece by piece, each with a more fearful malediction, Hus replying with words of faith and hope. When the tonsure was to be effaced, a most unseemly wrangle occurred as to the manner in which this should be done, and whether a razor or shears should be used; at last it was cut in four directions with shears, and thus the last symbol of his priestly office disappeared. A paper cap, a yard high, in the shape of a pyramid, displaying the hideous picture of three devils struggling with one another for his soul, and the words *Hic est haeresiarcha*,[13] was then put upon his head, the Bishops saying: "Thus we deliver your soul to the devil!" Clasping his hands and lifting his eyes to heaven Hus replied: "But I commit it to my most gracious Lord Jesus Christ! For my sake He bore, though innocent, a much harder and heavier crown of thorns; why should I poor sinner not wear this lighter though blasphemous one for His name's and truth's sake?"

A formal announcement followed, that the degradation was completed and that Hus no longer had part in the Church, but was delivered to the secular arm for punishment. Sigis-

[12] Mladenowic Relatio, Doc. Hus, p. 320. Other sources give the address in a somewhat different form.

[13] "This is the Arch-heretic."

mund charged the Elector Palatine with its execution; the Elector told the burgher-master of Constance to issue the necessary orders; the burgher-master commanded his bailiffs and the executioners, who were in waiting, to convey Hus to the stake and forthwith burn him alive. When these directions had been severally given, the Council continued its session.

He was led first to the square in front of the Cathedral, that he might witness the burning of his writings. This spectacle provoked but a smile; for he well knew that however many copies might be destroyed at Constance, there were far more at Prague and throughout Bohemia. Then, walking between two servants of the Elector, guarded by more than one thousand armed men, and followed by a great multitude, he went forth to die. His step was firm, his bearing manly, his countenance full of joy. "He proceeded to his punishment as to a feast. Not a word escaped him which gave indication of the least weakness."[14] About eleven o'clock the procession reached the fatal spot. It was a meadow, known as the *Brühl*, outside of the city walls, to the left of the road to Gottlieben. As soon as he came near to the stake he knelt and prayed the thirty-first and fifty-first Psalms, with great fervency of heart, so that the people standing by were deeply moved. While thus engaged the paper cap fell from his head; one of the bailiffs replaced it with a brutal jest. The executioners now ordered him to rise. He obeyed, saying: "Lord Jesus Christ, this cruel and terrible punishment I will cheerfully and humbly bear for the sake of Thy holy Gospel and of the preaching of Thy blessed Word!" His wish to address the people was refused by the Elector, who commanded him to be burned without further delay,

[14] This is the testimony of that elegant Roman Catholic writer Aeneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius the Second. He speaks both of Hus and Jerome of Prague, and adds: "In the midst of the flames they sang hymns uninterruptedly to their last breath. No philosopher ever suffered death with such constancy as they endured the flames." Aen. Syl. Cap. xxxvi, p. 33.

granting him time merely to bid farewell to his keepers. He was bound to the stake with seven moistened thongs and a heavy chain, which was wound round his neck. "Willingly," he said, "do I suffer myself to be bound with this chain for the sake of the holy name of my Lord Jesus Christ, who, for my sake, was far more cruelly bound." Some of the bystanders remarking that his face was turned to the East—a thing unseemly in the case of a heretic—his position was changed so that he looked to the West. Fagots of dry wood and straw saturated with pitch were now piled about him up to his chin. Everything was ready for the torch. In that supreme moment Count Oppenheim, the Marshal of the Empire, accompanied by the Elector, rode up to the stake and offered him his life, if he would recant. "What shall I recant," was his answer, in a voice clear and loud, "not being conscious of any errors? I call God to witness that I have neither taught nor preached what has been falsely laid to my charge, but that the end of all my preaching and writings was to induce my fellow-men to forsake sin. In the truth which I have proclaimed, according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the expositions of holy teachers, I will, this day, joyfully die." At these words both the nobles clapped their hands and rode off. It was the signal for the execution. The torch was applied. As soon as Hus saw the smoke rising he began to sing:

Christe, fili Dei vivi, miserere nobis!
Christe, fili Dei vivi, miserere mei!
Qui natus es ex Maria virgine—[15]

here the wind drove the flames into his face. His lips continued to move, but his last words had been spoken. The agony was short, and then

"Hus, the victim of perfidious foes,
To heaven upon a fiery chariot rose."

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[15] "Christ, Thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon us!
Christ, Thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me!
Thou who wast born of the Virgin Mary—"
—Mladenowic Relatio, Documenta Hus, p. 323.

When the fire had spent its strength, there appeared a charred post and hanging to it a ghastly corpse. Both were torn down by the executioners. They crushed the bones, cleft the skull, heaped up fresh fuel, and reduced these remains and the stake to ashes. The heart they stuck on a spear and held it in the flames until it was consumed. Every article of the martyr's dress and the paper cap, which the wind had blown away, were burned;[16] and, at last, the ashes were gathered and, together with the ground into which the stake had been driven, cast into the Rhine. There remained not the smallest memento of the Bohemian Reformer; but his countrymen came, dug out, on the place where the stake had stood, a quantity of earth and carried it as a sacred relic to their native land.[17]

Nearly a year later, on the thirtieth of May, 1416, Jerome of Prague suffered martyrdom on the same spot.[18] It is marked by a boulder on which are graven simply the names of the two friends and the dates of their death. Ivy and flowering creepers twine about the stone. Near by stands a Protestant church.[19]

[16] There is a discrepancy in the chronicles with regard to the clothing, some saying that Hus was burned in his clothes, others that they were stripped off before the execution and afterward burned.

[17] Aen. Syl., Cap. xxxvi, p. 33.

[18] True to the chivalry of his nature and the loyalty of his friendship Jerome came to Constance to aid Hus and plead his cause before the Council, but was advised, by his friends, to return to Bohemia as quickly as possible. On the way he was arrested, delivered to the Council, and cruelly imprisoned. Weakened by sickness and the protracted sufferings of his dungeon he was induced to recant, but soon retracted his recantation and died with the same fortitude as Hus.

[19] The incident given by Croeger, I. p. 35, of an old peasant woman dragging a faggot to the stake and eliciting from Hus the exclamation, "Sancta simplicitas!"—as also his reputed prophecy respecting the coming of Luther, are legends without historic foundation.

An important source for the history of Hus while at Constance is "Ulrich Richtental's Bericht über J. Hus," a manuscript diary written in quaint old German. The substance of this diary was twice printed, in 1536 and 1575; recently the oldest manuscript, that of Aulendorf, profusely illustrated with pen and ink sketches by the author, has been photographed. The Malin Library at Bethlehem contains a copy of this work.

Thus perished John Hus, in the prime of manhood, in the midst of his work, a noble man, a valiant confessor, the illustrious forerunner of the Unitas Fratrum. The full account which we have given of his life and labors belongs to its history. This Church would never have arisen if he had not promulgated principles which led to its birth. What he taught, the Brethren reproduced in their confessions and catechisms. What he preached, served their preachers as a model or was communicated to their congregations by lay-readers. The hymns which he composed, they sang with deep devotion. Even the new forms in which he clothed his native tongue became chiefly their heritage. The Reformation which he began, they, and not the Hussites, developed to its legitimate end. The martyr spirit which he manifested, they upheld. His weapons were theirs—not carnal, but the two-edged sword of the Word and the whole armor of God. Well, therefore, may the Brethren's Church still commemorate the day of his death and sing, in the course of its memorial office, with special reference to Hus and those of its fathers who, like him, sealed their testimony with their blood:

"For all Thy saints, O Lord,
Who strove in Thee to live,
Who followed Thee, obeyed, adored,
Our grateful hymn receive.

For all Thy saints, O Lord,
Accept our thankful cry,
Who counted Thee their great reward,
And strove in Thee to die."

PERIOD III.

THE HISTORY OF THE HUSSITES.

A. D. 1415–1457.

CHAPTER IX.

The Hussite Wars and Factions. *A. D.* 1415–1434.

Disturbances in Bohemia.—Letter of the Diet to the Council.—The Hussite League.—Adjournment of the Council.—Gathering of Hussites on Mt. Tabor.—Councilors killed at Prague.—Death of Wenzel.—First Crusade against the Hussites.—Zizka.—Victory at the Witkowberg.—The Articles of Prague.—The Diet renounces allegiance to Sigismund.—The Utraquists.—The Taborites.—The Orphans.—Further Crusades against the Hussites and Victory at Tauss.—The Council of Basle opens Negotiations with them.—The Compactata of Basle.—Defeat of the Taborites at Lipan.

THE fire of the stake at which John Hus suffered, kindled a conflagration that raged for years with insatiable fury.[1] As soon as the news that he had been executed reached Bohemia, all classes were profoundly moved. Many who had been undecided in their views, or timid in expressing them, openly joined his followers; the Roman Catholic priests were quickly expelled from their parishes which were given to Hussites; the houses of his personal enemies among the clergy at Prague were plundered, and siege was laid to the palace of

[1] Sources for this and the next chapters are: Palacky, Vols. IV. V. and VI.; Krummel's Ut. u. Tab.; Bezold Husitentum; Czerwenka, I.; Höfler's three Vols.; Palacky's Höfler; Lechler, II, Chap. VI. We present, in outlines, the history of the Hussites merely in so far as it is preparatory to the history of the Unitas Fratrum.

the Archbishop, who fled in dismay. The efforts of the Council to restore order increased the commotion. Letters which it issued justifying the execution of Hus, warning against his doctrines, and threatening his adherents with the severest discipline of the Church, called forth a defiant answer from the Diet (September the second, 1415,) signed by four hundred and twenty five barons and knights, full of reproaches and counter-menaces. Three days later, a Hussite League was formed, whose members pledged themselves to act in unison, to allow free preaching of the Gospel on their estates, to obey episcopal mandates in so far only as they were in harmony with the Holy Scriptures, to resist all unjust bans, and to uphold the decisions of the University of Prague.[2] Although the Fathers were encouraged, by the speedy organization of a Catholic League, to persevere in their denunciations and to enforce them with the ban, the Hussites were not overawed. Nearly three years passed by without effecting a change; so that when the Council finally adjourned, on the twenty-second of April, 1418, Bohemia and Moravia were still fired with excitement which was ready, at any moment, to burst into flames. Nor had anything been accomplished at Constance in the way of reform. The new Pope, Martin the Fifth, elected on the eleventh of November, 1417, disregarding the hopes of all Christendom, postponed this work to the next Council. Impotent end of the august convocation that had, for nearly four years, deliberated on ways and means to purify the Church!

A peculiar feature of the Hussite movement was the preaching of itinerant evangelists, in private houses or open fields. They attracted large congregations; and when Wenzel, in 1419, ordered the restoration of the catholic priests to the parishes from which they had been expelled, such congregations began to undertake pilgrimages to neighboring or more distant churches, where they could enjoy the Holy Communion under both kinds. A hill, in the vicinity

[2] Krummel's Ut. u. Tab., p. 8; Palacky, IV, p. 376.

of Austi, constituted a favorite gathering place and received the name of Mt. Tabor.[3] It was dotted with the tents of the Hussite clergy who had been driven from Austi, but continued to minister to the people that came to them in crowds.

On that hill, at the instance of Nicholas von Pistna,[4] an extraordinary meeting was held on the twenty-second of July. In the early hours of the morning there began to arrive, from all parts of Bohemia and Moravia, solemn processions carrying banners and the emblems of the Holy Sacrament, until a multitude of not less than forty-two thousand people was assembled. They gave each other a jubilant welcome as brethren and sisters in the Lord. To worship Him, under the open canopy of His own heaven, was their common object. Accordingly they divided, each sex by itself, into numerous congregations of which the priests took charge. Some preached, while others heard confessions, or administered the Lord's Supper under both kinds. At noon the entire assembly partook of a simple meal; the rest of the day was spent in religious conversation and social fellowship. The utmost decorum prevailed; no levity or worldly amusements were allowed. It was a primitive camp-meeting on a grand scale. Toward evening the pilgrims bade each other farewell, with mutual pledges to uphold the holy cause of the Cup and of free preaching; then each company, again in

[3] According to the latest researches of Palacky, Mt. Tabor was not that hill which subsequently constituted the site of the town of Tabor, but was situated somewhere in the region between this town and Bechin and Bernartic (Benarditz). Palacky, V. p. 85, and Note 64.

[4] Nicholas von Pistna, also called von Hus, or von Husinec, in view of his appointment as royal burggrave of the Castle of Hus, was attached to the court of Wenzel, who employed him in various affairs of state. In 1419 he fell under the displeasure of the King, because he asked that more churches might be granted to the Hussites, and was banished from Prague. Thereupon he became one of their leaders and an agitator among the peasantry in particular, working in unison with Zizka. He took part in the first Hussite campaign against the imperial crusaders, and died at Prague, on the twenty-fourth of December, 1420. He was not the hereditary lord of the Castle of Hus, and John Hus was not his vassal, as some writers maintain. Palacky, IV. p. 416, Note 525.

procession, took its way homeward and made the long summer-twilight vocal with sacred song. The owners of the fields, where the gathering had taken place, were liberally indemnified for the losses which it had occasioned. Similar meetings were subsequently held at the same place.[5]

An event of a different and most alarming character occurred at Prague. On Sunday, the thirtieth of July, a Hussite procession, led by John of Selau,[6] the priest of the church of Maria-Schnee, while passing the Council House of the *Neustadt*, was insulted by some of the councilors and their servants. A fearful tumult ensued; men rushed together from all sides with arms in their hands; the Council House was stormed and whoever attempted to oppose the mob was cut down without mercy; eleven councilors escaped, but seven others were hurled from an upper window and impaled on the spears and lances of the multitude below. Amidst peals of alarm the riot spread throughout the *Neustadt*, which was seized by the populace. Wenzel, who was at the castle of Wenzelstein, when informed of what had happened gave way to so terrible a burst of anger that a slight attack of apoplexy ensued; on the sixteenth of August he had a second and severe attack, in consequence of which he died in a few hours.

According to the compact of 1411, Sigismund was to be his successor. Blind to his own interests and obstinate in his resolution to crush the disturbances in Bohemia by force, he did not come to claim the kingdom, but appointed Queen

[5] There are two original and very valuable sources giving an account of the meeting on Mt. Tabor and of many other events in the history of the Hussites. The one is Brezowa's Diarium Belli Hussitici, and the other the Chronica of Pilgram, the Taborite Bishop. Both are frequently quoted by Palacky.

[6] John was a monk who had escaped from the Premonstrant Monastery of Selau. He became prominent during the hegemony of Prague, and for two years, 1420 to 1422, practically ruled Bohemia. In the latter year a party was formed against him, and he was secretly executed. Although originally a demagogue and fanatic, he showed, when in power, great moderation both in his measures and theology, and labored hard to unite the two great parties among the Hussites.

Sophia his regent and persuaded the Pope to inaugurate a crusade against the Hussites. Thus began one of the most remarkable, and at the same time terrific, wars the world has seen. For sixteen years Bohemia single handed defied all Europe.

The truth which history sets forth, more or less clearly, in every age, that when a nation is passing through a crisis it produces the man for the crisis, was anew established at the opening of this war. A greater general, a mightier man of valor, a more invincible leader than John Zizka von Troconow, never drew sword. He created armies. He originated the most novel and successful tactics. He never lost a battle. Through his indomitable energy, peasants and mechanics, armed with lances and slings, iron-pointed flails and clubs, were trained to beat down the mail-clad knights of Europe like straw and to scatter them like chaff. His barricades of wagons, now motionless as a rampart, and again circling over the field of battle in bewildering evolutions, were a notable instance of his military genius; and the battle hymn, "Ye who the Lord God's warriors are," etc., which he is said to have composed and which his men were accustomed to sing when advancing to the fight, shows that he made religion the source of their irresistible courage. Intolerant, fanatical and cruel, he was nevertheless a true patriot, disinterested and humble, striving to lead a godly and righteous life. Deeming himself an avenger of the divine law, he mercilessly destroyed all whom he believed to be its foes, and in the spirit of Israel's stern leader, "hewed in pieces before the Lord."[7]

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[7] 1 Sam. XV, 33. Zizka was born, probably about 1354, at Trocnow, now included in Forbes, about ten miles South East of Budweis, and was the owner of several small estates. He belonged to the lower order of nobility, is supposed to have, at one time, served under the king of Poland, and subsequently found a place at the court of Wenzel with whom he stood in high favor. He left the court and espoused the cause of the Hussites. At an earlier time he lost one of his eyes, in what way is not known; at the siege of Raby, in 1422, the other was destroyed by an arrow. Totally blind though he now was, he continued in command of the army; in time of battle he mounted a wagon and stood under the folds of his banner

The first crusade against the Hussites laid the foundation of his fame. On the fourteenth of July, 1420, at the *Witkowberg*, now known as the Zizka Hill, half a mile to the East of Prague, he totally defeated, with a far less numerous force, the imperialist army of more than one hundred thousand men. Sigismund fled in dismay from Bohemia, while the Archbishop of Prague went over to the Hussites.

About the same time they issued the celebrated Four Articles which set forth the principles for which they were contending. These articles were the following:

I. The Word of God is to be preached, in a proper way, by priests of the Lord, without let or hinderance, throughout the Kingdom of Bohemia.

II. The sacrament of the Holy Eucharist is to be administered, under each kind, of bread and wine, according to the institution of the Saviour, to all believers not disqualified to receive it by reason of mortal sin.

III. The secular dominion exercised by the clergy over worldly goods and possessions, to the prejudice of their spiritual office and the damage of civil authority, is to be taken away from them, and the clergy are to be brought back to the evangelical rule and apostolic practice of Christ and His disciples.

IV. All mortal sins, especially such as are public, as also all other irregularities contrary to the divine law, in whatever estate they may appear, are to be punished by those to whom it pertains.[8]

These four Articles of Prague, as they are commonly called, supported by many citations from Scripture and references to

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whose device was the cup. He died, October the eleventh, 1424, while besieging the Castle of Pribislau, and was buried first at Königgrätz and then at Caslau. Malin's Zizka, pp. 133–134; Millauer's Diplomatisch-hist. Aufsätze über J. Z, Prag, 1824; Palacky, IV. pp. 414–415, and V. pp. 358–371; Krummel's Ut. u. Tab., pp. 11, 69 and 70.

[8] Höfler, I. pp. 380–384, in Brezina de Gestis et variis accidentibus regni B., and II. p. 480, etc., in Pelhrizimow's Chronicon; Palacky, V. pp. 136–138; Krummel, Ut. u. Tab, pp. 34-38; Gillett, II. pp. 442–444.

the early Fathers of the Church, were drawn up in Latin, Bohemian and German, and sent to all parts of Europe. In June, of 1421, they were formally adopted by the Diet of Caslau, which body at the same time renounced allegiance to Sigismund and appointed twenty Regents to administer the government.

But there was no harmony among the Hussites. At an early day two principal parties arose, the Calixtines, or Utraquists, and the Taborites.[9]

The former received their tendency from the University of Prague. They were conservative and aristocratic, and as they continued to hold to the Romish doctrines and usages, except in so far as these were at variance with the Four Articles of Prague, they hoped for an eventual reconciliation with the Church, after it would have been purified and reformed. There resulted a policy which was both unstable and crooked.

The leaders of this party, to which the higher order of the nobility mostly belonged, were John of Jesenic, Jacobellus of Mies, Christian of Prachtic, John Kardinalis of Reinstein, Simon of Tisnovic, Simon of Rokycan, John of Pribram, Prokop of Pilsen, and Peter Payne, an Englishman, known as Master English.[10]

The germs of the Taborite party were planted in 1415, at Austi, where a rich weaver, one Pytel, opened his house to several Hussite leaders whose extreme views had given offence at Prague and who began to exercise an influence in opposi-

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[9] Palacky, V. pp. 191–193; Krummel's Ut. u. Tab., pp. 87–96; Lechler, II. pp. 472–474. The name Calixtines was derived from *Calix*, the cup in the Lord's Supper, which cup became the symbol of all the Hussites, and the name Utraquists from the words *sub utraque*, that is, the Communion under both kinds.

[10] He was expelled, as a follower of Wycliffe, from the University of Oxford and received by the University of Prague in 1417. Next to Jacobellus he was the leading theologian of the Hussites, but remained true to Wycliffe's doctrines, never fully joining any of the Bohemian factions, although he was reckoned first as a Utraquist, then as an Orphan, and finally as a Taborite. His name occurs for the last time in 1452. Palacky, VII. p. 453, &c.

tion to its University, drawing together a large number of adherents. In 1420 Tabor was founded, by order of Zizka, which town gave to the entire faction its name and became its chief and formidable seat.[11]

The tendency of this party was progressive, radical and democratic, leaning, in its political aspect, toward a republican form of government with an abolition of all differences of rank, and taking a theological position which was far in advance of the Articles of Prague and, in almost every point, at variance with the Romish Church. The Taborites accepted the Bible as the only source of faith and rule of practice, recognizing in Christ the only Lawgiver of His people. They acknowledged Baptism and the Lord's Supper as the only sacraments, and taught that the latter may be celebrated in any place and not merely in a consecrated church or chapel, but that the ministration of a priest guilty of mortal sin is not valid; they rejected transubstantiation, purgatory, prayers and alms for the dead and the invocation of the saints; they denounced fasting as a penance, the idolatry practiced with relics, images and pictures, the use of priestly vestments, the singing of the hymns of the Roman Catholic Church, and the distinction which it made between bishops and priests, claiming that priests have the right to elect and ordain bishops.

The leaders of this party, which embraced nobles of low rank, burghers and the great mass of small land-holders and peasants, were Nicholas Pelhrimow or Pilgram, the only Bishop whom the Taborites appointed, Wenzel Koranda of

[11] Tabor, which was not far from Austi, was situated on a broad hill crowned with the Castle of Hradist and bounded, on one side, by the Luznic and, on the other, by a tributary stream. Steep rocks surrounded the place, and the only passage to it was a narrow neck of land but a few paces in width. This natural position which rendered the town almost impregnable was strengthened by massive fortifications. Within these walls war and religion maintained a strange fellowship and gave to Tabor a character wholly its own. The inhabitants were divided into a "Field and a House Community," the former carrying on war, the latter engaging in the pursuits of peace. At regular intervals the members of these Communities, each of which had its commanders, inspectors and captains, interchanged places.

Pilsen, Markold, John Capek, John Nemez of Saaz, John of Jicin, Ambrose of Königgrätz and Prokop the Great.

While the system of the Taborites, in not a few particulars, bore a scriptural character that has re-appeared in Protestantism, it was marred by extreme views and, at times, by gross fanaticism. As instances of the former we may mention their opposition to the Latin language and a collegiate course of education, although they carefully trained their children in the common branches and in a thorough knowledge of the Bible; their tenet, that to give or receive an academical degree constituted a mortal sin; the loose notions, which occasionally showed themselves, with regard to the administration of the Lord's Supper by unordained men and even by women;[12] and the tendency to emancipate women, in other respects also, from the rule laid down by the apostle in connection with public worship.[13] Examples of fanaticism were the chiliastic errors into which they fell, under the leadership of Martin Hauska, and the gross excesses which followed;[14] the community of goods established at Tabor during a period of nearly two years, when the possession of private property was pronounced to be a mortal sin; and the wanton destruction of churches, chapels and altars, with all their beautiful works of art. For the blasphemy and shameful immoralities of the Adamites, who grew out of the scum of the chiliasts, the Taborites must not be held responsible.

A third faction, occupying a middle position between the Utraquists and Taborites, became prominent after Zizka's death. This faction consisted of his immediate followers, who assumed the name of Orphans. There were several other parties of minor note.

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[12] Palacky, V. 193; Bezold, p. 39; Höfler, I. p. 482.

[13] Bezold, pp. 38–44.

[14] Martin Hauska, a learned and eloquent man, surnamed Loquis on account of his eloquence, but the boldest of radicals, was expelled from Tabor in consequence of his offensive views on the Lord's Supper. About 300 adherents followed him, with whom he wandered about Bohemia until Zizka attacked and dispersed them. Hauska was taken prisoner and cruelly executed in 1421. The chiliastic errors continued for only about two years.

Efforts were not wanting, although they proved unsuccessful, to put an end to these divisions and unite the Hussites. The only common ground they occupied was their acceptance of the Articles of Prague. When engaged in war, however, they forgot their differences. It continued in all its fury and was disgraced by horrible cruelties on both sides, but especially on the part of the Catholics. Four more crusades were undertaken by the imperialists, in all of which they were ignobly defeated. In 1427, led by Procop the Great,[15] who took the place of Zizka, the Hussites began offensive campaigns and invaded Austria, Silesia, Bavaria, Hungary, Franconia and Saxony, filling these countries with the terror of their name. Their most wonderful victory was gained at Tauss, where they routed one hundred and thirty thousand crusaders, led by the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Cardinal Legate Julian (August the fourteenth, 1431). All Europe stood aghast. It seemed as though God Himself had sent confusion into the midst of one of the most puissant hosts that had ever been marshalled. It fled, in abject terror, as soon as the noise of the war-wagons and the sound of the battle hymn, heralding the approach of the Hussites, were heard in the distance. They had but to pursue and slay and spoil. After this no more crusades were proclaimed against them. Sigismund unwillingly confessed that the Bohemians could be conquered by Bohemians only; Julian declared that the sole hope remaining was the Council which had been appointed to meet at Basle. Well might he say this! The Roman King and the Roman Pontiff had exhausted the strength of arms, the power of anathemas, expedients of every kind, including even a menacing letter which the Maid of Orleans was induced to issue[16]—the Bohemians remained unsubdued.

[15] Procop, called *Weliky*, the Great, or *Holy*, the Bald, was a married priest, a man of clear understanding, free from blind fanaticism, thoroughly versed in the Scriptures and bitterly opposed to Rome. Bezold, pp. 70 and 71.

[16] This letter, dated Suliaci, March the twenty-third, 1430, threatened the Bohemians with the divine vengeance if they did not at once return to the obedience due to the Church. Palacky, V. p. 481 and Note 488.

Hastening to Basle, where he assumed the presidency of the Council, Cardinal Julian induced this body to invite the Hussites to take part in its deliberations, to the end that peace might be restored. The invitation was accepted, after the vehement opposition of the Taborites had been overcome. In January of 1433, a delegation representing the Utraquists, the Taborites and the Orphans, reached Basle and was welcomed with every token of amity and respect. And now began a spectacle unprecedented in the history of the Church of Rome. For nearly two months the Hussite delegates engaged in disputations with the Council, using the utmost boldness of speech, uncovering the sins of the Hierarchy, exalting Hus and Jerome of Prague as witnesses of the truth, and maintaining, with masterly skill and unflinching determination, the principles set forth in the Articles of Prague. In May, accompanied by deputies of the Council, they returned to Bohemia. The negotiations were continued at Prague and resulted, after a second delegation of Hussites had visited the Council and a second deputation from the Council had come to Bohemia, in the Compactata of Basle, which substantially conceded the Four Articles of Prague. On the thirtieth of November, 1433, these Compactata were ratified by the Diet. The Taborites and Orphans, however, manifested the utmost dissatisfaction and insisted on further concessions. But their power was rapidly waning. Weary of the ceaseless strife of the past years and instigated by the Utraquists, the nobility formed a league with which all men of rank, irrespective of party, united and which had for its object the forcible pacification of Bohemia and Moravia. This league raised a formidable body of troops; the Taborites and Orphans gathered their forces. On the thirtieth of May, 1434, the two armies met, at Lipan, in a fierce and deadly conflict. The Taborites and Orphans were totally defeated. Prokop the Great and thirteen thousand of his warriors lay dead on the field.

CHAPTER X.

Rokycana and the Utraquist National Church.
A. D. 1434–1453.

Bohemia and Moravia in the Hands of the Utraquists.—John Rokycana, Archbishop elect.—Sigismund acknowledged King of Bohemia.—Begins a Reaction.—His Death.—Albert's Death.—Interregnum and Leagues.—Baron Ptacek.—Convention of Kuttenberg.—Utraquists the National Church of Bohemia.—Disputation at Kuttenberg and Diet at Prague.—End of the Taborites.—George Podiebrad Regent.—Union with the Greek Church projected.—Accession of Ladislaus Posthumus.—Rokycana's sermons against Rome.—State of Morals and Religion in Bohemia and Moravia.—Sects.—Societies.

THE battle of Lipan was a turning point in the history of the Hussites. It put Bohemia and Moravia into the hands of the Utraquists, and enabled them to carry out their plans unhindered. The man who was foremost in shaping events and who became more and more prominent, until he exercised a commanding influence, was John of Rokycana.

Born at Rokitzan, near Pilsen, a child of poverty but endowed with rare gifts, he passed through the University as a charity-student, attained a Master's degree, and, in 1425, was appointed to the Thein Church at Prague. This position gave him power and his eloquence won him fame. He was one of the leading Bohemian delegates at the Council of Basle and stood, by common consent, at the head of the Utraquists. But he was vain, greedy of popularity, and inordinately ambitious. To become the spiritual ruler of all Bohemia was the goal toward which he pressed. With this object in view he was mainly instrumental in bringing about the civil war which led to the overthrow of the Taborites as a military power, and now labored incessantly to uproot them as a re-

IOANNES ROKYCZANA

ligious body. At the Diet of 1435 he was unanimously elected Archbishop, and Martin Lupac of Chrudim and Wenzel of Hohenmauth were appointed his suffragans.

Meantime Sigismund endeavored to regain his kingdom. The Diet made demands which were stringent and humiliating; but he pledged himself to fulfill them, and on the fifth of July, 1436, at a meeting held, with great pomp and solemnity, in the market place of Iglau, was formally acknowledged as King of Bohemia. On the same occasion, the Compactata were anew ratified and the Bohemians re-admitted to the fellowship of the mother church. But scarcely had Sigismund reached his capital when he began so serious a reaction in favor of Rome that Rokycana secretly left the city and retired to a castle near Pardubic (1437). The King's treachery was, however, cut short by the hand of death, on the ninth of December, of the same year, at Znaim, while on his way to Hungary; and his successor and son-in-law, Albert of Austria, followed him to the grave in 1439, in the midst of a campaign against the Turks. Bohemia was left without a ruler, for Albert had no children except a posthumous son. A time of anarchy began and various leagues arose, the most powerful of which stood under Baron Ptacek. It was a fortunate circumstance that he proved to be a man of sound judgment and liberal views, who endeavored to prevent lawlessness and unite the religious factions. He caused a Diet of his party to meet at Caslau in 1441, where measures looking to the public good were adopted, and, in the same year, called an ecclesiastical convention at Kuttenberg (October the fourth). This convention brought about far-reaching results. Three hundred priests were in attendance. Rokycana was acknowledged as Archbishop elect, the supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs was committed into his hands, the priests promised him obedience, and twenty-four doctrinal and constitutional articles were adopted which laid the foundation of the Utraquist Church as the National Church of Bohemia. But the Taborites stood aloof. Two more conventions were held without effecting a change in their position. At last a

disputation was agreed upon, the results of which were to be referred to the Diet for final decision. After the Taborites had reluctantly consented to give a written pledge, to which the seals of their cities were attached, that this decision should be binding, the disputation took place, on the eighth of July, 1443, at Kuttenberg. The Diet met on the eighth of January, of the following year, at Prague. But few Taborites attended. The doctrinal formulas, embracing the results of the disputation, were read and referred to a committee that brought in a report wholly Utraquist in its character. It was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The Taborites suffered a worse defeat than at Lipan; with every show of fairness their cause was condemned by the Diet of their country. They lost all prestige; their towns, with the exception of Tabor, passed out of their hands; their membership was scattered and a large part of it joined the National Church.

In the following summer Ptacek died and George Podiebrad succeeded him as the head of the league. Although a young man of only twenty-four years, he displayed the sagacity of an experienced statesman and was distinguished by the virtues of a patriot. In 1448 a bold stroke made him master of Prague and constituted him practically Regent of all Bohemia; four years later his regency was formally acknowledged. He was a warm friend of Rokycana whose consecration he endeavored to bring about. The Archbishop elect, who returned to Prague as soon as it fell into the hands of Podiebrad, was no less eager to be consecrated, and entertained high hopes of conciliating the Pope and reaching the goal of his ambition. But when he perceived that these hopes were not well founded and gradually realized that he would never receive the mitre from papal hands, he began to favor a project which had been suggested by others and which he had opposed, as long as he deemed it expedient to foster the good will of Rome. The Bohemian Church was to cut itself loose altogether from the Roman Catholic and unite with the Greek Church. With this end in view negotiations were actually begun in 1452, but came to an abrupt close in the following year, in consequence

of the fall of Constantinople. About the same time Ladislaus Posthumus, Albert's son, assumed the crown, Podiebrad remaining Regent. The latter continued the friend of Rokycana; the former, who was a Catholic, conceived a strong dislike to him.

As soon as Rokycana had given up the hope of conciliating Rome, he began to preach, with great power and eloquence, against its corruptions; his sermons grew vehement and intensely bitter when Pope Nicholas the Fifth sent Nicholas of Causa, one of his most learned Cardinals, and John Capistran, a brilliant orator and reputed worker of miracles, to bring the Bohemians and Moravians back unconditionally, with no further thought of the Compactata, under the sway of the Hierarchy.[1]

But the Roman Catholic was not the only church that deserved strictures. Rokycana could not shut his eyes to the sins of his own people. Iniquity abounded in Bohemia and Moravia. The wars begot an evil progeny. That puritanic severity of morals which had distinguished Zizka and the early Taborites no longer gave tone to the nation. It is true that religious questions still constituted a general subject of thought and topic of conversation, and that the Church, the Papacy, the Lord's Supper, the Cup and the Word of God, were every-

[1] In order to understand this effort we must glance at the history of the papacy. Martin the Fifth, who had unwillingly convened the Council of Basle and appointed Julian its President, died in 1431, and was succeeded by Eugene the Fourth, who dissolved it in the following year. But the Fathers continued their sessions in spite of him, and an open rupture took place which was subsequently, to some extent, healed, so that Eugene was induced to accept the Compactata. In 1437, however, he again dissolved the Council and called another at Ferrara. Thereupon a number of the Fathers left Basle and went to Ferrara; those that remained deposed Eugene, in 1438, and elected Felix the Fifth in his place. Thus there were again two Popes and even two Councils. But the larger part of the Church acknowledged Eugene; the Council of Basle, greatly reduced in numbers, came to an end in 1443. Eugene died four years later (1447) and was succeeded by Nicholas the Fifth, in whose favor Felix abdicated. Nicholas refused to sanction the Compactata and looked upon them with extreme disfavor, as the production of a schismatic Council.

where discussed; but, at the same time, vices of all kinds were increasing both openly and in secret, the Hussite period, in spite of its democratic tendencies, had not elevated the peasantry but rather put a heavier yoke of serfdom upon their necks, the poor were oppressed, violence and robbery were common, avarice, ostentation and pride of birth disgraced the higher classes; vanity and extravagance in dress, luxurious tables, inordinate pleasures were features of their daily life.[2] The clergy were degenerating and religious affairs generally sinking into confusion. The Utraquist Church, indeed, was established, but no harmony of aim and fellowship of heart existed. There were differences of doctrine and many spirits, each antagonistic to the other and deeming its own position to be exclusively correct.[3] As regarded the Taborites, their last seat, Tabor with its impregnable walls, surrendered at the call of Podiebrad in 1452; yet this very circumstance gave rise to new sects. Not a few earnest Taborites remained true to their faith and lived in quietness; but the restless spirits that had, after the battle of Lipan, fled to Tabor for refuge, now began to wander through the country. False teachers arose who proclaimed antiscriptural doctrines, the Nikolaites appeared claiming direct revelations from God, remnants of the Adamites showed themselves, and numerous societies, each with views and regulations of its own, were organized at Wilemow, Diwisow, Saaz, Kolin, Königgrätz, Leitomysl, Reichenau and other places.

All these strange and unsatisfactory results were, however, the outcome of the Hussite movement, not of the testimony borne by Hus himself. His martyr-blood had not been shed in vain. In a better sense than that which Utraquism afforded, it was to be the seed of the Church; for the time drew on which would reveal his true followers. They became known mainly through the instrumentality of Peter Chelcicky.

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[2] Palacky, VII. pp. 535–544, who presents copious extracts from the writings of Peter Chelcicky describing the morals of the age.

[3] Ibid, p. 465, Note 381, Extract from Chelcicky's Postil.

CHAPTER XI.

Peter Chelcicky and the Men who founded the Unitas Fratrum.
A. D. 1454–1457.

Peter Chelcicky.—His Character, Life and Writings.—Independent Position.—Views on the Lord's Supper.—His Ethical Principles.—Protest against War.—Extreme Views.—Rokycana and Chelcicky.—The Founders of the Unitas Fratrum.—Gregory the Patriarch.—The Spiritual Seed of Hus.—Rokycana's Earnest Sermons.—Chelcicky's Influence on the Founders of the Church.—They urge Rokycana to begin a Reformation.—He declines.—Waiting and Praying for the Lord's Help.

Among the Bohemian writers of the fifteenth century no one, except Hus, ranked higher than Peter Chelcicky.[1] Without the advantages of a theological or even a classical training, having but an insufficient knowledge of the Latin language, a simple layman and small landholder of the village of Chelcic, near Wodnan, he watched, with a keen eye, the events that were transpiring around him, investigated, with an independent mind and a fearless criticism, the great questions of his age, acknowledged no authority but the Bible, and unfolded an originality of thought and power of diction that made him, in spite of the obscureness of his position, a master among the learned and a teacher among the unlettered. The time of his birth is unknown and his personal history, for the most part,

[1] Sources: Palacky, VII. pp. 465–482; Gindely, I. pp.13–17; Cerwenka, II. pp. 6–14; Gillett's Taborites and the Germ of the Moravian Church in Am. Presb. and Theo. Review, 1864.

remains shrouded in mystery.[2] We first meet with him in the Bethlehem Chapel of Prague, in 1420, engaged in a disputation with Jacobellus of Mies on the unfitness of appealing to arms in matters of religion. His activity as a writer did not begin until a number of years later, probably between 1433 and 1443. The pen was thrust into his hand by his friends, but when he had grasped it, he employed it with unwearied diligence. Three of his works—*The Net of Faith*, a *Postil*, containing expositions of the Gospel Lessons, and *The Picture of Antichrist*—were printed in the sixteenth century; the rest remain in manuscript.[3]

The position which Chelcicky assumed in these writings, was wholly independent. He walked in no man's footsteps. He criticised even John Hus. He took sides with neither of the Hussite factions. What the Utraquists taught in relation to indulgences, transubstantiation, the invocation of the saints, purgatory and the power of the keys as claimed by the priesthood, he utterly rejected; against the Taborite doctrine of the Lord's Supper—that bread and wine are mere symbols of the body and blood of Christ—he earnestly and solemnly protested. His own view in this respect is important, because it shaped the teachings of the Brethren's Church on the subject. He accepted the simple words of Scripture and believed, on the one hand, that in the sacrament Christ's body is not born, not begotten and not created; yet, on the other, that God, by His

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[2] He is supposed to have been born about 1390, and it is said that he intended to enter a convent but was deterred by the unsettled state of the Church. That he studied, for a time, at Prague, without finishing his course, seems to be certain.

[3] Gindely, I. pp. 489–490, Note 4, adduces eleven works of Chelcicky, besides a collection of seven tracts. In addition to the three mentioned in the text, the most important are: A Reply to Rokycana; A Reply to Nicholas, the Taborite Bishop, found at Herrnhut, in the L. F., II, pp. 221–229 and endorsed, in the handwriting of Comenius, with the words, a "golden letter;" A Treatise on the Body of Christ; and The Foundation of human Law. The Net of Faith was published at Wilimow, in 1521: the Postil, at Prague, in 1522 and again in 1532; the Picture of Antichrist is no longer extant. Copies of his MS. works are preserved at Paris, Prague and Olmütz.

power and through the words of institution spoken by the priest in faith, causes it to be spiritually present along with the substance of the bread.

It was, however, not doctrine which chiefly engaged the attention of Chelcicky, but ethics. He looked upon Christianity rather as a life than a creed, and his entire system shows that the dogmatic was made subordinate to the practical.

To imitate the example of Christ—so he teaches—is the most exalted rule of life; to love God above all and one's neighbor as oneself, the supreme law. Such love implies hearty obedience to the divine commandments, willingness to suffer injustice, and an unwavering determination never to repay evil with evil. The show of virtue without the substance, hypocrisy and Phariseeism, attaching importance to mere outward rites, ceremonies and usages of the Church, without fostering holiness of heart and seeking a reformation of life, he denounces in the strongest terms. Under all circumstances the divine law is sufficient; and Christianity constitutes the kingdom of liberty. In this kingdom the spiritual part of man lives and strives for that which is good, undisturbed by discord, violence, or war. The realm of heathenism, on the contrary, is the outgrowth of his carnal nature and hence full of wickedness which must be coerced. If all men were true Christians there would be no necessity for kings or lords. Worldly government originates in sin and is an evil, but a necessary evil over against iniquity. The nobility are base tyrants; doctors of theology, masters of art and priests "satraps of the Emperor," who strive to exalt the secular power to an article of faith.

Nothing, however, excites the indignation and horror of Chelcicky so much as war. It is absolutely inadmissible; a warrior is a murderer; to shed human blood, even in the way of self-defence or of capital punishment, constitutes an abominable sin. His literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount leads him, moreover, to forbid his followers to appeal to the secular arm, to take an oath, or to fill a civil

office. They must humbly and patiently bear injustice, never avenge themselves, neither murmur nor be profane, but imitate Christ who was brought as a lamb to the slaughter and opened not His mouth.

In setting forth such views he often adopted the tone of the satirist, and his invectives cut like a two-edged sword. "There are," says Gillett, "passages of his writings which well entitle him to the epithet of the Christian Juvenal."

In course of time his followers constituted themselves into a Society, known as the Brethren of Chelcic.

A character so original and independent attracted the attention of Rokycana. He opened a correspondence with Chelcicky, called him "his beloved brother,"[4] visited him at his home, entertained him at Prague, and was the means of bringing him into connection with the men whom God had foreordained to take the lead in founding the Unitas Fratrum, but who did not, as yet, recognize their mission.

They were members of the Thein parish and among the most faithful of Rokycana's hearers. His eloquence captivated their minds and his earnestness touched their hearts. When he preached they took notes of his sermons and afterwards committed them to writing, that they might study them at their leisure. Painfully recognizing the pictures which he drew of the corruptness of the Church and the evil of the times as startling copies of what was transpiring before their very eyes, they endeavored to regulate their own lives by the divine law and to save themselves from the "untoward generation" by which they were surrounded. Earnest men they were, seeking the truth, thirsting for God.

Foremost among them was Rokycana's nephew, Gregory the Patriarch, as he is commonly called—a man of strict morals and deep piety, active, ready to undertake and endure all things for God's honor, but humble, without ambition, seeking not his own. In his youth he entered a monastery of the Cordeliers and attained a high reputation for sanctity.

[4] A letter of Rokycana to Chelcicky is found in L. F. II. pp. 224–227.

The Hussite disturbances put an end to his monastic life. At the time when he became prominent he was about fifty years of age.[5]

Rokycana asserted that Antichrist had corrupted even the sacraments of the Church, so that the people partook of them to their own condemnation. It was this position which filled Gregory and his friends with the deepest anxiety. If the sacraments were thus corrupted, how could they, through them, obtain a seal to their acceptance in the sight of God and be nourished unto life? This and other cognate questions they discussed among themselves and with Rokycana, uniting in frequent prayer that they might be led in the way of truth.

But these men were not alone in their aspirations. Others of like mind were found in many parts of Bohemia and Moravia,[6] true followers of Hus who had, for years, been lost among the Hussite factions.[7] In the language of Lasitius, they were the young sprouts which appeared when the forest had been cut down.[8] That they sought and found fellowship among themselves was a necessary consequence of the attractive force which inheres in the communion of saints. The bond of union grew continually stronger, until there existed, thoughout Bohemia and Moravia, what might be called an invisible church of the genuine seed of Hus, unconsciously preparing, by God's appointment and under the leadership of Gregory and his associates at Prague, for a manifestation in visible form.

In the early part of 1454 Rokycana, wounded by the con-

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[5] Gregory's father was a Bohemian knight and his mother the sister of Rokycana, as Gindely, I. p. 21, sets forth. Palacky, VII. p. 484 and Note 394, calls this relationship into question; but the only evidence which he adduces seems to us to be quite insufficient. Blahoslaw, in his Summa quaedam, &c., MS. L. F. VIII. pp. 157–171, says: "Quorum non postremus fuit Gregorius, sororis Rokycanae filius." There exists no sound reason why the usual view should be abandoned.

[6] Jaffet's Geschichte der Enstehung de Brüder-Einigkeit, p. 33, &c., MS., H. A., found in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 10 and 12.

[7] Blahoslaw's Summa quaedam, MS. L. F. VIII.

[8] Croeger, I. p. 49.

tinued coldness of young Ladislaus and anticipating a new reaction against Utraquism, began to preach on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the Prophecies of Daniel and portions of the Revelation of St. John. With even more than his ordinary power he set forth the deplorable state of the Church, the misuse of the sacraments, the sins of the priesthood. Even the Utraquists, he said, had not reached the solid ground of faith; others would reach that ground to the good of men and the glory of God; the Church must be built up, as Hus had taught, upon a threefold foundation, embracing Christ, the Holy Scriptures and the model of the apostolic church.[9] When speaking of a reformation he added, that the number of those who followed the truth was very small; that they would not be accepted of the world; and that if they attempted a reformation, great and terrible dangers would beset them, illustrating this last point by the image of a city burned and destroyed, whose ruins formed the dens of wild beasts that would not suffer men to come and rebuild its houses and walls.[10]

Such sentiments excited, in the highest degree, Gregory and his friends, who besought the eloquent preacher to tell them what they must do in order to be accepted of God. Rokycana referred them to Peter Chelcicky. This was a turning point in their development and a long stride forward on the way by which God was leading them. Chelcicky was as necessary an agent in bringing about the founding of the Unitas Fratrum as Hus himself. The latter quarried, from the hills of truth, the stones which were used in its building, the former shaped these stones and gave firmness to the hands that set them up. Through him, Rokycana's disciples, and Gregory in particular, were led to understand that it was not enough to long and pray for a reformation, but that for such a cause they must work, venture and suffer. At the same time, the tendency to subordinate doctrine to practice, the

[9] Lasitius, I. pp. 58 and 59, quoted by Plitt. See list of authorities.

[10] Blahoslaw's Bohemian MS. History, quoted by Palacky, VII. pp. 483 and 484, Note 393. See list of authorities.

principle of non-resistance, the duty of patiently bearing persecutions for Christ's sake, the extreme views with regard to civil offices, taking oaths and cognate subjects—as these points subsequently showed themselves in the system of the Brethren and, in part, led to dissensions and a schism—were all received from Peter Chelcicky. His intercourse with Gregory and Gregory's friends continued for several years. When he had imparted his principles to them, his mission came to an end. He died about the time of the founding of the Church.

Each successive visit to Chelcic filled Rokycana's disciples with greater enthusiasm, until they began to importune him to put himself at their head and begin a reformation, assuring him that they would stand by him whatever might happen and follow wherever he might lead. But his heart had no chord which vibrated in harmony with their appealing touch. He saw only difficulties like mountains in the way, and grew almost as eloquent in explaining the reasons why he could not yield to their wishes, as he was in setting forth the corruptions of the Church. At the same time he told them, that if they had courage to undertake the work, he would not absolutely dissuade them, for God might possibly grant them that success which He had withheld from those who had sought the same end by an appeal to arms. A second effort which they made, irritated him. "You are," he said excitedly, "urging me to a most dangerous leap. Do you want to have things perfect at once? Every great undertaking involves great peril."[11]

Deeply grieved to find that their master was unwilling to be their leader, they began to absent themselves from the Thein church and hold services of their own. Similar services, conducted by priests of like mind, were instituted by their brethren throughout the country; in case no such priests were present, the Scriptures were read and explained by laymen. This formed the first step toward a secession from the

[11] Lasitius, I. 69, &c., quoted by Plitt.

Church. And yet Gregory and his circle at Prague did not relinquish the hope that Rokycana would eventually put himself at their head and take a stand as the reformer of his day. But in spite of their renewed and urgent entreaties, they were doomed to disappointment. He advised them, however, to settle in various parishes which he named, where they would find priests sharing their views and aspirations.[12] This counsel they rejected; for they were too firmly convinced, that if their union was to be maintained, its bonds must be drawn closer and not loosened. What they and their associates throughout the country now needed, was a rallying-place. Such a place God showed them, and there the Unitas Fratrum was founded.

From the preparatory history which we have thus given it appears, that John Hus, the Bohemian Reformer, John Rokycana, the Bohemian Archbishop elect, and Peter, the stern moralist of Chelcic, were God's appointed agents in bringing about this result, but that the corner-stone was actually to be laid by Gregory the Patriarch and his associates of Prague. The immediate founders of the Church were therefore, as Jaffet explicitly sets forth, not foreigners, not sectaries, not Taborites, but native born Czechs, members of the Utraquist National Church, comprising not merely common people but also nobles, priests, masters and bachelors of arts trained in the wisdom of the schools.[13]

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[12] Blahoslaw's Bohemian MS. Hist. quoted by Palacky.

[13] Jaffet's MS. Geschichte der Entstehung d. B. E., p. 33, &c., H. A., in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 10. He says: "Die Anfänger der Unität waren keine Ausländer, sondern ächte eingeborne Böhmen und Mähren; auch keine Sektirer, sondern wahre Christen des gewöhnlichen Katholischen Glaubens *sub utraque*, auch nicht Taboriten, sondern von der Partei der Meister (i. e. Calixtines). Es waren nicht bloss gemeine Leute, sondern Herrn, Ritter, kluge Clerici, Priester, Magister, Baccalaurei von Schulgelehrsamkeit."

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT UNITAS FRATRUM.

A.D. 1457–1722.

PERIOD IV.

THE CHURCH UNDER THE RIGOROUS SYSTEM INTRODUCED BY ITS FOUNDERS.

A.D. 1457–1496.

CHAPTER XII.

The Founding and Earliest Development of the Church. *A. D.* 1457–1460.

Lititz and the Barony of Senftenberg.—Gregory and his Friends settle at Kunwald.—Michael Bradacius and others join them.—Principles of Doctrine and Practice agreed on.—Names of the Church.—The original Object of its Founders.—The Year of Organization.—Twenty-eight Elders elected.—Their Names.—Other Representative Men.—Increase of the Church.—Rokycana's Relation to it.—Disputes among the Brethren about the Lord's Supper.—Synod of 1459.—Doctrine of the Lord's Supper formulated.—Resolution with regard to the Writings of the Taborites.—Ritual simplified.—Moravian Taborites join the Brethren.

THE traveler who enters Bohemia at its eastern boundary, on the railway to Königgrätz, passes, beyond Geiersberg, into the romantic valley of the Wilde Adler and soon reaches a narrow gorge formed by the Chlum Mountain on one side and a height crowned with the ruins of an ancient castle, on the other. Fields creep far up this latter hill to the edge of its forest and a village nestles at its base which is pierced by a tunnel; near by the stream, with rapid current, hastens to meet its Southern branch, the Stille Adler, that they may together flow into the Elbe. A steep path leads to the ruins. Over the outer gateway appears a tablet with this inscription, now almost illegible: *A. D. regnante Geo. Podiebrado MCDLXVIII.* Other gateways are still standing; a huge tower rears its head and shows its subterranean depths, where once were gloomy dungeons; in the main court-yard, across whose pavement knights were wont to dash, great trees have

sprung up and cast their shade over walls which, even in their decay, are vast and imposing. A grand castle it must have been.

This is Lititz, the centre of an estate constituting a part of the Barony of Senftenberg, which stretches to the Silesian frontier. To the east lies the chief town of this domain and bears its name. It is a market-town, with a modern castle, an ancient church and a large square adorned with statues of saints. Due north is the village of Kunwald.

In the German War of Liberation the Emperor Francis invested an Englishman, of Hamburg, one Parrish, who had rendered Austria important services, with this entire Barony, creating him Baron of Senftenberg, and from him it descended to his nephew who was the owner until recently, when he died without issue;[1] at the time of which our history treats it belonged to George Podiebrad, had but a sparse population and was suffering from the devastations of the Hussite war. The inhabitants inclined to the principles of the Taborites, some of whose prominent leaders had been brought, after the fall of Tabor, to the Castle of Lititz for safe-keeping.

Gregory heard of this domain. It seemed to offer the abode for which he and his friends were looking and which they had sought in vain among the Societies at Diwisow and Wilemow. It was a retreat, amidst lonely hills and mountains, where they could worship God in fellowship and peace, and a centre around which their associates from the country could gather. Accordingly they asked Rokycana to secure for them the Regent's permission to settle on this Barony.[2] Rokycana, hoping to rid himself of his troublesome followers, gladly presented their request. It was at once granted; for Podiebrad foresaw the advantages which would accrue to his property. He designated Kunwald as the place for the settlement.

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[1] The recent owner, who did not bear his uncle's title, was well acquainted in the United States, where he often visited and had large properties. To whom the Barony has passed since the death of the late Mr. Parrish, we do not know.

[2] Jaffet's Entstehung, &c., p. 91, MS., H. A.

Thither Gregory and his companions took their way. They found a hamlet almost hidden within a narrow valley and surrounded on all sides by forests, deep, silent and solemn, above which, toward the East, appeared the massive ridge of the Glatz Mountains. The place formed a natural sanctuary, secluded from the turmoil of the world, and fit to be the earliest seat of a church of confessors and martyrs.[3]

The settlers began to build cottages and were joined by some of their associates from other parts of the country.[4] Ere long came the priest of Senftenberg, Michael Bradacius, a venerable and godly man, and cast in his lot with the new community. Whether he was a stranger attracted by its earnest spirit, or an associate acquainted with its aims, does not appear; in any case, this priest, together with Gregory, was put at its head, and under their joint direction, certain principles were drawn up to regulate its doctrine and practice.[5] Of these principles, however, we know nothing except that they were based on the Bible and the Articles of Prague. They were not published to the world, but constituted a private code of statutes. Indeed the settlers formally determined not to make them known, unless it became imperatively necessary. They were moved to adopt this resolution by the fear that a proclamation of their views would increase the discord and confusion prevailing throughout Bohemia and Moravia in matters of religion.[6] The name which they chose was "Brethren of the Law of Christ"—*Fratres Legis Christi;* in as much, however, as this name gave rise to the idea that they were a new order of

[3] Kunwald is half an hour's drive from Senftenberg. At the present day it is a large village stretching up the valley, which is only about three hundred yards wide and whose sides are partly cultivated and partly still covered with woods. The cottages, some of which undoubtedly occupy sites selected by the Brethren, are embowered in shrubbery and orchards and present a picturesque appearance. Toward the northern end of the valley, on an elevation, stands the church on the same spot, it is said, where the Brethren built their chapel. The Glatz Mountains are distant between three and four miles.

[4] Palacky, VII. pp. 486 and 487.

[5] Reichel's Geschichte, p. 13.

[6] Lasitius, I. p. 76 (Plitt).

monks, they changed it simply into "Brethren."[7] When the organization of their church had been completed, they assumed the additional title of *Jednota Bratrska*, or *Unitas Fratrum*, that is, "The Unity of the Brethren," which has remained the official and significant appellation of the Church to the present day.[8]

Such was the beginning of the Unitas Fratrum. No further details can be given, because they were intentionally concealed.

In effecting this original organization its founders had no thought of setting up a new church. This was God's plan, but they did not recognize it until after the lapse of several years. What they now aimed at was a fraternal association within which they could carry out the reformation that Hus began but did not live to complete, and that Rokycana urged but had not the courage to bring about. Its practical object was their own salvation. Hence they introduced a strict discipline, searched the Scriptures, admonished and edified one another in the Lord, and determined, if need be, to suffer persecution patiently, without appealing to arms, as the Taborites had done; but, while they repudiated Romanism in every form, they did not absolutely secede from the National Church, and were satisfied with the ministrations of such of its priests as shared their views and aspirations.[9] There were, as yet, comparatively few Brethren residing on the domain of Senftenberg, but new settlers continued to arrive until 1461, and the entire association throughout the country numbered several thousand members.[10]

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[7] Comenii Hist., Sect. 51, p. 15.

[8] It was often abbreviated into "The Unity." Another name by which the Church called itself was "The Bohemian Brethren." It related to all the Brethren, whether they belonged to Bohemia, Moravia, Prussia or Poland. To call them "The Bohemian-Moravian Brethren," or "The Moravian Brethren," is historically incorrect. The name "Moravian" arose in the time of the Renewed Brethren's Church, because the men by whom it was renewed came from Moravia. The Bohemian Brethren were frequently called "Waldenses" to denote their supposed origin.

[9] Plitt, Chap. 24.

[10] Gindely, I. p. 27.

The organization of the Unitas Fratrum took place in 1457,[11] in the year which witnessed the unexpected death of young King Ladislaus (November the twenty-third), in the reign of Pope Calixtus the Third and of the Emperor Frederick the Third, sixty years prior to the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Either in the same or in the following year, twenty-eight Elders were elected as the spiritual guides of the people, who were pledged to obey and consult them in all matters affecting religion. These Elders, writes Jaffet, constituted "so to say, the Rectors of the congregation for a period of nearly ten years, before priest or bishop had been appointed."[12] Some of them resided at Kunwald, the rest were dispersed through the country. At stated times they met for consultation, or convened Synods at which the membership generally was represented. In addition to the Elders were priests, ordained in the Roman Catholic or Utraquist Church, to whom all ministerial functions were committed.

The names of the Elders have been preserved and are set forth by Jaffet in the following order: 1, Brother Gregory; 2, Priest Michael, that is, Michael Bradatz or Bradacius, ordained in the Roman Catholic Church; 3, Augustin Halar, a Bachelor of Arts; 4, George of Fünfkirchen, a man of humble origin; 5, Veit the Great, also of humble origin; 6, Thomas of Prelouc, a well-educated man; 7, John Korunka, probably the same as John of Söberle or Zabori, a priest ordained in the Utraquist Church; 8, Brother John Chelcicky, a priest from Chelcic, ordained in the Roman Catholic Church; 9, Brother John Klenovsky, of humble origin; 10,

[11] Blahoslaw's Latin MS. Hist. L. F., who says: "Acta sunt haec anno Domini 1457;" Ratio Disciplinae, Praefatio, p. 3; Bekentniss des Christlichen Glaubens, von 1572, Vorrede, p. 11. While there is no authority for celebrating the first of March as the day of the founding of the U. F., as is done throughout the Church, it is proper to commemorate the event, and this may as well be done on that day as on any other.

[12] Jaffet's Goliath's Schwert, p. 9, &c., MS., Herrnhut Archives; also his Geschichte der Entstehung, &c.; both found in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 13 and 14.

Brother Matthias of Kunwald, a farmer, a young man of extraordinary gifts and holy life, subsequently the presiding Bishop of the Church; 11, Lawrence Krasonicky, a Bachelor of Arts and learned scholar, who, at a later time, by his disputations and writings, became one of the most zealous supporters and able defenders of the Unity; 12, Prokop Hradecky, or, of Neuhaus, a Bachelor of Arts; 13, Brother Elias of Chrenow, a miller; 14, Brother Adalbert; 15, Brother Ambrose, of Prague, a man of culture; 16, Hawel (Gallus), a Master of Arts; 17, Victorin, a Master of Arts; 18, Matthew (Notardus Cathedralis), a Bachelor of Arts; 19, Isaiah Wenzl, of Reichenau, a scrivener; 20, Adalbert Wenzl, a servant at the royal court; 21, John Jestrebsky, a learned nobleman; 22, George of Chropin, of humble origin, as were all the rest whose names follow; 23, Wenzel of Stecken; 24, Thomas Prostegowsky; 25, Amos; 26, John Holek; 27, Wenzel of Beroun; and 28, John Javornicky.[13]

Only three of these Elders were priests; the rest were laymen representing various stations in life from the nobleman to the servant and the peasant. Such as belonged to the lower classes were, however, far from being rude and ignorant men. Popular education, as we have said in another connection, was zealously furthered by the Taborites. In this respect the common people of Bohemia and Moravia were in advance of those in other countries. A thorough knowledge of the Bible in particular was almost universal, and for years religious questions were discussed in all circles. A Bohemian mechanic, or servant, or peasant, might well, therefore, be intrusted with duties such as the eldership among the Brethren involved.

Other priests, not belonging to the Elders, were John of Taborsky, ordained in the Roman Catholic Church, subsequently a Taborite officiating at Tabor, where he was known

[13] Jaffet's Goliath's Schwert, p. 20, MS., H. A., found in Reichel's Zusätze p. 15. In our copy of these Zusätze No. 21 of the above list is given as John Gesteubsky; but this is probably an error and the name should read Jestrebsky, which is found in Gindely's list.

as John Wilemek ;[14] William of Tabor; Andrew, formerly abbot of the Slavonian Monastery of Emmaus at Prague; and Martin of Krcin, all three ordained in the Utraquist Church: other prominent laymen were George of Sussic, Peter of Ledec and Methudius Strachota, a nobleman.[15]

These thirty-five men constituted therefore the leading representatives of the primitive Church of the Brethren.

In the second year of its existence it developed rapidly. "At that time," says Jaffet, "friend longed for friend and brother for brother, so that more persons continually joined the Brethren, and their number increased."[16]

Rokycana, who was commonly regarded as the patron of the settlement at Kunwald, looked upon them with favor. It seemed to him that they were merely endeavoring to reproduce, in an evil time, the ideal of the apostolic church, without seceding from the National Church. Why should he not be satisfied, especially as his former disciples still kept up, to some extent, a connection with him and, in conjunction with their numerous associates, might yet be of use to him in extending his influence? The election of his friend George Podiebrad to the Bohemian throne (March the second, 1458), had filled him anew with ambitious hopes.

Discordant elements, however, began to appear among the Brethren themselves (1459). The subject in dispute was the Lord's Supper. Some maintained the Utraquist or Romish dogma, others the Taborite belief. The contention grew violent and bitter, threatening the very existence of the Church. In this emergency the Elders convened a Synod at which the differences were adjusted through the adoption, in substance, of the view taught by Peter Chelcicky.[17] This view was formulated as follows: "All who receive the sacrament in truth, through faith, believe and confess that it is the

[14] Gindely's Quellen, p. 326.

[15] Gindely, I. p. 27.

[16] Entstehung, &c., p. 33, &c., found in Reichel's Zusätze p. 12.

[17] Gindely, I. p. 26, whose authority is L. F., III, p.258 and Blahoslaw's Boh. MS. Hist., I. p. 21.

true body and blood of Christ, according to His word and mind, without adding anything, or taking away anything, and rejecting all human explanations."[18]

This position of the early Brethren with regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper is still maintained by their latest descendants. These accept as their fathers did, in simple faith, the words of Christ, without attempting to explain them; and can look back upon the centuries of their past with the consciousness of having contributed nothing to those eucharistic controversies which form one of the strangest and saddest chapters in the history of Protestantism.[19]

There was another subject which engaged the serious attention of the Synod. The disputes about the Lord's Supper had, to a great extent, been originated by the polemical works of the day, especially by so-called Tracts of the Taborites. Such writings were consequently deemed to be unprofitable and injurious, and a formal declaration was adopted that the Brethren "should be satisfied with God's Word and simply believe what it taught, avoiding all Tracts; and that even such as seemed to approximate to the Truth ought not to be read until they had been examined and approved by the Elders."[20] This resolution was carried into effect. In a letter written to Rokycana in 1468, the Brethren say: "For more than eight years we have set aside all (theological) writings and Tracts, and avoid them, especially those of

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[18] Waldensia B. Lydii, Part II. pp. 295 and 296, in the Apology of the Bohemian Brethren presented to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1532 and revised in 1538, where is given the resolution of the Synod of 1459.

[19] Bishop Spangenberg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine, a modern standard of the Church says, § 146, p. 245: "The Holy Communion is a mysterious enjoyment of the body and blood of Christ; that is, the enjoyment of the bread and wine is connected with the enjoyment of the body and blood of Jesus in a manner incomprehensible to us, and therefore inexpressible, whenever the Holy Supper of the Lord is enjoyed according to the mind of Jesus Christ."

[20] Blahoslaw's MS. Boh. Hist., quoted by Palacky, VII. p. 487 and Note 396.

Martinek and Biskupec."[21] It thus appears that, from the very beginning of their Church, the Brethren insisted upon regulating Christian life according to the biblical standard alone, and endeavored in this way to avoid the confusion, the inconsistencies and the fanaticism into which the Taborites had fallen.

After the adjournment of the Synod Michael Bradacius began to simplify public worship and, in particular, the ceremonies at the administration of the Lord's Supper. This was the first step in the direction of a Protestant ritual.

In 1460 a large body of Taborites from Moravia, after having suffered severe persecutions both in that country and in Bohemia, were led, through the instrumentality of Gregory, who visited them in their seats near Klattau and whom they received "as an angel of God," to unite with the Brethren.[22]

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[21] The name by which Nicholas Pilgram, the Taborite Bishop, was known. The above letter is cited by Palacky, Ibid.

[22] These Taborites drew up a full account of their sufferings and subsequent union with the Brethren, which chronicle is given by Bishop Turnovius in his notes to Lasitius' MS. History. Compare Croeger, I. pp 60–62.

CHAPTER XIII.

The First Persecution of the Brethren. A. D. 1461–1463.

The Position and ambitious Projects of George Podiebrad —The Cause of the first Persecution.—Edict against the Brethren.—The Meeting at Prague.—Arrest of a number of Brethren.—Gregory on the Rack.—His Dream.—Recantations.—Podiebrad disappointed in his Hopes.—The Persecution continued.—Second Decree against the Brethren.—Imprisonments and Martyrdom.—Appeal to Rokycana.—What the Brethren wrote to him.—Third Decree against them —Hiding in Forests and Mountains.—End of the Persecution.

It was not the natural disposition of George Podiebrad, which, as a rule, was liberal and just, but the force of circumstances, that made him notorious as the first persecutor of the Brethren. He had been elevated to the Bohemian throne both by Utraquist and Catholic members of the Diet. He was pledged by a solemn oath, taken prior to his coronation, to uphold the Roman Catholic Church, to obey the Pope, and to put an end to all sects and heresies in the realm; and by another oath, sworn at his coronation, to maintain the Compactata as well as the other liberties and privileges of the kingdom. And for his own part, he was convinced that he must guard it against all such anarchy as the Hussite conflicts had brought about. Hence his reign involved the difficult problem of satisfying two parties and the necessity of watching, with the utmost care, the developments which were going on both in religious and political life. Before long, moreover, his ambition was roused. Confusion prevailed throughout the German empire because Frederick, its head, proved to be the weakest of rulers. Why should not

Podiebrad, whose firm sway was everywhere recognized and who already possessed a controlling influence in central Europe, be elected Roman King, and thus become practically Regent of the Empire? Such was the suggestion of a German, Martin Mayr, one of his councilors. In order to the success of this scheme the aid of Rome was necessary, and Rome, in the hope of furthering her own interests, was not unwilling to stretch out her powerful hand. That learned scholar and astute politician, Aeneas Sylvius, under the title of Pius the Second, occupied the papal chair.[1] He had visited Bohemia, was well acquainted with its people and their King, and believed the project could be made a means to bring them into full subjection to the Hierarchy.

In February of 1461, Podiebrad returned to Prague from Eger, where he had met a large number of German Princes and Electors. Although he had not yet openly avowed his purpose of securing the imperial crown, he knew that the prospect was brightening. Flushed with high hopes, he beheld, in imagination, the most powerful sceptre of Europe in his grasp and himself occupying, although he could boast of no royal line, the exalted seat of Charles and of Sigismund.

Under such circumstances and while he was in such a frame of mind, he was told that complaints had been laid before the Utraquist Consistory against those adherents of Rokycana whom he had permitted to settle at Kunwald. They had changed the ceremonies usual at the Lord's Supper; they would not indiscriminately admit the people to this sacrament, but exercised a strict discipline; no one knew what they practised at their secret assemblies. These were the accusations vehemently urged by the priests of neighboring parishes. Podiebrad was indignant. Should a handful of obscure religionists bring the odium of heresy anew upon his kingdom just at at a time when he wished to conciliate the Pope? His indignation increased, when he heard of a Taborite tendency among some of the students at the University of Prague and of the fanatical sects that were beginning to

[1] He was elected August the tenth, 1458.

wander through the country. He must hasten to convince Pius the Second, to whom he was about to send a splendid embassy, that he meant to be true to his oath and that neither sects nor heresies would be allowed to exist in Bohemia. Accordingly he issued an edict commanding all his subjects to join either the Utraquist or the Roman Catholic Churches, and Taborites and Picards of every name to leave the country.[2]

On the strength of this mandate an investigation began in the University (March the fifteenth, 1461.) A number of its students, and at a later time, several of its Masters and Professors, were arrested, cast into prison and eventually banished.[3]

About the time of this investigation Gregory came to Prague in order to visit the Brethren. A meeting was appointed in a house of the *Neustadt*. Among those who assembled were two Elders, Augustin Halar and George of Fünfkirchen, as also two students, George of Sussic and Peter of Ledec. The King having been informed of this gathering gave orders, that all present should be arrested and examined according to the cruel usage of the age.[4] A friendly magistrate warned Gregory of what was impending. Gregory advised the Brethren to disperse. Some of them followed

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[2] Picards was the opprobrious name by which the Brethren were commonly known among their enemies. It was often applied to all such as separated from the R. C. and National Churches and denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. Its derivation is uncertain. Aeneas Sylvius, without the least authority, derives it from the name of a man, Pikhard, who, he says, was the founder of the sect of the Picards. Whatever its origin, it expressed the greatest contempt and implied that those to whom it was addressed were vile and immoral people. In a document of 1475 the Brethren themselves say: "Picards was the name given to the worst of men, who believed neither in Christ nor in the resurrection, and hence, deeming sin to be no sin, walked openly in licentiousness and the lusts of the flesh." (Goll, p. 9, Note 1.) The Brethren always indignantly rejected this name; and yet even at the present day it is sometimes applied to them in Bohemia.

[3] Palacky, VIII. pp. 185 and 186.

[4] Palacky, VIII. p. 186, says that everything was done "auf des Königs speciellen Befehl."

his counsel, others, and the students in particular, rejected it, boastfully exclaiming: "The torture shall be our breakfast and the stake our dinner!"[5] Under such circumstances Gregory also deemed it to be his duty to remain. In a little while the door was thrown open and the magistrate who had sent the warning appeared with his bailiffs. He advanced to the threshold and surveying the assembly said: "All that will live godly shall suffer persecution.[6] You therefore, who are here gathered, follow me to prison."[7]

At the prison the rack was immediately applied. But no sooner were the boastful students stretched on this instrument of torture, than they offered to recant. Of political intrigues, which were laid to their charge, they knew nothing, but they were willing to deny their faith. "After having tasted of their breakfast, they had no appetite for their dinner."[8] Gregory alone remained steadfast, and was wrenched so frightfully, that when the tormentors ceased from their horrid work, he fell as dead from the rack. Rokycana having been informed of what had occurred, hastened to the torture chamber and broke out into tears and loud lamentations, exclaiming: "O that I were where thou art, my Gregory!"[9]

But Gregory was not dead. He gradually revived and complained of great pain, but did not, at first, seem to be conscious of what had happened. After a time he told those who were standing by that, in his swoon, he had had a vivid dream. Planted in a pleasant meadow he saw a tree laden with fruit, of which various birds were eating. Among them, on a branch, sat a boy with a rod, directing and controlling them so completely that not a single one ventured to fly away

[5] Luke of Prague in L. F. IV. p. 118, quoted in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 29. In many respects Bishop Luke's account is confused and unreliable. Indeed, however distinguished a leader he otherwise was, his historical writings in general are untrustworthy and marred particularly by a polemical bias.

[6] 2 Tim. 3, 12.

[7] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XIX, 2.

[8] Plitt, Chap. XXVI.

[9] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XIX, 3.

or leave its place. Near by were stationed three men to guard the tree. Their countenances he particularly noticed and could not forget.[10]

The day after this occurrence Halar, George of Sussic, and George of Fünfkirchen, Elders though two of them were, publicly recanted their faith in the Thein Church, accepted the Utraquist doctrines and abjured all further connection with the Brethren.[11] Thereupon they were set at liberty. Others of those who had been arrested were kept in prison until 1463. Gregory regained his freedom through the intercessions of his uncle Rokycana, and took up his abode on the domain of Reichenau, contiguous to that of Senftenberg.[12]

The persecution which George Podiebrad thus inaugurated was not only shameful and unjust in the highest degree, in spite of all the circumstances which brought it about, but it also wholly failed to accomplish the end which he had in view. Instead of furthering his plan to gain the imperial crown, it rendered, in conjunction with the incautious conduct of the Romish party, that scheme so unpopular, spread the idea so generally among the Bohemians that their King was forsaking the Hussite traditions and becoming a German, and roused so great a commotion, that he hastened to relinquish the project, dismissed its originator, and gave the Diet a written assurance that its rights and privileges, and the Compactata in particular, should be upheld.[13]

But the persecution did not, on that account cease, nor was it confined to Prague. A new edict appeared, soon after the liberation of Gregory, forbidding every form of public worship except that of the Utraquists and Catholics and commanding all priests who would venture to conduct it according

[10] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XIX, 3.

[11] Gindely, I. p. 29, whose authority is L. F., II. pp. 342–344.

[12] Gindely, I. p. 29, says, that it can not be doubted that Gregory also recanted. He cites Luke in L. F, IV. as authority. We consider this assertion as contrary to all we know of the character and faith of Gregory, and follow the Hist. Persecutionum, which is our authority for what is said in the text. Cap. XIX, 4.

[13] Palacky, VIII. p. 187.

to the manner of the Picards to be put to death.[14] Michael Bradacius was seized and cast into a dungeon of the Castle of Lititz; other influential Brethren were imprisoned in the Castle of Podiebrad, where they were kept in constant fear of execution. At Richenburg, Baron Zdenek Kostka, Lord of Leitomischl, caused four members of the Church to be burned alive.[15] On the estates of other zealous Utraquist nobles the Brethren were cruelly oppressed and their priests expelled.

In this extremity they appealed to Rokycana. Although he had officially sanctioned the persecution, he did not approve of it. "Many evil accusations against us," writes Gregory, "were laid before Rokycana, but, for a long time, he rejected them, for he knew us intimately and was well disposed toward us. But he could not resist the King, whom prominent clergymen incited against us, inducing the Queen, too, to believe the things which were said, although, as God liveth, they were all untrue. Hence the King ordered us to be imprisoned and tortured. Rokycana could not prevent this."[16]

Several letters seem to have been addressed to him, in one of which occurred the following passage:

"Have we deserved the persecutions which you have brought upon us?[17] Have we not been your disciples? Have we not followed your own words in refusing to remain in connection with the corrupt Church? Is it right to invoke the civil power against us? Civil power is intended for the punishment of those who have broken the laws of society and must be coerced within proper bounds. It arose in the heathen world. It is absolutely wrong to use it in matters of religion."[18]

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[14] Comenius Hist. § 55, p. 16.

[15] Lasitius, quoted by Gindely, I. p. 30.

[16] Palacky, VII. pp. 488 and 489, Note 397.

[17] The Brethren refer to his official sanction.

[18] L. F., II. p. 1, etc. In this Folio are found seven official epistles to Rokycana, all of which were written subsequent to 1467, except the fifth, from which the above is quoted. This fifth epistle contains the following endorsement: "This letter was delivered to Master Rokycana when the Brethren, after having suffered tortures, were freed from prison in the year 1463."

Whatever the views and feelings of Rokycana may have been, he was afraid of the King and did nothing for the relief of the Brethren. Hence they closed their correspondence with him in these words: "Thou art of the world and wilt perish with the world."[19] Now he became angry and took active steps against them, inducing Podiebrad to issue another edict banishing them from the country. It is said, that the Bishop of Breslau advised the King to shed no more blood, because martyrdom was like a half-roasted piece of meat, apt to breed maggots.[20] In consequence of this new decree many Brethren, and especially the more prominent, fled to the mountains and forests round about Brandeis, where they eked out their lives in great distress and misery.[21]

Gradually, however, the persecution died out. This was owing, in part, to the state of political affairs, which required the entire attention of Podiebrad. Pius the Second turned against him and began a series of intrigues to deprive him of his kingdom. Under such circumstances the Brethren were forgotten.

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[19] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XIX, 4.

[20] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XIX, 5.

[21] In consequence of their hiding in this way another opprobrious name, namely, *Jamnici*, was applied to the Brethren. It means inhabitants of pits and caves.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Synod of Reichenau and final Separation of the Brethren from the Utraquist Church. A. D. 1464–1466.

Results of the Persecution.—Increase of Membership.—Desire for a more complete Organization —Synod among the Mountains of Reichenau.—The Statutes adopted by the Synod.—Election of three Directors of the Church.—The Question of a Separation from the Utraquists.—Martin Lupac and his Counsel.—Looking for a Church not under the Papacy, with which Church the Brethren might unite.—Another Synod called.—The Question of separating from the National Church and instituting an independent Ministry decided by the Lot.

PERSECUTION for the Gospel's sake invariably defeats itself. The more God's people are oppressed, the more they learn to endure, the stronger they grow in faith, the more rapidly they increase in numbers.

Of this truth the first persecution which came upon the Brethren was an evidence. A few of them denied their faith and fell, but as a body they were inspired with new courage and the firm determination to carry on, while bearing patiently whatever sufferings might yet await them, the work which they had begun in the Lord's name and to the Lord's glory. Nor did an increase of their membership fail to take place. Attracted by the steadfastness which they had shown there came both priests and laymen, asking to be admitted to their communion. Among the former were several Waldenses from a colony on the confines of Austria, and among the latter, noblemen who invited the Brethren to settle on their estates.[1] Throughout their whole history, persecutions pro-

[1] Reichel's Geschichte, p. 16.

duced similar results. The Brethren were, more or less at all times, in the language of one of their own writers, "cast down, oppressed and greatly afflicted;"[2] and yet, until the Anti-reformation, they continually grew in numbers and influence.

But the first persecution brought about other consequences also, which proved to be of far reaching importance. The conviction spread that a more complete organization must be given to the Church and that it must be more absolutely grounded, in doctrine and practice, on the Holy Scriptures. To this end the Elders convened a Synod among the mountains of Reichenau.

It took place in 1464 and was held under the open canopy of heaven.[3] Many representatives, from different parts of Bohemia and Moravia, attended. First of all, the principles according to which the Church should be governed, were anew discussed and adopted. These principles have been preserved and constitute the oldest document extant setting forth the doctrine and practice of the Brethren. It reads as follows:[4]

STATUTES AGREED UPON BY THE BRETHREN IN THE MOUNTAINS OF REICHENAU, 1464. DELIVERED TO THE ELDERS.

We are, above all, agreed on the following points:

To continue, through grace, sound in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; to be established in the righteousness which is of God, to maintain the bond of love among each other, and to have our hope in the living God. We will shew this both in word and deed, assist each other in the spirit of love, live honestly, study to be humble, quiet, meek, sober, and patient, and thus testify to others that we have in truth a sound faith, genuine love, and a sure and certain hope.

We are moreover agreed, all and each to shew willing obedience in all things, as the inspired Scriptures of our Lord exhort

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[2] Quellen, p. 278, Blahoslaw's Letter to Lasitius.

[3] L. F., V. 260, etc.

[4] L. F., V. No. 17. A German translation is given in Reichel's Geschichte, Appendix I.; also in Cröger, I., pp. 66-71; Benham in his Origin and Episcopate of the Boh. Brn, Chapt. V., p. 38, furnishes an English version which we have adopted above.

us to do; each is to accept in the spirit of mutual good will, instruction, warning, exhortation, and reproof from his brother, and withal he will maintain the covenant into which we have entered with God and His Holy Spirit, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

We are unanimously agreed, mutually to strengthen each other, according to our several abilities in the truth, which by the grace of God we confess, and to undertake and execute with cheerfulness whatever may be deemed useful to our edification and spiritual welfare.

We will, above all, observe Christian obedience, acknowledge our faults and shortcomings, humble ourselves, and be subject one to another; we will have the fear of God before our eyes when we are exhorted and reproved, try to amend our ways and confess our sins before God and man. If any one should be unwilling to abide by the rules and prove unfaithful to the covenant made with God, and faithful Christian brethren, we must declare, though with deep regret, that we cannot assure such an one of his salvation; but on the other hand, it may possibly become necessary to exclude him from our church-fellowship. And if any one is excluded from our communion on account of some grievous transgression or glaring error in doctrine, we cannot re-admit him until he has entirely cleared himself, and given manifest proofs of a changed conduct.

We further agree, that each one abide faithful in his calling, and have a good conscience in all things, according to the apostolic exhortations. The priests and teachers should, in particular, set a good example to others, and in word and deed demean themselves so that they may escape all blame and just reproof. Those who, of their own accord, have renounced their claims upon their personal estates for the good of the Church, should faithfully adhere to their engagement, and not urge any private or personal claims upon their estates, monies, or other property, but follow the example of the primitive Christians, willingly submitting to have all things common, as it is written: "They had all things common, and parted to all men as every man had need." This is a very praiseworthy and reasonable thing, especially from those who become the messengers of the churches, in order that they may learn while discharging the duties of their office to be content with a moderate diet and decent clothing, leaving all the rest to the Lord who cares for them. They ought, therefore, to abstain from all extravagance, and be content with the support which the stewards of the common fund are able to allow them.

Moreover, it is necessary that the priests and teachers should be freed from all care regarding their temporal support, to enable them to devote their whole attention to the spiritual duties of their office. They must patiently bear whatever Divine provi-

dence may appoint for them; distress, hunger, cold, persecution, imprisonment, and even death itself, after the example of the early Christians, who were wholly devoted to God—they must surrender themselves entirely to His government, which they must patiently follow, and leave the world.

Whoever possesses this world's goods should remember the poor, and freely communicate according to the word of God; work with his own hands, and do what is just and right. They ought only to trade with heavenly goods and treasures, preach the word of God, teach their dear neighbors and pray for them, that the Lord may grant them grace to grow and increase more and more in their spiritual lives.

Priests and teachers may, however, engage in domestic labors in their leisure hours. Whatever they can spare from their own necessary expenses they should spend in remembering the poor; but if they suffer want they are to be supported, with the consent of their brethren, from the general fund; yet care should always be taken to avoid giving offence, or causing disharmony and contention.

The same rule obtains among brethren and sisters who are engaged in handicraft business, or hire themselves out for labor in order to secure a decent support and maintenance. Whoever goes on errands, or is employed to do a certain work, shall be paid a fair remuneration for his labor, unless he can and will do it gratuitously for the benefit of the congregation.

Orphans and minors must shew at all times due obedience to the superintendents and elders of the congregation who have charge of them, and do nothing without their counsel or advice and consent.

Servants are bound to obey their masters in all things, for they are their nursing-fathers, counsellors and supporters, who care for them both in health and sickness.

The sisters who are in service stand in the same relation, and are under the same obligations to their mistresses. Indeed all are expected to demean themselves as it becometh Christians, in order to walk blamelessly before God, and to be useful and pleasant to their brethren and sisters, whose well-meant counsels and directions they ought faithfully to follow, preserving a good conscience and purity of heart, walking in simplicity of mind, and always remembering that the eye of God penetrates their inmost thoughts. If they are thus walking in truth they may rejoice in sure and certain hope of salvation.

Every master and mistress of a house must treat their servants with kindness, encourage them in everything that is pleasing to God, set them a good example in word and deed, and bear rule over them in the spirit of meekness, peace, and gentleness, coupled with a prudent exercise of forbearance such as becometh a Christian master.

We further agreed on certain points respecting our domestic relations to each other, certain rules were laid down in harmony with the word of God, regulating the mutual relationships between man and wife, and further as to how a husband is to behave towards his wife with all modesty, how to bring up his children well, how to superintend his servants and whole household, how to act towards his neighbor, and likewise how to regulate his conduct towards his superiors, magistrates, &c., that in all things the true spirit of the Divine law be obeyed.

Our people are to be supported to the best of our ability. Towards strangers and travelers we will exercise kind hospitality, more especially if the object of their journey be the furtherance of the Gospel. Whenever we see any of our brethren suffer want or otherwise in affliction, we will follow the example of the apostles and our early fathers in the faith, and communicate according to his need from the store which the Lord in His mercy has vouchsafed to us. For if all faithful Christians were united in love, and each one did study to bear the other's burden, the commandment of Christ would be fulfilled. Sympathizing love is the fulness of the Christian faith, promoting edification and spiritual life, and is the firmest and most enduring bond of human happiness. He that loveth not has denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel, and the Spirit of the Lord condemns him.

It was further agreed: We will receive with brotherly kindness a penitent soul, and every one who turns away from the world unto God, and assist them, that they may come to the knowledge of the truth. Whoever he be he shall find everywhere a kind and hospitable reception. We will faithfully converse with him, give him advice and instruction, exhortations, and every needful warning, that he may be corrected and edified, and may grow in spirituality.

Concerning our external comforts, it was agreed: We will not needlessly change our place of residence, except it can be shown that we can be of greater and more extensive usefulness to the Church of God in the new place.

Neither will we change our servants needlessly, unless a master is convinced that a change would be beneficial for the spiritual well-being of his household, in which case he himself should suggest the means of facilitating it.

If any are persecuted and driven into exile on account of their faith, or if their property and possessions are taken away from them or burnt, we consider it our duty to receive and care for such.

The orphan, the widow, and the destitute, are to be regarded with peculiar compassion by the Brethren, and to be received in the name of Christ; the necessary support being provided for them in the spirit of charity.

The Brethren will inquire after all devoted and faithful servants of God who may be in want and distress, and assist them to the best of their ability.

Whenever any sum is paid from the general fund of the congregations of the Brethren for charitable purposes, the treasurer is to keep a faithful and correct account of it, and procure a receipt for it from the party to whom it is paid. Hereby every suspicion, every false report and hurtful understanding are prevented, and love and harmony preserved in the congregations.

In general the Brethren should seek their resting-place in the Lord, and guard against the dazzling and vaunting seductions of the world. The tempting exterior of worldly-mindedness, the subtlety and secret malice of its prevailing wicked spirit, which continually endeavors to overcome Christian simplicity of heart by its flattering delusions, are very dangerous rocks for a faithful soul. The spirit of this world pursues only selfish objects, and promising to its dupe temporary advantages, which often are not attainable, it can do no more after all than deceive; from which spirit may God in mercy preserve us.

All this is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and therefore we are bound faithfully to adhere to it.

Regarding our earthly appointed Rulers, we consider ourselves bound to show them due obedience, to follow their wise counsels, to be subject to them with all humility, to manifest loyalty in all things, and faithfulness towards them, and to pray unto God for them.

In the congregations we will preserve peace with all, cultivate brotherly harmony, and do all in our power to further the common well-being, and to maintain firmly the bond of brotherhood in and with and through our God. Thus our conscience will be preserved in the peace of God, and the blessings of the grace of God will at all times abound among us.

It is with feelings of profound admiration that we read this venerable document more than four centuries old, and recognize in its opening sentence justification by faith as the doctrinal ground on which the Brethren stood.[5] At the same time it plainly shows how decided was the tendency which they had received from Peter Chelcicky, to subordinate the doctrinal to the practical. And yet, when a man has been justified by faith what can be more acceptable to God than holiness manifesting itself, as this document enjoins, in every

[5] Even Gindely, I. p. 31, acknowledges this.

duty and in all the relations of daily life? The statutes of Reichenau set forth personal godliness in a way worthy of the earnest men who were there assembled.

In the next place, the Synod proceeded to consider measures looking to a more complete organization of the Church. This was a subject which, in its widest scope, involved questions of great moment. The recent persecution had taught the Brethren that the number of their priests was insufficient. Not a few of them had been rudely dragged from their fields of labor and cast into prison; and although they had, for the most part, been subsequently set at liberty, so that they could resume their work, the hope of keeping their ranks full by secessions from the Utraquists was uncertain. Should the Brethren therefore cut themselves loose entirely from this Church and institute a ministry of their own? They approached this question, not with the rashness of modern sectarianism, which almost seems to think that every new division among the Protestants is a new trophy for the cause of Truth, but with the utmost caution and feelings well nigh of awe. Would so momentous a step be well pleasing in the sight of God? Would it tend to promote His glory and advance His kingdom? Or would it increase the confusion prevailing in matters of religion and be a stumbling-block in the way of men? These and other cognate points were discussed, but without bringing the Synod to a decision. Hence it was agreed that, for the time being, the ministrations of Utraquist priests should continue, but that the supervision of the Church should be rendered more efficient. To this end three of the Elders—Gregory, Procop of Hradeck and John Klenovsky—were elected *Primarii*,[6] or Chief Elders, and received authority to direct, in accordance with the new Statutes which were now delivered into their hands, the other Elders and rule the membership.[7] Thereupon the Synod adjourned.

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[6] The title given them by Lasitius

[7] Lasitius, II. 35; Blahoslaw's Summa quaedam L. F., VIII. pp. 157–171. Camerarius, p 90; Comenii Hist Sect. 58, p. 17; Gindely, I. p. 31.

But the question of an independent ministry was not dropped. It continued to engage the attention of the Brethren; they made it the subject of special prayer; they consulted leading Utraquists upon whose friendship and sympathy they could rely.

Among these Martin Lupac, who had been appointed Rokycana's suffragan, but who, like Rokycana, had never been consecrated, was prominent. Originally a Taborite, he joined the Utraquists when the Taborite faction came to an end. In point of learning he was Rokycana's superior; his knowledge of the Truth was deeper and his views were far more liberal.

An incident showing his advanced opinions has been preserved. One day, while carrying the sacrament to a village near Prague, he met a peasant who fell upon his knees and adored the host. Lupac raised him up and pointing to heaven said: "My son, Christ must be adored as He sits on high, at the right hand of the Omnipotent Father."[8]

Lupac had manifested a warm interest in the work of the Brethren from its inception; and now he strongly advised them to secede from the Utraquists and establish a ministry of their own. Such a step, he said, would indeed be contrary to the will of the heads of the Church and to the mind of the Church itself, which was infected with popery, but in harmony with the will and mind of God. As regarded himself personally, he would rejoice to see among the Brethren an independent order of ministers properly ordained. In no other way could the work which they had begun be brought to its legitimate end.[9] Similar advice was given them by other Utraquist priests, especially by Stephen and Martin.[10]

Lupac's liberal views eventually led to a rupture with Rokycana. Having been banished from the capital, he found a refuge with the Brethren on the domain of Senftenberg.[11]

[8] Camerarius, p. 90.

[9] Lasitius, II. p. 25, etc., (Plitt); Cröger, I. p. 72; Blahoslaw's Summa quaedam.

[10] Lasitius, II. p. 55.

[11] L. F., I. and III.

In consequence of a letter which he issued setting forth his theological views,[12] Rokycana had him arrested and imprisoned at Prague. Thereupon he addressed a second letter personally to Rokycana,[13] defending the theological positions of the first and interceding with him on behalf the Brethren who were, he said, "orphans forsaken and scattered." This communication brought about a public disputation between the two,[14] which however led to no change in their relations. Lupac was remanded to prison and died on the twentieth of April, 1468. Whether he regained his freedom prior to his death is not known. In any case, he lived long enough to see the ministry, whose institution he had urged, established among the Brethren.

But at the time when he and others gave them this advice, they still hesitated to take so decisive a step. Was there not, they reasoned, a way of gaining their object without creating a schism? Could not, somewhere on earth, a body of Christians be found that traced its origin to the primitive church, that had maintained the true faith and preserved an uncorrupted priesthood? Several Brethren proposed to travel to the countries of India,[15] in search of such Christians. But before they could undertake this journey, two men from that distant region visited Prague. The account which they gave of the state of religion in India convinced the Brethren that they would not there meet with the ideal for which they were seeking. Their inquiries with regard to the Greek and Armenian churches proved equally unsatisfactory. Nowhere did they hear of a priesthood which came up to the standard of the apostolic writings and which was not, more or less, corrupt.[16]

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[12] L F., I. p. 236.

[13] "The Letter of the prisoner M. Lupac to Rokycana." L. F., I. p. 225.

[14] Report of the Disputation in L. F., I. p. 343, &c.

[15] "In die Indische Länder." Goll, Appendix F., p. 100. It is not clear to what body of Christians the Brethren here refer, or what countries they mean by those of India. The Christians of St. Thomas lived in India. Perhaps they refer to the Copts of Egypt, or to the Abyssinian Church.

[16] From a treatise "Wie man sich gegen die Römische Kirche verhalten

At last, "constrained by the necessity which their own salvation imposed upon them,"[17] they convened another Synod, with the understanding that this body should bring the question to an issue. The Elders having appointed fasting and prayers throughout the Church, to the end that God might, by His Holy Spirit guide the deliberations, the Synod met, probably in 1465.[18] Its members soon agreed that, even now, they would not venture to decide the question by their own votes, or upon the strength of their own arguments but would submit it, in simple faith, through the use of the lot, to the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. Two of His promises, in particular, filled their minds with confidence; "That whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in My name, He may give it you;" and "if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven."[19]

Accepting these promises as addressed to them, they formulated the following questions:

"Is it God's will that we shall separate entirely from the power of the Papacy and hence from its priesthood? Is it

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soll," cited in the preceding chapter, Note 16, Palacky, VII. pp. 492 and 493; Goll, Appendix F., pp. 99 and 100. The former ascribes the work to Gregory; the latter says its authorship is uncertain. We adopt Palacky's view.

[17] "Die Noth unsers Heils hat uns dazu getrieben." This saying frequently occurs in the documents relating to the institution of the ministry. Goll, p. 15.

[18] While the events narrated in this chapter are not to be disputed, the chronological order in which they occurred is very uncertain. The latest sources seem to us to show, although we adopted a different position in our lectures in the Seminary, that there were three Synods which engaged in establishing the ministry, namely, that of 1464, which took the preliminary steps, a later Synod, probably in 1465, which used the lot to decide the question, and the Synod of 1467, which appointed the first ministers. Goll, p. 19. Lasitius takes this view; but in giving an account of the Synod of 1465, introduces a number of points which evidently belong to that of 1467. Plitt, Reichel and Cröger closely follow him.

[19] John xiv, 16; Matt. xviii, 19.

God's will that we shall institute, according to the model of the primitive Church, a ministerial order of our own ?"[20]

With earnest prayer the lot was cast and decided both questions affirmatively.[21]

Thanking God for this manifestation of His grace, the members of the Synod returned to their homes, where the intelligence which they brought excited universal trust and joy. The Brethren were now confident that God was for them; who could be against them? What they had failed to understand in 1457, was made plain in 1465. They were ordained to build up, not a fraternal union within the Utraquist Church, but an independent Church on the model of the apostolic. Great and glorious was this mission.

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[20] Fourth Letter to Rokycana, L. F., II. found in Goll, Appendix A, p. 87. In this document the Brethren combine with the above two questions a third, which, however, evidently relates to the second use of the lot, at the Synod of 1467, when the first ministers were appointed.

[21] Fourth Letter to Rokycana, L. F., II. found in Goll, Appendix A, pp. 87 and 88; Blahoslaw's Summa quaedam, L. F., VIII. who says: "Utuntur et ipsi sorte, hoc unicum quaerentes, an placeat Domino, ut sese in universum separent ab Ecclesia Romana, adeoque et Boëmica. Confirmantur sorte placere hoc Deo, et jam esse tempus id fieri. Agunt Deo gratias, et confidentius obdurant unanimiter in proposito suo." (Goll, Appendix L, p. 117.) The use of the lot on this occasion gave rise, in later times, to the legend that God had worked a miracle and that the Brethren had heard a supernatural voice saying, "This is my will." This legend Lasitius adopted in one part of his history, but in another he relates the use of the lot. Regenvolscius also accepts the legend.

CHAPTER XV.

The Synod of Lhota and Institution of an Independent Ministry. 1467.

A Synod appointed at Lhota.—The Delegates.—Proceedings in Connection with the Appointment of the first Ministers.—Matthias, Thomas and Elias designated by Lot.—Gregory's Dream fulfilled.—The Thanksgiving Hymn.—Rebaptism and what it meant.—The Lord's Supper.—Ordination of the new Ministers discussed.—They receive, first of all, presbyterial Ordination.—Further Discussions on the Subject of Ordination.—The Synod resolves to introduce the Episcopacy.—The Moravian Waldenses.—Three Priests sent to them to secure episcopal Consecration.

THE year 1467 saw the consummation of the measure that God had sanctioned. At a Synod which the Elders called for this purpose, and in view of which they appointed fasting and prayers in all the parishes, the ministry of the Brethren was established. A chain of many links—it has continued unbroken to the present day.

More than sixty representatives, comprising nobles, priests, artizans and peasants, assembled at Lhota, a village near Reichenau, in the house of a man named Duchek.[1] They came mostly from the Prachin, Saaz and Chrudim Circuits of Bohemia, and from the Olmütz and Prerau Circuits of

[1] This village, which properly bears the name of Lhotka, is mentioned for the first time in Luke's Ursprung d. Unität, MS., H. A. (See Goll, Appendix, p. 111). There are several other places of the same name. In 1879 we visited one to the south-west of Pottenstein, a secluded hamlet completely surrounded by hills. According to the Rev. E. Schmidt, of Pottenstein, this was the spot where the Synod met, and where alone the necessary secrecy could be secured. But the mass of evidence is in favor of the village near Reichenau.

Moravia. Gregory and Michael Bradacius were the ruling spirits; but a deep sense of responsibility to God and His Church pervaded every mind.

The Synod was opened with prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. As soon as the deliberations began, there shone forth the same implicit confidence in God which had illumined the meeting at Reichenau.[2] On that occasion the question whether an independent ministry should be instituted had been decided by the lot; now, on the strength of apostolic precedent in the case of Matthias, not only the men who were to be the first to assume this ministry should be designated in the same way, but the Lord should also determine whether the time had come for taking this final step.

The proceedings were conducted by the Elders. They seated themselves at a table in front of which were ranged the other members in semi-circular rows. First of all nine men, of high repute for piety, were nominated by ballot. Then twelve slips of paper, three inscribed with the word *Jest* (is) and nine blank, were rolled together and put into a vase. An earnest prayer followed, that God, in mercy and according to His good will, would designate either one, or two, or three of the candidates as the first ministers of the Brethren's Church; but that, if the men whom He had chosen were not among the nine that had been nominated, or if this was not the time which He had ordained for instituting an independent priesthood, He would cause all the nine to receive blanks. In this event the Brethren would have postponed further proceedings to a future period.[3]

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[2] "Als wir wieder zusammen traten in demselben Vertrauen wie vordem." Letter of the Brethren to King George, in L. F., I.; Goll, Appendix, p. 95.

[3] "Wenn aber Gott in diesem Jahr es noch nicht haben wolle, so solle es keiner werden. Und wäre es auf keinen gefallen, so wären wir dieses Jahr ohne jedwede Priester geblieben, und auch fernerhin, bis uns Gott zeigen würde auf unser Gebet hin und unsern Glauben, Er wolle es schon haben, und auch diejenigen Personen, von denen es Ihm gnädig wohlgefalle dass sie es würden." Fourth Letter to Rokycana, L. F., IV, p. 4, etc. Goll, Appendix, p. 88.

After the prayer Gregory addressed the Synod, in substance as follows: "My brethren, in as much as we have given this whole matter into the hands of the Lord, that He may designate, if it so please Him, some of these men to be His ambassadors, let us submit implicitly to His will and judgment. Be of good courage. He who has promised that the prayer of faith shall be fulfilled, will not put us to shame." A lad, named Prokop, was now called in and told to distribute the lots. He drew one and gave it to the first candidate; he drew another and presented it to the second; he continued to draw the lots until all the candidates had been supplied. There ensued a moment of intense expectation and yet of calm confidence. Three slips of paper remained in the vase. If these should prove to be the three which were marked, the faith of the Synod would be tried but not shaken; for the Lord's will, under all circumstances, should be the will of His servants, and whatever the issue, to Him should belong the praise. Amidst profound silence and a feeling of such awe as must have pervaded the council of the apostles, the candidates advanced to the table and presented their lots to the Elders for examination. The Elders unrolled them. All the three inscribed with *Jest* had been drawn. They designated Matthias of Kunwald, Thomas of Prelouc and Elias of Chrenovic as the first ministers of the Unitas Fratrum. A thrill of joy passed through the assembly, and was intensified when Gregory announced that these were the men whom he had seen, in his dream while on the rack, guarding the tree with the birds. That dream, he added, had evidently been prophetic, and its fulfillment now might be looked upon as an additional sign from the Lord.[4] As by a common impulse

[4] Vide page 117 and 118. The Fourth Letter to Rokycana, one of the earliest documents, alludes to the vision (Goll, Appendix, p. 89); Blahoslaw in his Summa speaks of it (Goll, Appendix, p. 117); and Regenvolscius, p. 172, gives it in full. There is nothing improbable or contrary to Scripture in such a dream; and if that of the Elector Frederic of Saxony, at the beginning of Luther's Reformation, was historic, this one may claim the same character. But no other sign occurred at the Synod. Lasitius misunderstanding Blahoslaw's words, "ostentum seu prodigium," which evi-

the whole Synod rose, and exultingly acknowledged Matthias, Thomas and Elias to be priests appointed of God, each member hastening to pledge to them his right hand in token of fellowship and submission. Thereupon, with one heart and voice, was sung a thanksgiving hymn composed for the occasion by Gabriel Komarowsky[5]:

"With unity of heart and voice
Together let us all rejoice,
And render praise to God alone,
The Father, Holy Ghost, and Son

Since He hath shown us mercy free,
In time of greatest jeopardy,
And deep His holy law imprest
Upon each heart within each breast.

We needed faithful men, and He
Granted us such: Most earnestly
We pray, Lord, let Thy gifts descend
That blessing may Thy work attend;

What is begun, O Lord, fulfill,
According to Thy gracious will:
To Thee alone we turn our face,
Trusting entirely to Thy grace.

Pity Thy Church, which, gone astray,
No more discerns the heavenly way,
That by Thy truth's direction tends
To happiness which never ends:

But lur'd by doctrine false to Thee,
Distracted mourns her misery:
Oh Thou! our Shepherd, faithful Lord,
Help to Thy helpless sheep afford.

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dently refer to Gregory's vision, again reports a miracle—a supernatural light filling the apartment—which miracle even Camerarius, p. 85, and it would appear, Croeger also, I. p. 79, accept.

[5] The original is found in the Brethren's Bohemian Hymnal, ed. of 1615, p. 351, beginning, *Radugme se wzdy spoke cne;* a German translation was introduced into their German Hymnal, ed. of 1585, p. 127, ed. 1606, p. 311, see also Croeger, I. pp. 78 and 79; the above English version is from Benham's Notes, pp. 51–53.

By Thy bright word O give them light,
Thee the true God to know aright;
And humbly seek that glorious rest
Which Thou reservest for the blest.

Thou, Lord, art own'd, with one consent,
The great I AM, Omnipotent,
Monarch of all the hosts that be
In heav'n, on earth, and 'neath the sea;

Root out foul error and deceit,
And Antichrist, O Lord, defeat;
Nor suffer persecuting might
To harass Thee by day and night.

Help Thine elected flock, that they
No more may feel the tyrant's sway;
But from all thraldom now set free,
Raise grateful songs of praise to Thee.

Eternal God! we Thee implore,
Help that Thy Word may more and more
So dwell and rule in us, that we
May always stand approv'd of Thee.

Grant that we one and all may live
In Thee, and rich in virtue thrive;
And find above, in endless day,
That crown which ne'er shall fade away.
Amen."

This hymn was an expression of the profound gratitude which filled the hearts of the members of the Synod. God had visited them. Great things, which they received in the spirit, had He done; good things had He accomplished in the end of days among His people. They thanked Him and took courage; they rejoiced in Him and gloried in His work.[6] Enabled by His grace, strong in the power of His might, they

[6] "Und viele von uns erkannten und fühlten, Gott habe uns heimgesucht und zu unserer Bestärkung grosse Dinge gewirkt in unserem Geiste. Und so haben wir in festem Vertrauen es empfangen und in der Freude unseres Geistes Gott gedankt, dass Er gute Dinge thue am Ende der Tage und sein Werk wirke in diesen Ländern der Erde, in seinem Volke." Letter of the Brethren to King George, L. F., I. and II.; Goll, Appendix, p. 95.

had come out from a corrupt Church and constituted themselves "an habitation of God through the Spirit."[7]

This separation was now solemnly avowed and rendered irrevocable by a symbolical act. The members of the Synod, in a body, were rebaptized.[8] And in as much as this act formed, at the same time, a protest against the errors of Rome and the validity of her sacraments, it was repeated, for a number of years, as often as Romanists joined the Brethren. The celebration of the Lord's Supper closed the proceedings of the Synod in connection with the institution of the ministry.[9]

It is noteworthy that the lot designated not scholars, of whom a number were present, but men in the lower walks of life. Matthias was a farmer, only twenty-five years of age; Thomas, a town-clerk; and Elias, a miller. But they were all men of "approved godliness, wisdom and prudence."[10]

The important subject of their ordination next engaged the attention of the Synod, and the following results were reached: The New Testament makes no distinction between bishops and priests; in the time of the Apostles priests administered the rite of ordination; the Brethren desire to follow the example of the Apostolic Church in all things; therefore the three newly-appointed ministers shall be ordained by the priests present at the Synod, one of whom shall be designated by lot to preside on the occasion. To this end the names of Michael Bradacius and of an aged Waldensian priest were submitted

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[7] Ephesians 2: 22.

[8] Gindely, I. 36. Such a rebaptism had nothing whatever in common with the standpoint of modern Baptists. Infant baptism was not rejected, nor was it a rebaptism by immersion.

[9] The principal sources for the above narrative of the Synod are: Fourth Letter to Rokycana, 1468, L. F., VI., Goll, Appendix, pp. 87–90; Michael's Treatise, 1473, L. F., V. in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 50 and 51; Apology of 1503, L. F., VI., Reichel's Zusätze, p 42, etc.; Luke's Narratives, 1523, L. F., IV., Goll, Appendix, I and K; Blahoslaw's Summa, L. F., VIII., Goll, Appendix, pp. 117 and 118; Lasitius, II. pp. 47 and 48, quoted by Plitt; Camerarius, pp. 93 and 94; Regenvolscius Bk. I. Chapt. viii;

[10] Jaffet's Geschichte des Ursprungs d. B U. Reichel's Zusätze, p. 54. Comenius, Section 59 and 90; Gindely, I. pp. 33–35.

to the lot. It decided in favor of the latter. Accordingly with prayer and the laying on of hands he ordained Matthias, Thomas and Elias to the priesthood.[11]

But now that the Brethren had complied with the usage of the primitive Church, the question was raised whether such an ordination would suffice in their day and amidst the circumstances by which they were surrounded, or whether it would be expedient to introduce the episcopacy. A difference of opinion appeared. Some were in favor of abiding by the presbyterial ordination, others urged that the episcopacy should be secured.[12] The latter view prevailed. A distinction, it was said, was made at an early day, "immediately after the time of the Apostles," between bishops and priests; to the former was committed the exclusive power to ordain; the prerogatives of a bishop are historically established. "These considerations induced the Synod to resolve upon the introduction of the episcopal office, through which the congregations would be more closely united among themselves and better able to meet inimical proceedings, indignities and evil speaking from without."[13] The minds of the Brethren, writes Comenius, "were agitated by the fear whether an ordination would be sufficiently valid if a presbyter and not truly a bishop were to ordain a presbyter; and in what manner, in case of controversies, such an ordination could be defended either among themselves or against others."[14] Regenvolscius adds: "Nevertheless, in order to meet the calumnies of the adver-

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[11] Fourth Letter to Rokycana, L. F., VI., Goll, Appendix, pp. 88 and 89; Letter to King George, L. F., I. and II, Goll, Appendix, p. 96; Wie sich die Menschen gegen die Röm. Kirche verhalten sollen, L. F., I., Goll, Appendix, p. 102; Reichel in his Zusätze, p. 94; Goll, p. 19; Jaffet's Ursprung d. B. U. II. p. 48, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 55; Regenvolscius, pp. 32 and 33.

[12] Koranda's Letter to Baron Kostka, MS., Lib. University of Prague, printed in Palacky's Archiv Casky, Goll, p. 25 and Palacky, IX. pp. 191 and 192. Zuversichtliche Hoffnung, etc., L. F., V., Goll, p. 28.

[13] Jaffet's Ursprung d. B. U., II. p. 48, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 55 and 56.

[14] Comenii Hist. et R. D., Sect. 59, p. 17.

saries, especially in the beginning of this reformation, they decided that the same usage (the episcopacy), as far as it could be done, should be observed."[15]

In this connection the views of the Roman Catholic historian of the Unitas Fratrum may well find a place:

"However radical the Brethren were in rejecting the old Church and some of her doctrines, they had not then reached, and never did reach, so utter a point of sectarianism as to imagine, like the sects, that they could find among themselves all they needed, or that they could keep aloof from the Christian development of the rest of the world. Not one of them believed that the Church of Christ was restricted to Reichenau and its vicinity, and that fourteen hundred and forty-two years after the death of Christ it could be re-established by an act that would, in no wise, link it to the primitive Church. On the contrary, there was a means by which the new Church, now to be formed, would be made to stand in an unbroken connection with the old. While proceeding to the election of priests, care must be taken to secure the Roman Catholic priesthood, which was alone legitimate—to secure it in some way, but in all truth. Thus provision would be made for a priestly family that would continue to supply itself in an endless development."[16]

That the determination to introduce the bishop's office was a result of the Utraquist antecedents of the founders and leaders of the Church is self-evident. A body sprung exclusively from the Taborites would not have attached so much importance to the question; whereas men like Gregory and his friends, coming from the associations of the Thein parish and a close fellowship with the Bohemian Archbishop elect, naturally looked in the direction of the episcopacy.[17] But where should it be secured?

At that time there was settled in Moravia, on the confines of Austria,[18] a colony of Waldenses said to have a historic episcopate. Their fathers immigrated probably from the

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[15] Regenvolscius, p. 33.

[16] Gindely, I. p. 33.

[17] With this view Goll, p. 34, agrees, who says: "Den Utraquisten im engeren Sinne des Wortes, oder den Calixtinern entstammte ein grosser Theil der Brüder: die utraquistischen Anschauungen sind es gewesen, welche den Sieg davon trugen."

[18] Cerny's Letter to Illyricus, Gindely's Quellen, p. 278.

South of France, in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, hoping that the land of the Hussites would afford them a safe retreat. At first they retired from public view, but soon grew bolder and openly maintained a position among the religious bodies by which they were surrounded.[19] In the course of time their relations to the Utraquists in particular became close and friendly, and they fraternized with them at the mass.[20] Some of their ministers were on a familiar footing with Rokycana, Lupac and other leading divines, whom they frequently visited and by whom they were highly esteemed. Stephen, their principal Bishop, was especially honored as a man of eminence.

At the time the Brethren were looking for a body of Christians with which they might unite, they had formed the acquaintance of these Waldenses.[21] Hence the Synod knew something of their history and claims, and now determined to make overtures to them for episcopal consecration. Three priests, Michael Bradacius, the old Waldensian who had conducted the presbyterial ordination, and a priest of Roman Catholic origin, were commissioned to present such overtures and to receive consecration.[22] The appointment of this deputation constituted the last act of the Synod of Lhota.

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[19] Herzog's Encyklopædie, XVII p. 520.

[20] Blahoslaw's Summa, Goll, Appendix, p. 119; Comenius Hist et R. D. Sect. 62.

[21] Wie sich die Menschen, etc., L. F., I. see Goll, Appendix, p. 100 and Palacky, VII. p. 494; Jaffet's Ursprung d. B. U., II. p. 48, in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 71.

[22] Jaffet's Ursprung d. B. U, II. p. 59, in Reichel's Zusätze, pp 78 and 79. Gindely, I. p. 37, says that Matthias probably accompanied Michael Bradacius; Goll, p. 83, doubts the narrative as presented by Jaffet, that is, that Michael had two companions. We see no reason whatever for not following Jaffet who, as Goll says, "used sources and writings which are no longer within our reach."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Introduction of the Episcopacy and Second Synod at Lhota. A. D. 1467.

Michael and his Companions consult with the Waldensian Bishops.—Origin of their Episcopate.—The Deputies of the Brethren Consecrated Bishops.—Examination into the Authenticity of the Narrative.—Authorities proving the Act of Consecration.—Sources of the Account of the Waldensian Episcopate.—General Remarks.—Return of the Deputies of the Brethren.—Second Synod at Lhota.—Re-ordination of the first three Ministers.—Matthias consecrated Bishop.—The Executive Council.—Michael resigns his Episcopate.

Michael Bradacius and his companions were cordially welcomed by the Waldenses, among whom they found two Bishops, Stephen, who appears to have been far advanced in years, and another whose name is not known. With these men they had a fraternal and satisfactory interview, reporting what had been done at Reichenau and Lhota, asking their opinion with regard to the proceedings, and formally submitting the request of the Synod, that the Waldensian Bishops might impart to its deputies episcopal consecration. In reply Stephen and his associate strongly commended the course pursued by the Brethren, recognized it as good and of divine authority, and with the greatest joy promised to fulfill the wishes of the Synod.[1] At the same time they gave the deputies an account of the origin and episcopate of the Waldenses.

[1] The above is based on Blahoslaw's Summa, L. F., VIII. see Goll, Appendix, p. 118.

It appeared, that while, in common with all their brethren of that day, they claimed a very high antiquity—a claim which modern historical researches have shown to be unfounded—the episcopate which they then possessed had been secured from the Roman Catholic Church. In the year 1433, their ministry having practically died out, they applied, by the advice and assistance of their Utraquist friends, to the Roman Catholic Bishop Nicholas for ordination.[2] This prelate, on the Feast of the Holy Cross, the fourteenth of September, ordained two of their number, Frederick Nemez and John Wlach, to the priesthood, in the Slavonian Monastery of Emmaus, at Prague. Thereupon these two priests were elected Bishops by the Moravian Waldenses and sent to Basle, where the Council was in session. At Basle they were consecrated to the episcopacy, in the summer of 1434, again by a Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church.[3]

The deputies of the Brethren having expressed their satisfaction with what they had heard, a meeting of the Waldensian elders and priests was called. At this meeting, Michael Bradacius and his two companions were set apart as Bishops, with prayer and the laying on of hands, by Stephen and his colleague. At parting, the consecrators admonished them to go and labor in the vineyard of the Lord, and then dismissed them to their own people.[4]

Here it will be proper to interrupt the narrative in order to examine into its authenticity.

First of all the question arises, what authorities have we for the act of consecration?

1. In the Fifth Lissa Folio there is a Bohemian Treatise, entitled, "Did the Secession of the Brethren come from

[2] Palacky, VII. p. 492, who otherwise accepts the narrative as not improbable, says that the consecrating Bishop was the Legate Philibert, although he acknowledges that this Legate had not yet reached Prague on the fourteenth of September. Palacky has no authority for his statement. It is, as Goll says, a mere conjecture.

[3] The above account of the Moravian Waldenses is based on Jaffet's Ursprung d. B. U., II. p. 53, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze. pp. 71–73.

[4] Blahoslaw's Summa, L. F., VIII. see Goll, Appendix, p. 118.

God?" According to the testimony of Cerwenka, a distinguished leader of the Church about the middle of the sixteenth century, which testimony is endorsed on the manuscript, it was written, in 1473, by Michael Bradacius. This document says, that one of the priests of the Brethren, and that one who was of Roman Catholic origin, that is, Michael Bradacius himself, "received consecration as a Bishop at the hands of an old Waldensian."[5]

2. On the twelfth of September, 1478, in accordance with a resolution of the Bohemian Diet, a Colloquy began between Wenzel Koranda, who succeded Rokycana as the head of the Utraquist Church, and several Masters of the University on the one part, and Michael Bradacius, John Chelcicky and Prokop of Neuhaus, as representatives of the Unitas Fratrum on the other. Of this Colloquy which continued for several days and was held in the Carolinum, Wenzel Koranda himself sent a report, before the close of the year, to Baron John Kostka von Postupic, who was a warm friend of the Brethren, in order to induce him to withdraw from them his powerful protection. This report, in Koranda's own handwriting, is still extant in the University Library of Prague, and contains the following passage:[6]

"They said (the deputies of the Brethren, Michael Bradacius being the spokesman): 'At the time that we separated from the Roman Catholic Church and from you, we decided by lot who among us was to be a Bishop, and who a priest. And when the lot had designated three, and that one of them should be a Bishop, a difference of opinion arose amongst us. At last, how-

[5] L. F., V. p. 23, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 50 and 51. Goll, p. 28, Note 3, maintains that Michael Bradacius was not the author and that the treatise was not written in 1473; but he grants that it must have been composed prior to the end of the fifteenth century. And yet Cerwenka, fifty or sixty years after the composition, ought to be a more reliable authority than Goll, three and a half centuries later. In any case, the fact which the document sets forth remains undisputed.

[6] Koranda's Manual, MS. XVII. F. 2, the passage being quoted in full by Palacky, IX. pp. 191 and 192. The report is printed in Palacky's Archiv Cesky, VI. See also Goll, p. 25, who likewise cites the passage.

ever, we agreed to send a deputation to a Waldensian Bishop, who consecrated me a Bishop'—so said Michael concerning himself—'and I thereupon, after my return to my brethren, ordained one of the three first a priest and then a bishop.'"

This testimony alone is conclusive. It is emphatically re-iterated in the "Book of the Masters of Prague," of which we will speak more at length in another connection, and which appeared not long after the Colloquy.[7]

3. The Third Lissa Folio contains a document entitled an Apology, and dated May the third, 1503. It sets forth the reasons why the writer joined the Brethren, and is addressed to a friend. In this document we are again told that Michael Bradacius was consecrated a Bishop by the Waldensian Bishop, with prayer and the imposition of hands.[8]

4. The Sixth Lissa Folio embraces the answer of the Brethren to the Articles, drawn up in 1504, of the Masters of the University of Prague, in which answer is found the following passage:

"We have a lawful priesthood, which was produced as well by the birth of faith as established through that order which men introduced. We have priests who were properly ordained both in accordance with the divine institution"—presbyterial ordination—"and in accordance with that order which comes from men"—episcopal ordination.[9]

5. An important witness is John Blahoslaw, (born 1523, died 1571,) one of the most illustrious leaders and learned authors of the Church. In 1556 he wrote a brief summary of its history. This work was occasioned by the dogmatic assertions of Flacius Illyricus, the celebrated author of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* and of the *Magdeburg Centuries*, that the Brethren were not the spiritual seed of John Hus,

[7] "I, Michael," so this passage reads, "went to him (the Waldensian Bishop). He thanked God with tears that he was permitted, before his latter end, to hear of such men as the Brethren, and he consecrated me as a Bishop with the imposition of hands." Goll, Appendix, p. 105.

[8] L. F., III. p. 227, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 45. Goll, Appendix, p. 107. Goll thinks the author was Luke of Prague; the Bohemian Historia Fratrum says he was either Thomas, Prokop of Neuhaus, or Lawrence Krasonicky.

[9] L. F., VI. p. 48, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 37.

but a mere branch of the Waldenses. Blahoslaw had a violent dispute with Flacius on this subject at Magdeburg. Under such circumstances it may well be supposed that he prepared his epitome with the greatest care. At the same time, in as much as he was the archivist of the Church, specially charged with the collection of its official records and of documents relating to its history, he had the best opportunity of rendering his narrative authentic and absolutely reliable. Now, in the course of it he says, that the Waldenses had two Bishops who "consecrated them (the deputies of the Brethren), with the imposition of hands, and declared them to be their associates in the Lord and fellow-bishops."[10]

At a later time Blahoslaw wrote a second and more voluminous History of the Church. This work is lost. It was, however, known to Jaffet, Regenvolscius and other writers of the seventeenth century. One of these, Samuel Martinius of Drazov, a bitter enemy of the Brethren, embodied almost literally in a polemical work, *Zur Abwehr*, which he published in 1636, Blahoslaw's account of the introduction of the episcopacy, taken from his second History. In this citation Blahoslaw says that the deputies of the Brethren were sent to the Waldensian Bishop in order to be empowered, through their consecration, to ordain other ministers, and that he gave them such consecration, adding: "But it is not true, as some assert, that he laid his hands upon them merely as a sign of repentance; although we will not deny that the Waldensian Bishop may perhaps have said this, at a later time, constrained by fear." That is, he feared the consequences of having invested the Brethren's Church with the episcopacy; for as soon as this became known a severe persecution broke out.[11]

[10] Blahoslaw's Summa, L. F., VIII.; Goll, Appendix, p. 118.

[11] Goll, pp. 60 and 61, and Appendix, p. 132. The manuscript collection of historical documents, written in Bohemian and preserved in the University Library at Prague, which work we have cited in other connections (*vide* p. 100, No. 10, etc.) is generally ascribed to Blahoslaw, although Goll doubts the correctness of this view (Goll, pp. 56–59). This collection contains no document relating to the introduction of the episcopacy.

6. A no less important witness is John Jaffet (ordained priest in 1576, Assistant Bishop in 1589, died in 1614), who was appointed by the Bishops to meet the attacks of a Jesuit opponent, of whom we will presently speak more at length. Jaffet began his literary labors by a thorough study of the history of the Brethren, and became so well read in it that Regenvolscius calls him, by way of eminence, "the writer of the History of the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren."[12] Jaffet says, in his *Ursprung der Brüder-Unität*, that the priests sent to the Waldenses were consecrated by their Bishops "to the episcopal office with prayer and the laying on of hands."[13]

7. In the year 1616, the General Synod of Zerawitz resolved to publish the *Ratio Disciplinæ Ordinisque Ecclesiastici*, or the "Ecclesiastical Discipline and Order" of the Church. To this document was prefixed, in the name of the Bishops and Ministers, a historical introduction, which says, speaking of the deputation sent to the Waldenses: "Since they affirmed that they had regular Bishops, and a regular succession uninterrupted from the Apostles, they in a solemn manner created three of our ministers Bishops, and conferred on them the power of ordaining ministers."[14] This is the official testimony on the subject given by the Church in Synod assembled.

8. In closing this series of authorities we merely refer to the additional and unanimous evidence furnished by Bishop Amos Comenius, by the History of Persecutions, by Regenvolscius, and, in modern times, by the Roman Catholic writer Gindely, and the Protestant writer Cerwenka, both of whom have studied the history of the Brethren with the utmost care.[15] Cerwenka says: "That the first priests of the Brethren received their ordination, and the Unity its first

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[12] Regenvolscius, p. 328.

[13] Ursprung, p. 59, MS., Herrnhut Archives, Reichel's Zusätze, p. 79.

[14] Seifferth Ch. Con., pp. 26 and 94; Ratio Disciplinæ, ed. 1702, pp. 3 and 4.

[15] Comenii Hist. et R. D., § 21, p. 18; Hist. Persecutionum, cap. XX, 4; Regenvolscius, p. 33; Gindely, I. p. 37; Cerwenka, II. pp. 28 and 29.

Bishop through the agency of the Waldenses, can not be controverted."

In the next place we will examine into the credibility of the account which has come down to us respecting the origin of the Waldensian episcopate.

The circumstances which called forth this narrative and the source whence it is derived both tend to give it authority. It is not taken from Waldensian records, but from a formal document issued by the University of Prague, which paper, in the very nature of the case, must be disinterested. Soon after the Colloquy in 1478, between the Masters of the University and the representatives of the Unitas Fratrum, Wenzel Koranda, in the name of the former, drew up "The Book of the Masters concerning the ten Articles; a Defence of the faith against the Picards." These articles contained the reputed heresies which the Brethren had acknowledged at the Colloquy, and the entire work was written in refutation of such errors. It contains the following passage:

"In order that no one may, in any wise, doubt that the ordination of those Waldenses of whom the Picards speak, springs from the Roman Catholic Church, we will here set forth when and how this thing came to pass. It is a thing which stands fast, which was reported by the Waldenses themselves, and which was recorded by those who were present as a memorial for all time to come."[16]

There follows the narrative as given above. It is derived, therefore, from the bitter enemies of the Brethren, and was written only about forty-five years after the occurrence which it relates. Jaffet fully endorses it and introduces it into his reply to the attacks of the Jesuit whom, as we have said, he was appointed to refute.[17] This Jesuit was Wenzel Sturm, one of the most learned and acute of his order, and so adroit a sophist that it was a common saying: "Hippias ought to

[16] Goll, pp. 26 and 27, and Appendix, p. 106. The document ("Das Buch der Magister von den 10 Artikeln. Die Vertheidigung des Glaubens gegen die Pikarden") is found in a codex of the Bohemian Museum, in which codex it was inscribed in 1491. A part of it was printed in 1842 in the Bohemian Transactions of the "k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften," *Rozbor staroceske literatury*.

[17] Ursprung d. B. U., II. p. 48, etc., Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 72 and 73.

have been Sturm's scholar." In dealing with such an antagonist, it is not likely that Jaffet would have brought forward the narrative if he had not been sure of his ground.

In considering the occurrence itself we must, first, carefully distinguish between the position of the Moravian Waldenses in the fifteenth century and the Waldenses of the Piedmont Valleys in the seventeenth; the former being recognized and honored by their Utraquist neighbors, the latter hated and oppressed by their Romish foes. And then we must take into consideration the peculiar circumstances of the time. Unparalleled confusion reigned in the Roman Catholic Church and among the religious parties of Bohemia. The Council of Basle had openly broken with the Pope and was continuing its work in defiance of his decree of dissolution. That work included the pacification of the Hussites. They were flattered and cajoled. They were allowed to dispute, in open session, with the Fathers, and to defend the principles for which Hus had been put to death. They were assured that their demands would be granted. They were incited against each other, so that even if the Taborites would not agree to a pacification the Utraquists might be won. That in such a period two Waldensians, previously ordained to the priesthood by a Roman Catholic Bishop and representing a body which fraternized with the Utraquists, should, at their request, be consecrated to the episcopacy, not in accordance with an act of the Council, but by Bishops who were members of it—for there undoubtedly were several consecrators, even if only one be mentioned—is not less credible than the many other unusual events which were transpiring at Basle. "Such an act, just at that time," writes Palacky, "may have been meant as an example and encouragement for the Bohemians, that they might be the more ready to agree to the Compactata of Basle."[18]

[18] Palacky, VII. p. 492. It would be a misconception of the whole narrative, to suppose that the Acts of the Council of Basle ought to contain a record of the consecration of Nemez and Wlach. The Council, as such, had nothing to do with the transaction. Gindely, like Palacky, practically

Goll doubts the narrative and attempts, in a note, to explain it by saying that Frederick Nemez was a certain Frederick Reiser, who was arrested and executed at Strassburg, and claimed, in the course of his trial, to have been ordained by the Taborite Bishop, Nicholas Pilgram. But in giving this explanation Goll falls into a strange inconsistency. For if his note is correct, then the record found in the "Book of the Masters" must be absolutely rejected; and yet, in the text, he says merely, that their narrative "must be received with caution."[19] It is, moreover, extremely improbable that the Waldenses, the friends of the Utraquists, would apply to the Taborites for ordination just at the time when their power was fast waning. Such an ordination, even in the period of their greatest prosperity, would not, as Goll's note makes Pilgram himself say, have been acknowledged by the Utraquists. Nor are these the only objections to Goll's conjecture. Two others present themselves which are insurmountable. In the first place, Reiser was no Waldensian; in the second, Goll wholly fails to account for the consecration at Basle. It would be absurd to suppose that Nicholas Pilgram had been connected with that act; for it took place not long after the battle of Lipan, when he and the whole remnant of Taborite leaders were hiding behind the strong walls of Tabor.

But the historic character of the episcopate of the Unitas Fratrum does not stand or fall with the above account of the origin of the Waldensian episcopate. That character depends rather upon the question whether the deputies of the Synod of Lhota were actually consecrated Bishops by the Waldensian Bishops. If this is conceded, then these bishops must have had a legitimate episcopate even if the way in which they obtained it can not be satisfactorily explained. For it has been shown, and is confessed by Goll, that one of the chief reasons why the Brethren sought the episcopacy was the desire to establish a ministry which would

endorses the narrative, and says that the Utraquists maintained it to be correct. I. p. 37.

[19] Goll, p. 27.

be acknowledged by the Roman Catholics and Utraquists. It is plain, therefore, that the deputies who negotiated with the Waldenses and the Synod which sent them, must have been fully satisfied with regard to the validity of the Waldensian episcopate, and must have known that this validity would not be called in question by the Roman Catholics and Utraquists. If Stephen and his colleague were not lawful Bishops, they could confer nothing more than what the deputies had already received. And yet these deputies joyfully accepted the laying on of their hands; and, upon returning to Bohemia, re-ordained Matthias, Thomas and Elias, who had received presbyterial ordination at the Synod of Lhota. Hence the Brethren must have been convinced that they were securing a valid episcopacy. If such were not their convictions, we must suppose an order of events utterly absurd and preposterous.

Three priests, ordained in the Roman Catholic and Waldensian Churches, ordain the first three candidates for an independent ministry of the Unitas Fratrum. Having done this, these priests are sent to two ministers who are not Bishops, hence priests and their equals, and accept from them a new ordination, although it is nothing more than what they had before, and although one of their number had already, in all probability, been ordained by those very ministers. Thereupon, having thus been re-ordained by priests, these three priests go home and, as priests, re-ordain the same men to whom they had before imparted a presbyterial ordination.

Is it not more reasonable to believe that the Waldenses had a valid episcopate, the origin of which can not be explained, than to suppose that the Brethren would so stultify themselves?

Now, even Goll, who is a Roman Catholic Professor at Prague, and has carefully studied the original documents in the Herrnhut Archives, although he presses his criticisms to extremes, and finds, as he says, many obscurities and contradictions in the sources, and draws conclusions with which we do not agree, is nevertheless obliged to confess that Michael Bradacius was consecrated a Bishop by Bishop Stephen of the

Waldenses.[20] But if our argument be correct, the validity of the Waldensian episcopate follows, whatever its origin.

That obscurity prevails, not only with regard to the institution of the ministry of the Brethren but also in connection with other points in their early history, is undeniable. Such obscurity, however, can easily be explained.

In the first period of the Church, many occurrences, from prudential motives, were intentionally concealed. The letters to Rokycana, for example, do not mention the episcopal consecration received from the Waldenses. For, as Reichel well says, "it would have been gross ingratitude if the Brethren, by forthwith publishing the source of their episcopacy, had drawn the attention of their enemies to the Waldenses. How much cause they had for such caution, is shown by the persecution of the Waldenses which broke out when it became known what they had done for the Brethren."[21] The *His-*

[20] Goll's work, "Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder," is very valuable, in spite of its hypercritical tendencies; and the Appendix, with its translations of original documents from the L. F., is invaluable. Not a few of his deductions, however, to use his own words, "must be accepted with caution." For example, he praises some of Jaffet's historical works, says that he used sources now lost to us, that he gave tone to the historical literature of the seventeenth century, and yet, when it suits him, coolly rejects Jaffet's statements. Again, in one place, he says that Jaffet constructed, without authority, lists of the early Bishops, and yet, in another, that Bishop Cerny, the first Archivist of the Unitas Fratrum, wrote a work which is now lost, but which Jaffet used, on "The Succession of the Bishops from 1467 to 1559." The views of Lechler, in his "Wiclif u. die Vorgeschichte der Ref.," II. p. 507, antagonistical to the validity of the episcopate of the Unitas Fratrum, as also those of Zeschwitz, in "Herzog's Encyklopædie," are sufficiently refuted by what has been said above. Moreover, neither of these writers, although we do not otherwise question the distinction of Lechler as a historian, had access to the original sources, and could not have understood them even if they had been open. Their views are based on works which we have noticed in this chapter and in other connections. Compare the author's "Moravian Episcopate," London, 1877.

[21] Zusätze, p. 89. Jaffet, Schwerdt Goliath's, p. 11, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 81 and 82, speaks of this caution and prudence of the early Brethren, and says the knowledge of several important occurrences was intentionally conveyed to posterity by tradition only.

toria Persecutionum adds: "There was a time when, constrained by existing circumstances, the Brethren, very properly, were silent with regard to the ordination received from the Waldenses."[22] As soon as that time had passed by, they made known their claim.

The records of the Church were subjected to unusual accidents. The earliest archives, kept at Senftenberg, were destroyed at the end of the fifteenth century;[23] the second collection of documents mostly perished, in 1546, in a conflagration at Leitomischl; and the great mass of their publications, issued at a later time, fell a prey to the fury of the Anti-reformation. If these records and works were still in existence, light would be thrown upon points that will ever remain obscure. And yet, taking into consideration both the disasters which befell the records, and the persistent efforts that were made to blot them from existence, it is surprising that, at this late date, so much is known of the origin, episcopate and earliest history of the Brethren.

The claim of the Unitas Fratrum to a valid episcopacy is important as a historic and not as an essential question. It is not based upon the idea that episcopal ordination is alone legitimate. The Church still occupies the catholic standpoint of the fathers, upholding fellowship with evangelical Christians of every name; the prayer which was fervently uttered, four and a quarter centuries ago, amidst the mountains of Reichenau and in the hamlet of Lhota, is still repeated: "Unite all the children of God in one spirit."[24]

Taking up again the thread of our History, we find that, after the return of Michael Bradacius and his two companions, another Synod was convened at Lhota, to which body they rendered a full report of their consecration.[25] This report occasioned general satisfaction and deep joy, and, by direction of the Synod, Michael proceeded, first of all, in

[22] Cap. II. 6.
[23] Palacky, IX. p. 192, Note 143.
[24] Litany of the Moravian Church.
[25] Reichel's Geschichte, p. 21.

virtue of his new episcopal office, to re-ordain Matthias, Thomas and Elias to the priesthood. Thereupon it was resolved to appoint by lot one of these three priests to the episcopacy. The lot designated Matthias of Kunwald, who was consecrated by Michael and his two associate Bishops.[26]

In order to assist the Bishops in the government of the Church, the Synod furthermore instituted an Executive Council, to which were elected the following members: Thomas, Elias, Gregory, John Chelcicky, Lawrence Krasonicky, Prokop, Luke, John Taborsky, John Klenowsky and Adalbert.[27]

And now an idea was broached—whether at this Synod or at a subsequent convocation can not be determined—which took by surprise the three Bishops who had received consecration at the hands of the Waldensians. These three Bishops, the Brethren said, had been appointed merely in order to transfer the episcopacy from the Waldenses to the Unitas Fratrum, not in order to stand at its head: the head of the Church must be Matthias, who was its Bishop in a different sense from what they were: moreover, two of their number had come originally from the Roman Catholic Church, and no element of this kind ought to be found in the government of the Unity, whose very existence was a solemn protest against Rome.

Michael Bradacius at once yielded to the wishes of his brethren and resigned the position of presiding Bishop in favor of Matthias; the second Bishop, who had been originally a Waldensian priest, died about this time; but the third, whose priesthood, like Michael's, was of Romish origin, indignantly protested, and when he could not gain his point,

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[26] M. Bradacius in Koranda's Letter previously quoted, Palacky, IX. p. 192; Book of the Masters, Goll, Appendix, p. 105; Jaffet's Schwerdt Goliath, p. 11, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 80; Gindely I. p. 37, etc.

[27] Jaffet's Goliath's Schwerdt, p. 11, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 82 and 83; Gindely, I. p. 38. It is uncertain whether all these men were elected at this Synod; some of them may have been appointed at a later time; but the above ten members constituted the first Council.

left the Church in great anger. Such a manifestation of the spirit of Rome made so unfavorable an impression upon Michael, that he resigned his episcopacy altogether, declaring that he was unworthy of this office and would again be a mere priest. At the same time he pronounced his Romish priesthood to be corrupt, and had himself re-ordained by Bishop Matthias.[28] Although he acted conscientiously in this matter, yet his course was strange, inconsistent and improper.

[28] Ob die Trennung von Gott sei, L. F., V. p. 23, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 51; Koranda's Letter, previously quoted; Luke's Erneuerung d. h. Kirche, MS., University Prague, Goll, Appendix, pp. 109 and 110. The fact that one of Michael's associates was dead and that the other had left the Church, constitutes the reason that he speaks, in the sources elsewhere quoted, only of himself as consecrated by the Waldenses to the episcopacy.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Second Persecution of the Brethren. 1468–1471.

Bishop Matthias and his Council.—Union with the Waldenses proposed.—Prevented by the Utraquists.—Treachery of one of the Bishops.—Persecution of Waldenses.—Bishop Stephen's Martyrdom.—Rokycana inaugurates a Persecution of the Brethren.—Edict of the Diet.—The seven Letters of the Brethren to Rokycana.—Their First Confession of Faith.—Summary of their Doctrines.—Other Letters of the Brethren.—Their Sufferings during the Persecution.—Zeal and Activity of the Council.—War with Hungary prevents a general Persecution.—Last Letter to Rokycana.—His Death.—Death of King George.

Bishop Matthias and his Council, whose seat was at Lhota, began their work with hope and zeal. There had been committed to him, in some respects, absolute power; but it was overshadowed by the superior education and intellectual strength of several of his associates. Gregory continued to be the leading spirit. Next to him stood Lawrence Krasonicky, who faithfully strove to keep the Church in the paths of simplicity marked out by its founders. He was a Bachelor of Arts, a learned man and the author of numerous works. Other prominent members of the Council were Prokop, whose distinguished labors will be set forth in the sequel; John Taborsky, erudite, of sound judgment, free of speech, "famous in his time;" and John Klenowsky, a finished scholar and noted for his sagacity. Bishop Borek, of Olmütz, used to say, that he, Ctibor Towacowsky—the Governor of Moravia—and Klenowsky, could together rule the whole world. But more honorable is the testimony of his brethren. He was true in all his ways; faithful and untiring in his work. Loving the

Church with his whole heart he relinquished considerable estates in order to devote himself to its interests, spent the rest of his fortune mostly for its benefit, and grew to be a venerable father in its service.[1]

One of the first projects inaugurated by the Council had in view a union with the Waldenses. The overture, however, was conditional. In point of doctrine and in their efforts to lead Christian lives they were a shining light, but its brightness was, to some extent, marred by inconsistency. They did not confess their faith boldly before men; they fraternized with the Utraquists at the mass; their ministers manifested a tendency to accumulate wealth. To these things the deputies sent by the Council were instructed to draw their attention in brotherly kindness and love. The Waldenses received this reproof in the same spirit, acknowledged that they had erred, and promised to return to the way of their fathers. A joint convention was agreed on, at which the terms of the union should be settled. The joy of the Brethren, when informed of the success of these negotiations, proved to be premature. Contrary to the stipulations into which the Waldenses had entered, they consulted their Utraquist friends, who persuaded them to relinquish the project as useless and dangerous.[2]

And yet there came upon them the very peril which they sought to avoid. "Like another Doeg," the faithless Bishop who had deserted the Unitas Fratrum sought out Rokycana and betrayed the proceedings at Lhota as well as the act of the Waldensian Bishops. Rokycana burned with anger. Casting to the winds his friendship, he inaugurated a merciless

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[1] Letter of Luke of Prague to the Brethren at Turnau, written after the death of Klenowsky, which took place at Leitomischl, on the Friday before St. Martin's Day (November 11th), 1498. L. F., V. p. 329, Reichel's Zusäzte, pp. 192 and 193; also Todtenbuch, p. 3. Taborsky died at the same place, on the second Wednesday after Easter, 1495, and was buried in the church. Todtenbuch, p. 2. Krasonicky died at the same place, January 25, 1532. Todtenbuch, p. 12. His writings, seventeen in number, are mostly lost; Goll, Appendix, p. 138, gives his Treatise on the Lord's Supper against Cahera, the MS. being in the City Library of Görlitz.

[2] Blahoslaw's Summa, Goll, Appendix, pp. 118 and 119.

persecution. The Waldenses were dispersed. Some wandered homeless through the country; the majority fled to the Mark Brandenburg; Bishop Stephen, while secretly officiating among the Germans, was arrested, taken to Vienna, and executed at the stake (1469).[3]

No less violent was Rokycana's indignation against the Brethren. He could not forgive them for the bold step which they had taken, although it was the result of his own instructions. It militated against his interests and those of the National Church. However unwilling he may have been to take part in the first persecution, now he was foremost in stirring up the King, the clergy and the people. At his instigation, Podiebrad brought the secession of the Brethren to the notice of the Diet of Beneschau (1468), and this body decreed that they should be arrested and punished. Nothing short of an absolute recantation was to save them from such a fate.[4]

Under these circumstances they appealed to their persecutor. The letters which they sent him, written mostly by Gregory, manifested a deep religious feeling, honesty of conviction, strong faith in God and fearlessness in confessing the truth.

At the same time glimpses were occasionally given of the hope, still entertained by the Brethren, that Rokycana might, in the end, break the worldly bonds by which he was held and come out openly on the side of the Unitas Fratrum.

The first epistle, dated May the second, 1468, reminded him of what he had himself taught its founders; of the advice which he had given them to consult Peter Chelcicky; of his own memorable words, "I know very well that you are right, but I can not join you without disgrace." Why then should he now malign and persecute them? It closed as follows: "We have separated from you for no trivial reasons, but because we could not possibly find any spiritual food in your communion, where faith and love are perishing. Hence we have turned away from you to the Gospel."

[3] Jaffet's Goliath's Schwerdt, Reichel's Zusätze. p. 93.

[4] Camerarius, p. 114; Comenii Hist. et R. D., § 64.

Rokycana told the messenger who brought this letter, and who was instructed to give him an oral report of recent occurrences, that only a divine revelation could justify the founding of an independent Church. "If you have received such a revelation," he added, "why do you not make it known? Should it prove to be true, we also will accept it."[5]

This remark induced the Brethren to send him a full account of their secession, of the way in which they had, through the lot, ascertained the will of God, and of the doctrines which they held. They had previously received, in reply to a brief letter of inquiry, his written assurance that he would not make use of such information to their disadvantage.[6]

The exposition of their doctrines as given to Rokycana, constituted the first formal Confession issued by the Brethren.[7]

The Bible is their norm of faith and rule of practice; they follow the example of the primitive Church; they accept the Apostles' Creed. Living faith gives power to resist sin. By appropriating the merits of Christ a man receives, through Him, the forgiveness of sins and the efficacy of His resurrection, so that he loves Him, abides in Him and becomes a new creature born of the seed of the Word of God. Outward righteousness and good works, performed with a carnal mind, bear no fruit unto salvation, for the spirit of adoption is wanting. There are seven sacraments, but their efficacy is not

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[5] The first letter to Rokycana is found in L. F., I, p. 1, etc.; Plitt, chapter 27; Gindely, I. pp. 39 and 40.

[6] The letter of inquiry is marked in the L. F. as the second of the series; the account of their secession and doctrines is contained in the third and fourth (L. F., I. Reichel's Zusätze, p. 96–109), both delivered on the Friday after St. James' Day (July 25), 1468. The third is of an explanatory character; the fourth embraces first a history of the Synods of Reichenau and Lhota and then a Confession of Faith. In giving the history of the Synod at Lhota the fact that the episcopacy had been secured from the Waldenses is omitted, for the reasons assigned in the last chapter.

[7] The Unitas Fratrum issued, from time to time, a number of Confessions (thirty-four according to Gindely). For our list of them see Appendix.

objective; it depends upon the faith of the recipient and the religious character of the officiating priest. Judicial oaths and military service are inadmissible. The civil power has no right to interfere in religious matters. Converts from the Roman Catholic Church must be rebaptized.

There follows a detailed account of the seven sacraments. As regards the Lord's Supper, the position of the Synod of 1459 is maintained, with the following additional comment: "It has often been asked, in how far this sacrament is the body of Christ. We reply, that for the sake of our conscience, we dare not discuss, or try to understand this point. For neither our Lord Jesus Christ, nor His Apostles, have told us how this thing is. We simply believe what He says, and receive the sacrament for the purpose for which it was instituted by Him."

A letter which the Brethren addressed to the King (1468), contained substantially the same Confession. They wrote also to the Masters of the University.[8]

But all these communications availed nothing. The King remained hostile. Rokycana's answer to their appeals was publicly given, in the form of epistles to the clergy and people, warning them against the Brethren, against their hypocrisy and dark ways.[9]

Thereupon, in 1469, they sent him their sixth letter containing a refutation of his charges and, in the next year, followed it up with a public reply.[10]

The confidence which the Brethren express in the justness of their cause, can not but excite admiration; and their words

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[8] L. F., II. Reichel's Zusätze, p. 112. Goll, Appendix, p. 94–96.

[9] In 1465 Hilarius Litomiriensis wrote his "Tractatus contra perfidiam aliquor. Boh." It was published in 1485, and probably constitutes the oldest printed work extant against the Unitas Fratrum. A copy of it is contained in the Malin Library of Moravian Literature, at Bethlehem, and is a beautiful specimen of the Incunabula. Catalogue, p. 35, No. 137.

[10] L. F., II., pp. 62–67, Reichel's Zusätze, p. 113, etc. For the fifth letter see p. 119 of this History, Note 18. Goll, pp. 15–21, does not follow the numbering of the letters as given in the L. F. and, in some cases, attaches different dates from those found in Reichel's Zusätze.

often have a ring which is as clear as it is bold. Thus the Masters of the University are entreated, since they well know the corruptness of the Romish Church, to break off all connection with it and openly confess the truth; the King is informed that the Brethren are ready to prove, before a General Council, that it is right to abjure obedience to this Church, and that the rule of the Popes is an abomination before God.[11]

Repeated requests were made by the Unity for a public hearing, but the only notice taken of them was a brief examination, in 1470, of Martin, one of its imprisoned priests.

Meanwhile the edict of the Diet began to bear bitter fruits. More than one city expelled every inhabitant who was known to be a member of the Unity. At Königgrätz numerous arrests took place, the prisoners being conveyed to Prague and there incarcerated; at Skuc, Baron Kostka had several Brethren tortured on the rack and cast into a gloomy dungeon. Michael Bradacius was seized, by order of the King, and confined in the Castle of Brüx; Matthias Dolansky experienced the same treatment at Prague. In Moravia, at Kremsir, Jacob Hulava was burned alive in the presence of his family. The numerous chapels which the Brethren had built were all closed. They were forced to meet for worship on the mountains and in the recesses of the forests. In winter they walked, in single file, to the appointed places, through deep snow, the last man dragging after him a rake or the branch of a tree to obliterate their footprints.

But they remained true to God and to their faith in God. He was near to them as they called upon Him amidst His everlasting hills, and when they sang His praises with the storm-wind for an accompaniment. There was no thought of yielding to their foes.

This was owing, in no small degree, to the courage, activity and endurance displayed by Bishop Matthias, Gregory and

[11] Palacky, VIII. p. 499.

the whole Council. Having transferred their seat from Lhota to Lenesic, near Laun, they went out in every direction, at great risk, to comfort the afflicted and the oppressed, or sent them, by trusty messengers, letters full of encouragement and hope. Nor did they forget the temporal necessities of the persecuted flock. Collections were instituted among its wealthier members and large amounts contributed. A godly woman, one Catharine, is mentioned by name, as having been particularly zealous in works of mercy.[12] Had it not been for the devastating war which Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, in the name of the Emperor, of the Pope and of the Catholic religion, was carrying on with Podiebrad, the persecution might have become general. In such an event the Unitas Fratrum, in spite of its heroic faith, might have been overwhelmed. Hence the Brethren of a later day, referring to this dark time of trouble, wrote: "With David we may confess, 'If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, now may Israel say; if it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us.'"[13]

In 1471 the Council sent to Rokycana its last letter, exhorting him to change his course and solemnly re-iterating what had been said in the first, that he had risen up against the lowly and simple of heart who were but carrying out his own instructions. "Reflect, O Teacher," were the closing words of this document, "and die not with such sins upon your soul!"[14]

Rokycana still remained unmoved. But his power was drawing to an end. On the twenty-second of February, of the same year, this ambitious leader of the National Church, which he had ruled for half a century, was laid low in

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[12] The above facts are taken from L. F., I. II. and V., Jaffet's Ursprung d. B. U. and Lasitius, all quoted by Gindely.

[13] Conf. of 1538, Hist. Introd., De Origine, in Lydius, II. p. 139.

[14] L. F., I. p. 34, etc., Reichel's Zusätze, p. 132.

death.[15] A month later, on the twenty-fifth of March, King George Podiebrad followed him to the grave. Then the persecution ceased.

[15] The statement of the Hist Persecutionum that Rokycana died wrestling with despair (Cap. XXI., 1), is unreliable, although a much older record, a letter of Sigismund. Dean of Bunzlau, says the same thing; not, however, in connection with the persecutions of the Brethren. But this letter is so hostile in tone, calling Rokycana a man "damnatæ memoriæ," and a "heresiarch," that it is unworthy of credit. Palacky's Beiträge zur Gesch. Böhmens im Zeitalter Podiebrad's, pp. 664 and 665.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Increase and Prosperity of the Church. 1471–1490.

State of Bohemia.—Uladislaus elected King.—Increase of the Church.—Its Friends among the Nobility.—Letters to the Cities.—Queen Joanna's Animosity.—Edict of the Diet and a Colloquy.—Death of Gregory.—Publication of the University against the Brethren.—Lezek the false Witness.—Diet and Colloquy of 1478.—The Waldenses of the Mark Brandenburg and their Union with the Unitas Fratrum.—Pacification established by the Diet of Kuttenberg.—The Brethren define their Position.—The Peasantry reduced to Serfdom and the Influence of this Measure on the Church.—The Brethren banished from Moravia.—Their Emigration to Moldavia and Return.

GEORGE PODIEBRAD was a great man and a hero. He saved Bohemia from anarchy. He ruled it with a fatherly hand. He was the first European monarch who emancipated a kingdom from the arrogant supremacy of papal Rome. And yet he left the country which he loved so well, devastated by war, stricken with poverty, and shorn of its goodly provinces. Silesia, Lusatia and one-half of Moravia were in the hands of Matthias Corvinus, who, not satisfied with these conquests, had usurped even his rival's title and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Bohemia. Under such circumstances Podiebrad's successor, Uladislaus, Prince of Poland—elected May the twenty-seventh, 1471—a lad of fifteen years, good-natured but weak, easily imposed on and indolent, was not the sovereign to restore the bloom of prosperity, especially as Matthias, his unsuccessful competitor for the crown, smarting with disappointment, implacably continued the war.

But the Brethren had reason to rejoice over the election of Uladislaus. It opened the way for a rapid increase of their Church. He set its imprisoned ministers and members free; public services were again begun in all its chapels; and large accessions took place, principally among the peasantry and the trades-people. Moreover, the exemplary diligence of the Brethren, the good order which prevailed among them, the humility which they displayed, and their consistent determination not to take part in the religious disputes that were going on throughout the country, won the favor and gained the protection of several powerful nobles. Among these Ctibor and John Towacowsky von Cimburg, two brothers and the chief advisers of the young King, Kostka von Postupic and William von Pernstein were prominent. Jungbunzlau, which belonged to John Towacowsky, became a principal center of the Unity. Other noteworthy seats were at Brandeis on the Adler, Brandeis on the Elbe, and Leitomischl, in Bohemia, and at Prerau, Leipnik, Tobitschau and Prossnitz, in Moravia.[1]

Encouraged by such prosperity and realizing the important part which the cities and towns of Bohemia would play in its future development, the Executive Council made an attempt to gain their good-will also. Letters were addressed to the local authorities, setting forth the reasons why the Brethren had separated from the National Church and giving a brief account of their ecclesiastical system. The town-council of Hohenmauth sent a friendly answer and asked for an exposition of their views on the Lord's Supper.[2]

Bitter animosity, on the contrary, filled the heart of Queen Joanna, George Podiebrad's widow. She induced the Diet of Beneschau, which she opened, May the twenty-seventh, 1473, with a long address having for its object the reconciliation of the Utraquists and the Catholics, to adopt an alarming resolution. Members of the Unity were everywhere

[1] Palacky, IX pp. 49 and 50, 188 and 189.

[2] L. F., I. p. 85; Boh. Hist. Frat., I. pp. 60 and 61, quoted by Gindely, I. p. 49.

to be cited before the civil tribunals and forced to recant. If Joanna, as is said, took this step with the knowledge and consent of young Uladislaus,[3] he was too good-natured to decline the request which the Brethren immediately presented, that they might be allowed to defend their cause at a Colloquy. It took place at Prague (1473), but brought about no understanding. Michael Bradacius and Jerome, the representatives of the Unity, refused to recant and to accept any instructions on the part of the Utraquist Masters; the Masters issued a letter warning the people against the heresy of the Brethren and holding them up to ridicule and contempt. Meanwhile the edict of Beneschau remained a dead letter.[4]

On the thirteenth of September, of the same year, the eventful career of Gregory the Patriarch came to an end. He died in an unostentatious house which he had built near the Castle, at Brandeis on the Adler. This town is situated in a plain inclosed, on all sides, by hills. The height to the east, known as the Klopot Mountain, is wooded and has a romantic ravine, through which runs a little stream, fresh and limpid, fringed with tufts of forget-me-nots. In this ravine Gregory is said to have been buried.[5] It is a fit resting-place for the founder of the Unitas Fratrum, and in its sanctuary of nature where the soul instinctively rises heavenward, in the pureness of its flowing water, in the abundance of its humble flowers, sets forth a beautiful emblem of his life. He might easily have constituted himself the Bishop of the Unity, but he left this honor to another, and labored, day and night, as its principal writer, its most zealous evangelist, its leading representative, without an ambitious thought or a self-interested motive.[6] At the same time his views remained legal.

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[3] Comenii Hist., § 65.

[4] Gindely, I. pp. 50 and 51.

[5] Todtenbuch, p. 2, which says that Gregory was buried in an apiary (Bienenhaus). What kind of an apiary this may have been is hard to say.

[6] Eight works of Gregory, all in Bohemian, are known to exist, besides the Letters to Rokycana. There were a number of other writings from his pen, but these have been lost. Gindely, I. p. 498, Note 56.

He never fully entered the lofty temple of evangelical liberty, and died with a solemn warning on his lips against permitting the government of the Church to fall into the hands of learned men.

When the Masters of the University perceived that neither the edict of the Diet nor their own letter was hindering the spread of the Unitas Fratrum, they issued, in 1475, another writing which aspersed the moral character of its followers. This new exhibition of animosity received no little support through a scandalous plot concocted, in the following year, at Jungbunzlau. In that town lived a certain John Leschka, or Lezek, a brewer's apprentice, who, at one time, had been in the employ of a member of the Brethren's Church, but had himself never belonged to its communion. He was a worthless fellow, a thief, ready for anything that would bring him money. This man became a willing tool in the hands of the Utraquist priest, who bribed him to bear false witness against the Brethren. In presence of a large congregation—including Baron Towacowsky and his wife—assembled in the parish church, he publicly confessed the iniquities which he pretended to have committed while connected with the Unity and uncovered the enormities which he ascribed to its adherents. They blasphemed; they were guilty of sacrilege, robbery and murder; they engaged in witchcraft and the most outrageous licentiousness. His conscience, he said, would give him no peace until he had made these things known. He begged the people to pray for him, that he might be forgiven for the part which he had taken in the wickedness of the Picards. From Jungbunzlau he was hurried to Königgrätz. There he reacted his part with ever-growing demonstrations of horror and penitence. A report of his confession, signed and sealed by a number of witnesses, was scattered broadcast through Bohemia.

Against such shameful charges the Brethren not only published protests but also cited Lezek before a magistrate. When the trial came on, he acknowledged that he had been

bribed, that his confession was false, that he had never been a member of the Unity.[7]

This occurrence produced, on the one hand, warmer sympathy with the Brethren and even an increase of their membership, but on the other, greater enmity and renewed persecutions. Their friends scorned to believe the falsehoods of Lezek; their enemies accepted them with avidity.

On the tenth of August, 1478, a Utraquist Diet met at Prague and re-organized the Consistory of the National Church.[8] The character and growth of the Unitas Fratrum also constituted a subject for grave discussion. Through the influence of its friends no harsh measures were adopted, but another Colloquy was ordered, with the understanding that the Brethren were to retain any views which they could, from the Holy Scriptures, prove to be binding, but to lay aside, on pain of banishment, any errors of which they might be found guilty.[9]

In the following year (1479), a correspondence was opened with the Waldenses of the Mark Brandenburg, through Peter, one of their number, who visited Bohemia. Not long after, they were subjected to severe persecutions. The Executive Council sent Thomas of Landskron and other deputies in order to advise with them amidst such distressing circumstances. This mission led to the departure from the Mark of several hundred of them, who immigrated to Moravia and

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[7] A full accouut of Lezek's proceedings is found in L. F., VI. p. 121, etc., Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 181–187, where twenty-two charges are set forth which he brought against the Brethren. Gindely asserts that Lezek himself originated the plot, that the priest of Jungbunzlau was duped, but acted in good faith. The L. F. distinctly says, that the priest bribed Lezek to play his part. See also Jaffet's Ursprung, p. 63, etc.; Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XXI.

[8] This Consistory consisted of twelve members, eight clergymen and four laymen. It was put under the protection of the Utraquist states.

[9] Palacky, IX. pp. 190 and 191. Of this Colloquy, which continued for several days and brought about vehement disputations, as also of the Ten Articles published by the Masters of the University and the Consistory, we have given an account on pp. 143, 144 and 147.

joined the Brethren's Church. They settled at Fulneck and in its vicinity.[10]

Ever since the accession of Uladislaus to the throne the breach between the Utraquists and Catholics had been widening. Their respective pulpits, in particular, resounded with the most vehement polemics. In 1483 bloody tumults broke out at Prague and terrible excesses were committed. At the same time disputes, with regard to their several rights, were going on between the barons on the one side, and the knights and cities on the other. The best minds of all parties earnestly desired a pacification. With such an end in view a General Diet was convened, in 1485, at Kuttenberg. The labors of this body were crowned with success. Acts were passed permitting every man to seek salvation in that church to which his conscience might lead him; granting religious liberty on all domains both to the nobles and their serfs; and adjusting the difficulties between the barons and knights, after the latter had been induced to forsake the cause of the cities.

The Brethren were not included in this pacification, and yet, for a number of years, they enjoyed its benefits. It is true that they were cited before a commission to give an account of their faith, and that a resolution was adopted exhorting them to abjure their errors if they would escape banishment. But both these measures proved harmless. No steps were taken to carry them out.[11]

In consequence, no doubt, of the transactions of this Diet, a Synod met, in the following year, and carefully defined the relation of the Unitas Fratrum to other churches. The following points were adopted:

For pious priests teaching the truth, wherever they may be found, the Brethren are to thank God, but they are not to leave their own communion in order to follow such priests or

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[10] Jaffet's Ursprung, Reichel's Zusätze, p. 92, and his Stimme des Wächters, Goll, Appendix, p. 122; Hist. Persecut. XX. 5. An interesting letter from the Waldenses to the Brethren is found in the Bohemian Hist. Fratrum and is quoted in full by Goll, Appendix, pp. 121–123, Note 18.

[11] Palacky, IX. p. 263, 272–274; Cerwenka, II. p. 64.

receive the sacraments at their hands; if a body of Christians should be met with upholding the Word of God in its purity, or if He should raise up evangelical teachers and reformers, the members of the Unity are not indiscriminately to join such Christians or to go after such reformers, but the Executive Council is to inquire into the expediency of making common cause with them; no one church, however numerous, constitutes the universal Church embracing the sum total of believers, but wherever the true faith prevails as set forth in the Scriptures, there is manifested a part of the holy catholic Church.[12]

In the year 1487, by a formal resolution of the National Court, the peasantry of Bohemia lost the last trace of their liberty and were reduced to a state of complete serfdom. Absolute power, including the right of capital punishment, was now exercised by the nobles on their domains. They practically became petty sovereigns. At the same time they extended their prerogatives in other directions. The regular members of the Diet were barons and knights; representatives of the cities secured a seat and vote only when questions affecting their interests were under discussion. In the National Court (*Landesgericht*) sat nobles exclusively; the National Registry (*Landtafel*) was maintained solely for their benefit; even the rights of the crown were curtailed in their favor. In this way the legislative, the judicial and, to a great extent, the executive power passed into the hands of the aristocracy. While the peasantry passively submitted to this yoke, the cities, throughout more than a quarter of a century, maintained a bitter contest for their municipal rights.

Moravia constituted a crownland of Bohemia, but had a government of its own, with an independent diet and independent states. On the domains the same system existed as

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[12] Lasitius, III. 38, as developed by Plitt, Chapt 32; Comenius Hist. § 67; Croeger, I. pp. 101 and 102. Why both Gindely and Cerwenka pass over this important Synod in silence, is hard to understand. Lasitius evidently quotes its official enactments.

in Bohemia, and their owners asserted an authority which was even more unrestricted than that of the Bohemian nobles.[13]

Both the serfdom of the peasants and the power of the nobility exercised a lasting influence upon the Unitas Fratrum.

The former served to increase its membership. It is true that one of its fundamental principles was obedience to the constituted authorities, as ordained of God; but it nevertheless recognized the dignity of man in every station and said to all who entered its communion, whether they were nobles or peasants, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, "One is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." Hence, as Palacky well remarks, the spirit of Slavism, which was essentially democratic, found its last refuge in the Unitas Fratrum.[14]

On the other hand, the absolute power exercised by the nobles on their estates, enabled such as were friends of the Brethren, or members of the Brethren's Church, to protect them in times of persecution. If this had not been the case, the Unity would have come to an end long before its overthrow in the Anti-reformation.

Wenzel Koranda and the Utraquist Consistory were alarmed by the steady increase of the Brethren, but their efforts to hinder it proved fruitless. They did not succeed in even bringing about another Colloquy.

In Moravia the enemies of the Unity were more successful. At the peace of Ofen (1478), the claim of Matthias Corvinus to this country had been formally acknowledged, and now, instigated by Roman Catholic bishops, he banished all such Brethren as were domiciliated within its bounds. This meas-

[13] Palacky, IX. p. 292, etc.; Schlesinger, pp. 390–401; Chlumecky's Zerotin, Chap. I. The laws securing to the nobility their prerogatives were published, in 1500, and are known as the "Uladislaus Code" (*die Wladislawische Landesordnung*). As regards the other provinces of Bohemia we may add, that the constitution of Lusatia was similar to that of Moravia, while in Silesia there existed sixteen dukedoms, with independent privileges, but united through a General Diet and National Court. Some of these dukedoms stood immediately under the Bohemian King, others remained in the hands of native princes who were his vassals.

[14] Palacky, IX. p. 305.

ure was meant to terrify them. He did not doubt that they would abjure their faith rather than leave their homes. But he little understood the character of that faith and the spirit which it produced. Several hundred of them, with Nicholas of Schlan at their head,[15] forsaking houses and lands and all they had, unhesitatingly emigrated and took their way through Hungary and Siebenbürgen to Moldavia (1488). The Hospidar Stephen gave them a friendly welcome. But they could not accustom themselves to the barbarism of the country; and its priests, perhaps its nobles also, began to oppress them. In order to strengthen their faith, the Council sent them, by the hands of Elias of Chrenovic, a letter full of fraternal sympathy and godly admonitions.[16]

Meantime yielding to the expostulations of Cimburg and Pernstein, who pointed out the serious loss which Moravia would sustain if its best inhabitants were expelled, Matthias modified his edict of banishment. It was to be enforced only in cases in which a year's notice to emigrate had been given. Such notices were never issued; for the King died in 1490. His successor on the Hungarian throne was Uladislaus to whom, in consequence, Moravia, with Lusatia and Silesia, reverted. These changes induced the exiles in Moldavia to return to their homes.[17]

[15] Nicholas was a priest and member of the Executive Council, versed in proverbs, acquainted with everything relating to the rise of the Unity and fond, in his old age, of relating to the young the tribulations of early times. He died at Leitomischl, September the twenty-seventh, 1542. Todtenbuch, p. 17.

[16] This letter is found in full in L. F., V. p. 365, etc., Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 188–191, see Croeger, I. p. 98.

[17] Palacky, IX. pp. 307 and 308; Blahoslaw's Summa, Goll, Appendix, p. 123, etc.; Hist. Persecut., Cap. XX. In the last century the idea gained ground among the Moravians that a remnant of the Bohemian Brethren had remained in Moldavia and eventually settled among the Caucasian Mountains, where they kept up their religion and national customs. This idea was based on several printed sources (compare Cranz, pp. 32 and 33), on the MS. diary of the Bohemian settlement at Rixdorf, near Berlin, and especially on the reports of travelers and merchants who visited the Moravian settlement of Sarepta, in Asiatic Russia. In 1768 an exploring tour was undertaken by Kutschera and Becher, from Sarepta, to find this remnant, but proved unsuccessful; in 1781 a second attempt was made by Grabsch and Gruhl, which was also fruitless. Brüder-Bote, 1877, pp. 197–208; Glitsch's Geschichte von Sarepta, pp. 100–107 and 208–226.

CHAPTER XIX.

Dissensions and a Schism. A. D. 1490–1496.

Gregory's extreme Views.—Reaction after his Death.—Two Parties.—Writings on both Sides.—Luke of Prague.—The Council Divided.—Writings of Prokop.—Compromise at the Synod of 1490.—Jacob and Amos inveigh against the Compromise.—Bishop Matthias and his arbitrary Course.—Exploratory Tours to the East in search of an Apostolic Church.—Prokop and Luke laboring to restore Harmony.—Luke's Writings.—Synod of 1495.—Bishop Matthias acknowledges the Errors of his Course.—Victory of the Liberal Party.—Gregory's Writings no longer authoritative.—Amos and Jacob cause a Schism.—Sect of the Amosites.

EXTREME views always lead to evil. However conscientiously entertained they are, in the very nature of the case, one-sided, and prevent those large conceptions and catholic tendencies out of which alone grows real strength.

Peter Chelcicky will ever be honored for originating the ideas which eventually led to the organization of the Unitas Fratrum. But the contracted principles which he implanted in the minds of its founders, were of such a character as to either make of the Brethren a short lived and bigoted sect, or plunge them into dissensions as soon as a more liberal Christianity would begin to assert itself.

Such principles had been incorporated with the very being of Gregory in particular. They related both to doctrine and discipline. He gave undue prominence to the efficacy of works; he introduced a system of the most rigorous kind. No member of the Church was allowed to testify in court, to take an oath, to fill a civil office, to keep an inn or carry on a mercantile business involving the sale of anything except

the bare necessaries of life; and no nobleman could join the Unity without laying aside the prerogatives of his rank and resigning any position of trust which he might hold.

As long as Gregory lived these principles remained unquestioned and were strictly upheld, but after his death a reaction slowly set in.[1] Prokop of Neuhaus was the first to express doubts with regard to the doctrinal points. The discipline was put to a severe test. About 1479, two barons and several knights applied for admission to the Unity. It was the first application of the kind, and the adherents of Gregory, alarmed by manifestations of a more liberal tendency, demanded that the conditions which the case involved should either be literally carried out, or the overture of the nobles rejected. The former course was pursued. Some of the applicants submitted, the rest withdrew.

This occurrence, together with growing discussions throughout the Church on doctrine and discipline, led to the formation of two parties, the one advocating the system of Gregory in all its rigor, the other proposing a modification of some of its principles. To the first belonged the illiterate leaders and members, the second comprised the well educated and the learned. Each faction seized the pen in order to urge its views. Among the writings which appeared may be mentioned as especially noteworthy, Gregor of Wotic's treatise on "The civil Power," conceived from an ultra rigorous point of view, and the answer to it, being an explanation of the words of the Apostle, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us" (1 John 1: 8).

About the time that this controversy grew to be serious, an ardent young Utraquist, indignant with the course which the King pursued in expelling from his capital several priests whose zeal had become offensive, left that city and joined the Unity. His name was Luke of Prague. He was a Bachelor

[1] Sources for the account of the controversy and schism as given in this chapter are: Jaffet's Goliath's Schwerdt, and the documents of L. F., IV. which treat almost exclusively of this subject, cited in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 132–181, compared with Gindely, I. pp. 62–76.

of its University and a learned man, familiar with the classics, patristic literature, and the scholastic writings of the Middle Ages. Of untiring activity, endowed with a rare executive talent, devoted, from conviction, to the Brethren's Church and serving it with enthusiasm, he was, for many years, the most prominent figure in its history, and shaped its course with a firm hand. The controversy excited his deepest interest. In spite of his youth he began to exercise, supported by Prokop and Lawrence Krasonicky, a wide influence on the side of the liberal party.

Prokop brought the points in dispute before the Executive Council. In this body a very great difference of opinion appeared, some advocating faith almost to the exclusion of works, others works almost to the exclusion of faith. Such discord among the leaders reacted unfavorably upon the piety of the members. In order to correct this evil, Prokop, in a treatise on "The Good Will" and a "Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount," endeavored to set forth a middle course, and induced the Synod, that met at Brandeis on the Adler, in 1490, to take up the entire subject out of which the controversy had grown. The result was a compromise. Gregory's views should not be relinquished, but they should be modified.

In point of doctrine it was established that both grace and the human will, both faith and works, are necessary to salvation. As regarded the discipline the following rules were adopted for the guidance of the Executive Council:

Men of rank may join the Unity without laying aside their prerogatives or resigning their offices, but the danger to which their position subjects them shall be carefully pointed out; in case of absolute necessity members may testify under oath in court; under certain restrictions they may keep inns and engage in mercantile pursuits which are not confined to the necessaries of life; if a case is clearly just and requires such a step, the aid of the civil tribunals may be invoked.

But this compromise did not put an end to the controversy. Two members of the Synod who had been most violent in

defending Gregory's system, Jacob of Wodnan and Amos of Stekna, disregarding the acts of the majority, began to stir up the parishes in their vicinity against the compromise, asserting that it was of the devil, who had taken possession of the Unity, and speaking and writing, in other respects also, with great bitterness. The controversy broke out afresh and assumed a most unbrotherly and acrimonious character.

In such a juncture Bishop Matthias, who was a disciple of Gregory's school, imagined that prompt measures, even though they might be arbitrary, could alone save the Church. He convoked another Synod which was numerously attended by his own party; caused the compromise of Brandeis to be annulled; ejected, by an episcopal mandate, the liberal members from the Executive Council; filled their places with extremists, and had a resolution adopted directing the principles of Gregory to be carried out in all their strictness. The expelled members of the Council submitted, without a word, to the dictatorial act of their Bishop, and the party which they represented quietly accepted the decision of the Synod.

But an arbitrary exercise of power does not change men's convictions; hence the course which Matthias had pursued could not restore harmony to the Church. This was keenly realized by both sides. A feeling of uneasiness and depression prevailed. It would almost seem as if doubts began to rise, at least in some minds, whether the Brethren had acted wisely in separating from the National Church; it is certain that a general longing manifested itself for fellowship with believers outside of their own communion. Accordingly the project was revived of trying to find, somewhere on earth, a body of Christians free from the contaminations of the papacy and uncorrupted by the sins of the age. At the same time the idea was probably entertained, that such Christians, if discovered, might advise the Brethren as to the best way of settling their disputes.[2]

[2] Both Gindely, I. p. 67 and Cerwenka, II. pp. 68 and 69, assert that the above reason was the only one for the exploratory tours. This view of the case appears to us to be an utter misconception.

Four men, Luke of Prague, Mares Kokovec, a knight, Martin Kabatnik, a citizen of Leitomischl, and Caspar, from the Mark Brandenburg, originally a Waldensian, were appointed by a Synod to explore the East in search of an apostolic church. Bohuslav Kostka von Postupic, the first baron who became a member of the Unity, furnished the money and cared for passports as well as letters of introduction. The party set out in March, of the year 1491, traveling through Moravia and Silesia to Cracow, thence to Lemberg, and thence down the Southern Danube, through Wallachia, to Constantinople. There they separated. Luke visited Turkey in Asia and Greece; Mares, Russia; Caspar, Turkey in Europe; Kabatnik, in company of a Jew, Antioch, Damascus and Jerusalem. From Jerusalem Kabatnik proceeded alone to Cairo and then returned to the former city. Having met again at Constantinople the travelers took their homeward way to Bohemia, where they arrived after an absence of a year. Their report was discouraging. They had not found an apostolic church, but false doctrines, corrupt morals, open licentiousness prevailing among Christians of every name.[3]

As these explorers of the East, where they had vainly searched for a pure type of Christianity, came back to their native land, Christopher Columbus was preparing to leave his adopted country on that bold voyage to the West which constituted an epoch in the world's history and gave a continent to Christ's religion for its freest, most aggressive and successful developments. To the aborigines of this continent, of whose existence the returning fathers had no conception, their spiritual seed was ordained to bring the gospel and show forth its glorious power in a way that has never been surpassed in any quarter of the earth.

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[3] Blahoslaw's Summa, Goll, Appendix, p. 123; Comenii Hist., § 66; Camerarius, p. 119, etc. Plitt, Reichel and Croeger put these journeys in 1481, which is undoubtedly an error. After his return Kabatnik dictated an account of his tour to a friend, which narrative was published and is still extant. He was astonished at the vastness of the Nile, and imagined that its source must be the Garden of Eden. Gindely, I. p. 68.

The Brethren continued to be cast down. That inner harmony which binds hearts together was wanting. A blight had fallen upon the joyous life of the Church. Both Prokop and Luke labored to bring about a change; at first from divergent points of view, but after a while in full accord. The latter composed an "Allegory" in which he compared the Unity to a ship, and wrote treatises on "Judicial Oaths," on "Admission to Church-fellowship," and "Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts of Justice." These works were laid before the Council; while ways and means of restoring peace to the Church were anxiously discussed in every parish. The result was a gradual change in the views of many of the extremists.

Meantime Bishop Matthias had become a prey to poignant self-reproach. In 1495 he convened a Synod at Reichenau and acknowledged, in presence of the entire body, that he had grievously erred, at the same time resigning his seat in the Executive Council and declaring himself unworthy of administering the episcopate. His adherents likewise retired from the Council.

An investigation of his course was at once begun. It appeared that he had acted from a sense of duty, however mistaken, and that his motives had been sincere. Hence his resignation was not accepted and he was allowed to continue in the discharge of his episcopal functions; but the presidency of the Council, as also the position of Ecclesiastical Judge, was taken from him and conferred upon Prokop of Neuhaus. The places made vacant by the retirement of his adherents were filled with those liberal men whom he had ejected and with others of like mind, among them Luke of Prague. Lawrence Krasonicky was assigned to the Bishop as his special adviser, and the work of superintending the Unity was divided among the other members. In order to remove all irritating memorials of the controversy, the new Council met, in the evening of the day on which these changes were carried out, and rescinded the acts of the Synod of Brandeis. A carefully worded report was drawn up. It spared the

feelings of the defeated party, and aimed at the complete pacification of the Church.

Before adjourning, the Synod formally declared the writings of Gregory to be no longer authoritative. "We content ourselves," were the closing words of this declaration, "with those sacred books which have been accepted, from of old, by all Christians, and are found in the Bible."[4]

The satisfaction which the proceedings of this Synod awakened among the majority of the Brethren, found no response in the hearts of Amos and Jacob. They refused to be conciliated. Hastening to their homes in the Circuit of Prachin, they roused all its parishes to an open revolt. Bishop Matthias and Luke of Prague, who came to restore order, could effect nothing. Their authority was defied. The disaffected organized, and as there were no priests among them, elected ministers of their own and had them ordained by laymen.

These schismatics received the name of Amosites. They constituted a small minority of the membership, but they claimed to be the true Unity and formally excommunicated all such Brethren as held to the acts of the Synod of Reichenau.

An effort was made to put an end to this schism. On Whit-Monday, of 1496, Bishop Matthias, Prokop, Luke and two other members of the Council, met Amos and eleven or his followers at Chlumec; but this conference only served to widen the breach. The Amosites began to attack the Church in publications of the most rancorous character, and grew to be, more and more, a bigoted, contentious and fanatical sect. After an existence of about forty-six years they died out.

[4] Dekrete d. Brüder Synoden, quoted by Cerwenka, II. p. 72.

PERIOD V.

THE UNITAS FRATRUM UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF BISHOP LUKE OF PRAGUE.

A. D. 1497–1528.

CHAPTER XX.

Increase of the Church in Spite of the Persecutions inaugurated by Uladislaus. A. D. 1497–1506.

The Work of the Church carried on according to new Principles.—Its rapid Growth and Development.—Luke of Prague and Thomas visit Italy and France.—Their Intercourse with the Waldenses.—Consecration of new Bishops.—Death of Bishop Matthias.—Election of Luke and Ambrose to the Episcopacy.—Luke's leading Position.—The Pope and the Unitas Fratrum.—Mission of Doctor Henry Institoris.—Colloquy at Olmütz.—Death of Michael Bradacius.—Coalition against the Brethren.—Accusation of the Amosites.—The King persecutes the Church.—The Utraquists and Catholics.—Diet of St. Jerome.—Activity of the Executive Council. — Colloquy appointed at Prague. — Its Failure.—Martyrdom at Bor.—Confessions of Faith.—End of the Persecution.

In some essential particulars the Brethren had broken with the past. A new system began; a new and promising future opened. The question whether they were to constitute a short-lived sect or a historic Church was decided. Illiterate men, however godly, and narrow-minded views, however venerable their source, were no longer to hamper their progress.[1]

[1] The Brethren of a later day expressed very decided opinions with regard to the influence of unlearned leaders and took a position wholly different from that of Gregory. This is evident from the annotations

The Brethren shook off the yoke of legality and assumed that position of biblical Protestantism to which the Reformers of Germany subsequently attained. While therefore the controversy, as long as it lasted, was unfortunate, in the end it bore good fruits.

These showed themselves in the rapid growth of the Church, both outwardly and inwardly. It spread into nearly every part of Bohemia and Moravia; at the same time, its constitution was developed, its discipline regulated and its ritual amplified. There gradually rose a spiritual building which was firmly founded and symmetrical in its proportions.

In order to gain information which might be useful in completing it, Luke of Prague and Thomas of Landskron were sent, in 1497, to Italy and France. At Rome they were appalled by the wickedness which they everywhere beheld and to which Alexander the Sixth, one of the most notorious of the popes, gave tone; at Florence, standing in the great square, amidst the fickle multitude that was wont to do him honor, they witnessed the cruel execution of Savonarola (May the twenty-third, 1498), whose reformatory efforts, whatever may be said of his fanaticism, were noble as their own.[2] They saw Roman Catholicism in its native splendor also. But they found nothing that attracted them; only new proofs of the correctness of the protest with which their own Church had cut itself loose from anti-Scriptural dogmas and idolatrous practices.

Longing for manifestations of the pure Gospel and for fellowship with God's true people, Luke and Thomas turned their steps to the Waldenses of North Italy. These gave

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appended, in 1567, to a letter of Luke (*vide* Note 7) in the L. F., which annotations say, that the Church was almost ruined through its illiterate leaders. "But God had mercy on His people and saved them from destruction. Through whom, do you ask? Through learned and pious men. Therefore we must not be afraid of scholars and of their enlightened knowledge, but of those who are wise in their own conceits, and yet in their ignorance blindly trample on the true, the good and the useful." Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 99 and 200.

[2] Comenii Hist., § 68.

them a cordial welcome. Not less warm was their reception among the Waldenses of France. Their hearts were refreshed, and they spent many days in fraternal intercourse with these fellow Christians, interchanging doctrinal views and consulting on the things of the kingdom of God. At the same time they did not fail to reprove them for that want of courage in confessing the truth for which they had rebuked their brethren in Bohemia.

As an acknowledgment of this visit the Waldenses sent a letter to the Executive Council of the Unity and also wrote to King Uladislaus and to the Utraquist Consistory, defending the Brethren against the accusations of their enemies. There followed between the two churches a further correspondence which led to an intimate literary intercourse.[3]

After Luke's return, the first measure which the Synod adopted in the way of a further development of the Church, related to the episcopate. For thirty-two years Matthias had been the sole Bishop. Now it was deemed important to intrust this office to more than one man. Hence Matthias was directed to consecrate to the episcopacy Thomas of Prelouc and Elias of Chrenovic. This consecration took place in 1499.[4] The Council thus consisted of three Bishops, an Ecclesiastical Judge and nine other members, thirteen in all.

In the very next year (1500), however, while on his way to the Synod of Prerau, Bishop Matthias was taken fatally ill at Leipnik. Several members of the Council hastened to his bedside. To one of them he dictated his last will and testa-

[3] Luke and Thomas brought to Bohemia a fourth letter from the Waldenses, but to whom it was addressed is not known. An instance of the literary intercourse which took place is the famous Waldensian work "Ayczo es la causa del departiment de la gleysa Romana." This is nothing else than a translation of the work of the Brethren found in L. F., III., "Von den Ursachen der Trennung." Schaff's Cyclopædia, I. p. 308. Authorities for the visit to the Waldenses are: Blahoslaw's Summa, Goll, p. 123; Lasitius, III. p. 40, etc., quoted by Plitt, who following Camerarius, pp. 120 and 121, incorrectly puts this visit in 1489; Comenii Hist., § 68; Regenvolscius, I. pp. 36 and 37; Zezchwitz Katechismen, p. 164, etc.

[4] Dekrete d. Unität, p. 36, quoted by Cerwenka, II. p. 75; Jaffet's Goliath's Schwerdt, I. p. 15, in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 192.

ment, in which document he accused himself of many faults; warned his brethren against similar acts of weakness; and exhorted them to avoid schisms and to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace. He died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, on the Thursday prior to the day of St. Paul's Conversion (January twenty-fifth), and was buried at Prerau in a newly built chapel. His remains were the first interred within its consecrated walls. Although uneducated and not gifted with executive talents, he possessed a sound judgment, led a life of exemplary piety from childhood, and found acceptance with God and man.[5]

In consequence of his decease the Synod met again, before the close of the year, at Reichenau, and determined that, in future, four Bishops should stand at the head of the Church. Accordingly Luke of Prague and Ambrose of Skuc were chosen, and consecrated by Bishops Thomas and Elias (1500).[6] Thomas ranked first, as the presiding Bishop, next to him stood Elias, then Luke and, last of all, Ambrose.

But Luke was the leading spirit and shaped the course of the Church not only in spiritual things, but also in external appointments. He gave to its worship more form and dignity. He introduced silver and gilt communion vessels and beautifully embroidered corporals. He developed the liturgical part of its religious services. He maintained that, while it rejected the evils of Romanism and Utraquism, it need not, on that account, set aside usages which were hallowed by age and which were proper and edifying. Many priests, Sautor and Gallus in particular, and not a few of the laity, pronounced his course to be dangerous and his measures contrary to the spirit of the Unity. But he was sustained by the Council and the Synod, and his views prevailed. That they helped to spread the Church soon became evident. To Gallus he wrote a friendly but firm letter, admonishing him to obey the regulations of the Synod, whatever might be his private opinions.[7]

[5] This is the testimony given him in the Todtenbuch, p. 3.

[6] Dekrete d. Unität, p. 42, etc., quoted by Cerwenka, II. p. 86; Gindely, I. p. 91.

[7] Letter in L. F., IX. p. 101, etc., Reichel's Zusätze, p. 196, etc.

The continued prosperity of the Unitas Fratrum was odious to its enemies. Up to this time, whenever it had been persecuted, the Utraquists alone had been active; but now the Catholics too began to give unwelcome signs of animosity. Pope Alexander himself took the initiative. In February, of 1500, he commissioned Doctor Henry Institoris, a Dominican friar and the Inquisitor of Germany, to undertake the conversion of the Brethren. If necessary, he was to invoke the aid of the secular arm; in any case, their publications, especially Peter Chelcicky's "Picture of Antichrist," were to be burned. Doctor Henry began his mission by offering the Church a Colloquy. This offer was accepted, and Bishop Thomas and Lawrence Krasonicky appeared at Olmütz as the representatives of the Unity. But the discussions led to no result. Hence the Inquisitor began to travel through Moravia, preaching and writing against the Picards and their pernicious ways. These labors too were unsuccessful.[8]

On the day after Easter, in 1501, Michael Bradacius finished his earthly course. His name will ever be illustrious. He was one of the most prominent and faithful characters in the earliest history of the Brethren, manifesting a rare singleness of purpose and transparent sincerity of heart. Had he, in 1467, declined to yield to the wishes of his brethren and taken sides with the protesting Bishop, the consequences would have been disastrous. Hence he well merits the record which we find of him: "He was a great man and performed great works. He was faithful to God, denied himself and patiently bore much enmity."[9]

The attempt made by the papal see to destroy the Unitas Fratrum was followed by a far more formidable assault.

[8] A work against the Brethren which he published in 1501 is still extant, "Institoris Sancte Romane ecc. fidei defensionis," etc., 1501, Olomucz, xx die Aprilis. Malin Library, No. 40.

[9] Todtenbuch, p. 4. Gindely, I. p. 91, asserts that, at one time, Michael was suspended from the ministry on account of drunkenness; but in citing his authority for this assertion, namely, (Note 6, p. 499,) "Michael," he is so obscure as to be unintelligible. It is certain that the Todtenbuch, which spares no one deserving of censure, says not a word to corroborate Gindely.

Three distinguished and influential Catholics, Bohuslav Hassenstein von Lobkowitz, whose fame as a scholar and poet was widely spread through Europe, John, Bishop of Grosswardein, the Chancellor of Hungary,[10] and Doctor Augustine Käsebrot, a learned Canon of Olmütz, began conjointly to importune Uladislaus to suppress the Brethren and thus purge away that shameful heresy by which the kingdom had been so long disgraced (1502). They found an ardent supporter in his private secretary, John Slechta von Wsehrd, and their plot was furthered, on the one hand, by the negotiations, which began at the time, to bring back the Utraquists to the fellowship of Rome, and, on the other, by an accusation which Baron von Beckowic, in the name of the Amosites, formally laid before the King (1503), that the Brethren had resolved to take up arms in defence of their Church. This charge, although it was basely false, excited him to such a degree that he exclaimed: "Do they mean to play Zizka? Well, well, well, we will know how to stop that!"[11]

On the fifth of July, 1503, he accordingly sent from Ofen to the Administrator of the Utraquist Consistory, to the Catholic Chapter at Prague, to the magistrates of that city and to Albert von Leskowec, who was set over the royal towns, an edict forbidding the religious services of the Unity, ordering its priests to be arrested and commanding its lay members, on pain of severe punishment, to join either the Catholic or the Utraquist Church. This edict was to be enforced in the capital, on all royal domains and in all royal cities. It could not be made general without the consent of the Diet. The Administrator of the Utraquist Consistory and his clergy were, furthermore, directed to preach against

[10] This is the same Bishop whom the Todtenbuch calls Borek and designates as Bishop of Olmütz, because, for about fifteen years, he administered that diocese also. In the last period of his life he joined the Franciscans, without entering one of their convents, and received the name of *Barfüsser*. He and Lawrence Krasonicky were schoolmates. See p. 155 of this History.

[11] Jaffet's Entstehung d. B. U., p. 67, in Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 195 and 196.

the Picards who "were worse than the Turks, because, entangled in the toils of the devil, they believed neither in God nor in the Lord's Supper."[12]

There was no hesitation manifested by those who received the King's commands. Before the Brethren discerned its gathering clouds, the storm burst upon them. The pulpits of Prague rang with denunciations of their Church; in the towns under his jurisdiction Leskowec imprisoned its members; at Kuttenberg they were barbarously treated; two barons, Nicholas von Lichtenberg and Henry von Neuhaus, by voluntarily inaugurating persecutions on their estates, filled the heart of their monarch with such satisfaction that he sent one of them a letter of thanks. "Many Brethren became martyrs of the truth; many perished, of hunger and cold, in deep and unwholesome dungeons."[13]

Meantime the negotiations with regard to a union of the Utraquists and Catholics were going on at Pilsen. On the occasion of the Diet of St. Jerome (September the thirtieth, 1503), such negotiations were renewed at Prague. They failed in consequence of the deep-rooted prejudices of the Utraquists. The two parties held separate meetings. At both the question was discussed whether the royal edict should be accepted and made general throughout the kingdom. Schellenberg and Pernstein, because they were known to favor the Brethren whose parishes clustered thickly on their domains, had not been asked to attend the council of their Catholic peers.[14] When the Utraquist States heard of this they invited these two nobles to their conference. The invitation was accepted, and both the barons spoke in defence of the Unity. Baron Kostka, too, manfully advocated its cause. After stormy debates it was agreed that the Brethren should not be condemned unheard, but that a Colloquy with

[12] L. F., VI. p. 1, etc., quoted by Gindely, I. p. 106.

[13] L. F., VI. p. 8, etc., in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 201.

[14] Schellenberg had recently married Catharine von Krajek, the widow of a zealous member of the Church and herself probably a member. She had inherited her husband's large estates and held them in her own right.

some of their principal men, at which the errors of their Church were to be pointed out to them, should take place on the first of January, 1504. A commission was appointed to superintend this Colloquy.

Amidst the troubles which were anew trying the faith of the Unity, its Executive Council did not lose heart. Special prayers for God's aid were ordained; Wednesdays and Fridays were set apart as fast-days; pastoral letters frequently appeared exhorting the members to remain steadfast; and a resolution was adopted requiring of every one, on pain of excommunication, an open acknowledgment of his membership.[15] To the King was sent a new Confession of Faith (1503). But he accepted it ungraciously, expressed his displeasure with the lenient course which the Utraquist States had pursued, and sent, by Nicholas Trcka, further instructions to Prague.

On the thirtieth of December eight representatives of the Unity, Bishop Luke, Krasonicky, Jacob of Turnau, John Kasala, Wenzel, Viktorin, Philip and Kapra, reached that city.[16] It was commonly supposed that the approaching Colloquy would decide the fate of the Church. Its foes looked forward to the occasion with triumphant anticipations; its friends with deep anxiety. Schellenberg, Pernstein, and Kostka each sent a retainer to advise with and protect the deputies; Kostka wrote to Krasonicky and exhorted him to stand fast even if it should cost him his life;[17] two members of the Unity, who happened to be at Prague, joined their brethren and insisted on sharing their fate. And yet it was not martyrdom or even imprisonment that awaited them, but a ridiculous farce. Owing to the death of the Rector of the University, who was to have conducted the proceedings, to the threatening attitude of the populace which crowded the

[15] Dekrete d. U., I. p. 204, quoted by Gindely, I. p. 111.

[16] L. F., VI. p. 8, etc., contains a very full account of all that transpired at Prague on this occasion. Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 201–206.

[17] Letter given in part in Hist. Persecut., Cap. XXIII, 2. Comenius says it was addressed to Philip.

streets of the city denouncing the heretics, to differences of opinion among the members of the commission, to the fear which they entertained that Trcka was charged with an order for the arrest of the deputies, and to other causes, the Colloquy did not take place. Instead of having an opportunity to confess their faith before the entire commission and the assembled Masters, Luke and his companions were led, through by-ways and alleys, to a private house, where they found the lay commissioners and the city magistrates, who dismissed them with the assurance that they had fulfilled their obligations by merely appearing at Prague and that they were now free to return. When the next morning dawned the delegation was far on its homeward way. This failure of the Colloquy was generally regarded as a triumph for the Brethren.

A correspondence, partly bitter in its tone, followed between Luke and the Utraquist Consistory. He declined another Colloquy; the Consistory rejected his proposal to hold a private conference with the Masters.

Meantime persecutions continued to rage on the domains and in the cities belonging to the King, as also, occasionally, on other estates. Baron Schwamberg's name, in particular, is stained with infamy. In his village of Aujezd, near Taus, lived John and Nicholas Nadrzibka, two brothers, John Herbek, Bartholomew Hranowitz, John Simonowitz, and Matthias Prokop, all humble members of the Unity. They were arrested and brought to trial. The village priest asked them whether they would obey him as the shepherd of their souls. "Christ is the Shepherd of our souls," was their answer. They were condemned to the stake. Astonished at the fortitude with which they received this sentence, Schwamberg inquired the reason. "It is Christ," they said; "He is our hope. Given of God as a sacrifice for the world He abides the refuge of all those who put their trust in Him." On the way to their execution, which was to take place at Bor, the chief magistrate of this town told Nicholas Nadrzibka, with whom he was well acquainted, to ask for time, and even if it should be a whole year, to consider the demands of the priest,

suggesting that in this way he might save his life. Nicholas stood still for a moment, as though he were pondering the suggestion, then exclaimed, "The respite is too long; while considering I might lose my brethren," and calmly followed them to death. They suffered on the Monday preceding the Day of All Saints (November the first, 1504).[18]

In view of the closing of many of the chapels, a Synod ordained that, wherever public worship was impossible, religious services should be held in private houses. The details of these services were carefully regulated. General gatherings, in the depths of the forests, also took place, on which occasions the Lord's Supper was administered. At the same time the Council continued to exert itself on behalf of the oppressed parishes. Letters were sent both to the Catholic and Utraquist States, circumstantially setting forth the reasons of the secession of the Brethren from the established churches, and another Confession of Faith, a supplement to that of 1503, was presented to the King (1504).

Whether these documents effected their purpose is not evident; but, in 1505, the persecution gradually came to an end and peace again gladdened the hearts of the Brethren. In the following year the Queen, their most implacable foe, who had never ceased to incite Uladislaus against them, died in giving birth to a son. Her persistent animosity had not availed. The Unity, which she meant to destroy, came forth from the persecution purified and strengthened.

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[18] Boh. Hist. Frat., I. p. 132; Hist. Persecut., XXIV. 7; Todtenbuch, pp. 4 and 5. Strange to say, Gindely asserts (I. p. 119) that "in the history of the Brethren this was the last execution on account of their faith!"

CHAPTER XXI.

The Edict of St. James and the General Persecution which it brought about. A. D. 1507–1516.

New Machinations. — Käsebrot's Letters. — Chancellor Kolowrat and another Edict against the Brethren.—The King's Letter to Martha von Bozkowic.—New Confessions.—Efforts to bring about a general Persecution.—The Edict of St. James adopted by the Bohemian Diet.—Position of the Moravian Diet.—Terrible Death of the Bishop of Grosswardein.—Persecution in Bohemia.—Lewis crowned King.—Diets at Prague and Kuttenberg.—Edict renewed.—The Martyr Poliwka.—Wolinsky's Sufferings.—Noted Persecutors of the Brethren die suddenly.—Continued Persecution in Bohemia.—The Unity in Moravia enjoys Peace.—Secret Visit of Bishop Luke to Bohemia.—Seized and imprisoned.—Death of Uladislaus.—End of the Persecution.—Death of Bishop Elias and of Prokop.—Election of two Assistant Bishops.

THE machinations of the men who had persuaded Uladislaus to begin a persecution of the Church were not yet at an end. In 1507 they incited him to new measures of severity. Käsebrot had published, in the previous year, a letter against the Brethren; now he issued another of the same character. Both were presented to the King and both denounced them in inhuman terms. They were, said the writer, not worthy even of death at the stake; fire was too pure an element for them to perish in; they ought to be torn to pieces by wild beasts and have dogs to lick up their blood.[1]

Albert von Kolowrat, the chancellor of the kingdom, proved to be a powerful confederate in this new assault upon the Unity. His position had become one of great influence; and taking advantage of the King's residence at Ofen, in Hungary, he demeaned himself as though he were regent of

[1] MS. Letter of Käsebrot, quoted by Gindely, I. p. 130.

Bohemia. It was he that published, with the consent of Uladislaus, another edict against the Brethren. It cited their bishops to an examination at Prague, on the Day of St. John (December the twenty-seventh). It proclaimed that their Church was to be suppressed throughout the realm. It threatened such nobles as afforded them protection.[2]

This edict offended William von Pernstein and other barons. The former wrote to the King, reminding him of their territorial rights and the serious consequences which would ensue if these were infringed upon.[3] The Baroness Martha von Bozkowic, an ardent member of the Church, also sent him a letter in its defence. She inclosed a communication from the Council asking permission to present a new Confession of Faith. The answer of Uladislaus, addressed to the Baroness, was as follows:

"My dear well-born one!

You write to us of the Picard rascals, as though our purpose to destroy them, which we have announced to all the States of our kingdom, were improper and unduly severe.

Know that what we do, we do more out of mercy than severity. For while we intend; as is proper and required both by divine and human law, to burn and destroy these miserable and mistaken heretics, we, at the same time, have compassion on them in that we show them a way of escape by permitting them to join either the Catholics or the Utraquists.

It is our will that what we have published shall strictly be carried out. If this is not done, be assured that we will not any longer suffer the presence of such heretical rascals, but will chase them out of our kingdom without mercy.

Of this inform your brethren who have written to us."[4]

In consequence of this communication, in which were inclosed Käsebrot's abusive letters, Luke and his colleagues did not present their Confession, but had it printed at Nuremberg. They also published Käsebrot's productions, appending criticisms of their own which were equivalent to a new and detailed exposition of their faith (1507). A Latin version of this latter work, omitting the letters, appeared in the following

[2] Gindely, I. p. 126; Palacky, X. p. 137, etc.

[3] Palacky, X. pp. 137 and 138.

[4] L. F, VI, p. 30, quoted by Gindely, I. pp. 127 and 128.

year (1508). To the hearing appointed at Prague, they sent several common members of the Church, who were dismissed as unfit for a theological examination.

The Council did this in self-defence, convinced that any representatives of its own body would have been arrested. But the step was denounced as an insult to the majesty of the King. Urgent protestations were made to him not only by those confederates who had, for the past five years, been persistently plotting against the Brethren, but also by the Bishop of Olmütz, by the Masters of the University and the Utraquist Consistory. All these authorities were unanimous in saying that the time had come for crushing the Picards in a body. The measures previously adopted had proved insufficient because they had been local in their character. A general persecution, throughout the whole kingdom and the Moravian margraviate, must be inaugurated. Under such a stroke the Unity would succumb at last.

There is an extremely improbable tradition recorded by the later Brethren.[5] They say, that Uladislaus, ere consenting to this merciless step, passed through so severe a mental conflict that he fell upon his knees and besought God to hold him innocent of the blood which was to be shed.

On the Day of St. James (July the twenty-fifth), 1508, a royal edict was laid before the Diet at Prague and adopted both by the Catholic and Utraquist States. Its chief points were the following:

1. The religious services of the Unity, whether public or private, are forbidden; 2. The sale of its publications is to cease and they are to be destroyed; 3. Its priests are no longer to administer the sacraments and solemnize marriages; 4. Its priests are, furthermore, to be cited for recantation before the ecclesiastical tribunals; if they refuse, they are to be punished by the civil courts; 5. All barons, knights and magistrates of Prague as also of other cities and towns are commanded to carry out this act, on pain of an official warning from the chief burgrave of the kingdom, and if this does not avail, of trial by the national court; 6. Any one harboring a Picard and refusing to deliver him to his manor-lord is to be fined; 7. The members of the

[5] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XXIV. 1 and 2.

Unity are to be instructed in the true faith by Catholic and Utraquist priests, into whose hands the Picard parishes and their revenues are, without exception, to be given.[6]

This edict, known as the Edict of St. James, was published on the tenth of August. Prior to its adoption Bishop John of Grosswardein and Baron von Rosenberg were sent to Brünn, where the Moravian Diet was assembled, in order to induce this body to enact a statute against the Unity. But their efforts failed, mainly through the influence of Baron von Zerotin, one of the most powerful nobles of the margraviate and a warm friend of the Brethren.[7] No sooner, however, had the Bohemian Diet accepted the Edict of St. James, than Bishop John hastened to Olmütz, where another meeting of the Moravian States was to take place. He came flushed with triumph, commissioned and determined to persuade them to follow the example of their Bohemian peers. But when only a quarter of an hour's drive from the city, while in the act of alighting at the monastery of Hradish, he fell on a sharp nail which projected from his carriage and which pierced the lower part of his abdomen, so that his bowels were torn out and he miserably perished.[8] No further attempt was made to influence the Moravian Diet.

In Bohemia the Edict of St. James was rigidly enforced. Persecution no longer remained optional with the nobles; it was a registered law of the kingdom. The chapels of the Brethren were closed; religious services ceased altogether or were held, at night, in forests and among mountains; the priests were forced to conceal themselves. It is true that the domains of members of the Church afforded retreats which proved comparatively secure. But even there painful caution became necessary, and the joyous liberty of other days was at

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[6] Gindely, I. pp. 132–135.

[7] Whether he was, at this time, a member of the Church is not quite certain; his descendants, however, belonged to it and were among its warmest upholders and most generous benefactors.

[8] Boh. Hist. Fr. I. 264, quoted by Gindely, I. p. 137; Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XXV. 3.

an end. Several Moravian nobles, too, were induced to oppress the Brethren, although not with the same severity as in Bohemia.

In early Spring of 1509 Uladislaus came to Prague, where he caused his son Lewis, who was not yet three years old, to be crowned King of Bohemia (March the eleventh). The royal family spent an entire year in the capital, so that Uladislaus had an opportunity of attending the Diet which met in November. From reports laid before this body it appeared that the Edict of St. James had not been universally observed. A resolution to enforce it with the utmost strictness did not prevail; on the contrary the Diet determined to repeal it temporarily, until another Colloquy had been held. With this end in view the Bishops of the Church were summoned to appear at Prague, on the twenty-seventh of December. But they declined to obey the summons, and Luke wrote a sharp letter to the Administrator of the Consistory, pointing out the gross injustice of expecting the Brethren to submit to doctrinal instructions on the part of the Utraquists. Would the Utraquists, he asked, be willing to submit to such instructions on the part of the Catholics? On the appointed day appeared instead of the Bishops, eleven common members of the Church, peasants and mechanics. Luke wrote, that they had been sent by their manor-lords, not by the Executive Council. They were dismissed without a hearing.

In February of the following year (1510), the Diet, which met at Kuttenberg, renewed the Edict of St. James. The persecution broke out afresh. Luke's retreat, hitherto safe, at Jungbunzlau, became insecure; but he ceased not to labor for his afflicted people. Fleeing from place to place, he held religious services in secret and sent consolatory letters to parishes which he could not visit in person. The other members of the Council displayed the same activity.

The sufferings which this persecution brought about are illustrated by two cases in particular.

Soon after it had begun Andrew Poliwka, a citizen of Kuttenberg, which town, true to its antecedents, raged with

great fury against the Brethren, sought safety at Leitomischl. His wife, who was a Utraquist, refused to accompany him, and subsequently, on the occasion of a visit which he paid her, betrayed him to the priests. He was arrested and worried until he consented to acknowledge their authority and remain at Kuttenberg. But his conscience was ill at ease. One day, while attending his wife's church, where a new priest was to be installed, the sight of the congregation adoring the host roused him to such a pitch that he could no longer restrain his indignation. In a loud voice he exclaimed, addressing the officiating priest: "Silence, blasphemer, I will speak!" Then turning to the people he said: "Dear friends, what are you doing? What are you adoring? An idol made of bread! O adore the living God in heaven! He is blessed forevermore!" The priest ordered Poliwka to be seized. But a strange awe had fallen upon the congregation, and for a time no one stirred. At last several of the rudest laid their hands upon him, dashed his head against a pillar and dragged him bleeding to prison. The next day his trial took place. He persistently reiterated what he had said in the church. Upon being asked by whom he had been instigated to act in so scandalous a manner, he replied: "Who instigated Abram to forsake his idolatry and adore the living God?" The question being repeated more urgently, he said: "Who induced Daniel to flee from idols?" These answers were deemed insufficient, and he was stretched on the rack. But the rack did not shake his fortitude, and the stake, to which he was condemned, had no terrors. He approached it praying silently; the magistrates, at the instigation of the priests, having forbidden him to address the people. In the midst of the flames, as they began to lick his face and encircle his head, he uttered aloud one fervent petition: "Jesus, Thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me, miserable sinner!" "Behold," cried the priests exultingly, "now that he is dying he invokes Jesus, in whom he would not believe, and whose sacraments he refused to reverence!"[9]

[9] Boh. Hist. Fratrum, I. p. 300, quoted by Gindely; Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XXVI.

Two years later an act of frightful cruelty was perpetrated at Strakonic, the seat of Baron John von Rosenberg, Grand-prior of the knights of Malta. This nobleman had a dependent, George Wolinsky by name. He was a member of the Unity and a man of unusual intelligence, whom the Baron determined to convert and therefore ordered to join either the Catholics or the Utraquists. Wolinsky manifesting no inclination to obey, the prior of Strakonic was summoned. This prior was a just man, and said to Rosenberg: "No one must be tortured to accept the true faith; reasonable arguments alone are allowable. Innocent blood cries to heaven, 'Lord, Lord, when wilt thou avenge me?'" But several noblemen, who happened to be present, advised the Baron not to give heed to such sentiments. All that the prior could gain was a week's time granted Wolinsky for consideration. By the advice of friends he went to Krumau, and appealed to Peter von Rosenberg, one of the most powerful barons of the realm. On the sixth of July, he returned to Strakonic. The respite was at an end; but he remained unmolested until the seventeenth. On that day Rosenberg's cruel purpose was unfolded. Wolinsky, having declared that he would not deny his faith, was thrust into the deepest dungeon of the castle and left to perish of hunger. A piece of bread and a slice of meat, which he had secreted, were taken from him; across the two doors of his prison were fastened heavy bars of iron; nothing was left within except a heap of straw on which to die. The next day the prior came to one of the doors, called to Wolinsky and said: "Dear brother, what are you doing to yourself? You will perish of cold and hunger. Think of your children; think of your wife who has so recently been confined. The Baron means to put her into the cell above yours, that she may bewail your fate. Therefore have mercy on her, or she will die! Yea, have mercy on yourself!" But Wolinsky remained firm. On the following morning (July the nineteenth), Rosenberg drove to Horazdowic, where he had an appointment with certain nobles. Among them was Peter von Rosenberg who pleaded with him in

Wolinsky's behalf. On a sudden the Baron's conscience awoke. Ordering his carriage he hastened back to Strakonic, where he arrived on the twenty-first, and immediately caused the dungeon to be opened. Within its gloomy walls his prisoner had been famishing for five days. He was carried out in the last extremity of weakness, bereft of speech, gasping for breath. At this sight the Baron burst into tears, exclaiming: "That he is still living rejoices me more than if I had received twenty *Schock!*[10] I will be kind to him!" Restoratives were administered and he was conveyed to Rosenberg's own apartments in the castle, where he gradually regained his strength. "Now that you are well again," said the Baron, "I command you to abjure the Picards and join the Church." Wolinsky's answer was as firm as ever. He solemnly asseverated that nothing could induce him to deny his faith. Rosenberg said no more, but set him at liberty.[11]

In contrast with such afflictions endured by members of the Unity, there occurred a series of casualties among its enemies which were so remarkable that they excited general attention, and were looked upon, within its communion, as judgments of God. The death of the Queen and the miserable end of the Bishop of Grosswardein, which have been mentioned in another connection, stand first on the list. Next is recorded the fate of Chancellor von Kolowrat. On his return from the Diet of Kuttenberg he stopped at the house of Baron Colditz, and informed him, with malignant joy, of the renewal of the Edict of St. James. Colditz turned to his servant, Simon, a member of the Unity who was standing by, and asked him what he thought of such intelligence. "Not every one concerned has consented to the edict," was his answer. Kolowrat inquired of him what he meant. Pointing upward Simon said: "There is one in heaven who will bring your

[10] A *Schock Groshen* contained sixty *Groschen*, or about nine dollars and twenty cents; hence twenty *Schock* were equivalent to about one hundred and eighty-four dollars.

[11] Gindely, I. pp. 146–148.

enactments to nought, if they are not in accordance with His holy purpose." "You miserable knave," exclaimed the Chancellor, "your turn will come in good time!" Leaving the castle in great anger he hastened to Graupen, one of his towns. But scarcely had he reached it when there appeared on his foot a malignant carbuncle of which he died, in spite of the efforts of the most skilful physicians. A still more sudden stop was put to Doctor Käsebrot's persecutions. While at dinner he fell dead from his chair. Henry von Neuhaus who, as we have shown, was one of the first to oppress the Brethren, drove, one morning, in a sleigh to the chase. The sleigh upset, he fell on his hunting knife and was killed. Puta von Swihow, another bitter enemy of the Church, frightened by a storm which swept over his castle, retreated to its cellar for safety. He was found dead.

In view of such occurrences it is not surprising that the saying went abroad, "Is any one weary of life, let him lay his hand upon the Picards."[12]

But the persecution did not, on that account, cease. It continued, with more or less severity, throughout Bohemia. In Moravia, on the contrary, the churches had peace, and the Executive Council, which had transferred its seat to that country, carried on its work unhindered. This difference in the experiences of the two sections of the Unity was unfortunate. For nearly four years most of the Bohemian parishes had been without pastors. Not a few of the members began to despond. They compared the sufferings which they were bearing with the prosperity of their Moravian brethren. A spirit manifested itself not in accord with that steadfastness, patience and endurance which had rendered the Unitas Fratrum illustrious in the midst of its former trials.

This state of affairs induced Bishop Luke to undertake a secret visit to Bohemia. At Janowic, however, he fell into the hands of Peter Suda, a notorious robber-knight, "the prince and master of all thieves" (1515). The unfortunate

[12] The above casualties are all narrated in the Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XXV.

Bishop was loaded with chains, cast into a dungeon and repeatedly threatened with torture and the stake. To add to his sufferings came a severe attack of illness. Through the intervention of Baron Krajek, who applied to the National Court for his release on the plea that Luke was one of his dependents, he was at last set free, after giving bail for his appearance, within six months, at Prague, where his trial was to take place.

In the following year (1516), on the thirteenth of March, Uladislaus died. The legacy which he left the Unitas Fratrum was a solemn charge to its enemies to destroy it utterly. This charge was set forth in his last testament and given "for the sake of his soul's salvation and of the true faith." But it was not carried out. His son and successor being only ten years old the government fell into the hands of prominent nobles. Disturbances broke out; bloody feuds were frequent between robber-knights and powerful cities; the disputes of the Utraquists with the Catholics grew unceasing and bitter. Under such circumstances the Edict of St. James became a dead letter. The Unity revived. Its fugitive priests returned to their parishes; the chapels were opened and public services held as of old.

Two prominent members of the Executive Council, Bishop Elias, and Prokop, the Ecclesiastical Judge, had finished their course prior to the breaking out of the persecution. The former died on the twenty-third of March, 1503, at Prossnitz; the latter, on the thirteenth of September, 1507, at Brandeis on the Adler.[13] In consequence, no doubt, of the tribulations which came upon the Church soon after the decease of Elias, the election of his successor was postponed; and now that peace was restored the Synod determined, instead of choosing a new bishop, to appoint two assistant bishops. They were to have power, when commissioned by a bishop, to ordain ministers and to assist at consecrations to

[13] Todtenbuch, pp. 4 and 6. This necrology says that Elias was faithful in his work, very friendly in his ways and found favor with God and man.

the episcopacy; in the Council they were to rank next after the bishops. To this new office Wenzel Wroutecky and Daniel Hranicky were elected (1516).[14] They received consecration at the hands of Bishops Thomas, Luke and Ambrose.

[14] Jaffet's Goliath's Schwerdt, p. 15; Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 230, etc.; Gindely, I. p. 186.

CHAPTER XXII

Doctrine and Life of the Unitas Fratrum at the Beginning of Luther's Reformation. A. D. 1517.

General Principles.—Three Categories of Faith.—The Trinity.—The Church.—Seven Sacraments.—The Communion of Saints.—The Remission of Sin.—The Virgin Mary and the Saints.—Purgatory.—Remarks on the Doctrinal System of the Brethren.—Their Religious Life.

We have reached the year which saw the beginning of Luther's Reformation and which constitutes the boundary line between the Middle Ages and modern history. A brief survey of the doctrine and life, of the ministry, of the constitution and ritual and discipline, of the growth and enterprises of the Unitas Fratrum will therefore be in place. Such a survey will show how bright was its light shining amidst the darkness of Romanism, and establish its position as a church of Reformers before the Reformation.

The Confessions presented to Uladislaus, the Apology of 1503 found in a Lissa Folio, the answer to Käsebrot's attacks and the Statutes of the Unity, give a full account both of its doctrine and life in this period.[1]

From these sources we derive, in the first place, some general principles.

[1] The Confessions are: 1. Oratio excusatoria atque satisfactiva Fratrum Waldensium Regi Wladislao ad Ungariam missa, 1503; Lydius, Part II. pp. 1–21; Freheri Rerum Boh., p. 238, etc.; Brown's Fasciculus, II. pp. 162–169. Lydius has confounded the titles of the Confessions of 1503 and 1504; and Freherus and Brown have followed him. Dr. H. Plitt, in his "Lehrwise," doubts this; but the evidence in favor of the interchange is clear and strong: comp. Czerwenka, II. 93, Note. In this and the other

The Brethren have seceded from the Roman Catholic Church because of its doctrinal errors and idolatrous worship, and have founded the Unity. This Unity is of God, for it stands on faith in the Trinity and is built upon the foundation of the prophets, of Jesus Christ and of His apostles, Christ being its only Redeemer. In it have been instituted, according to the teachings of the New Testament and the example of the primitive church, an independent ministry, an order of public worship and a system of discipline. Its members strive to lay aside sin, to lead pure and holy lives, to exhort one another daily. And in as much as they see the confusion prevailing throughout the church generally and perceive that no distinction is made between what is necessary and what is less so, they maintain that in Christianity some things are "essential" (*essentialia*), some things "auxiliary" (*ministerialia*), and some things "accidental" (*accidentilia*). Essential things relate to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, comprising, on God's part, the grace of God the Father, the merit of Christ and the gift of the Holy Ghost; and on man's part, faith, love and hope. Auxiliary things are those by which the essential are made known, conferred and appropriated; hence the word of God, the power of the keys and the sacraments. Accidental things refer to the time, place and mode of exercising the auxiliary, and therefore constitute the ceremonies and external rites of religion.

Turning from such general principles to the individual doctrines of the Brethren, we find that they accept the

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Confession the Brethren adopt the name of Waldenses simply for convenience' sake, in order that the King may at once know what body of Christians is addressing him, Waldenses being the name which the Brethren generally bore. 2. Confessio Fidei Fratrum Waldensium regi Wladislao at Hungariam missa, 1504, Lydius, II. pp. 21–34; Freherus, p. 245, etc.; Brown, II. pp. 162–189. 3. Confession of 1507, in Bohemian, Metropolitan Lib. at Prague. 4. Excusatio Fratrum Waldensium contra binas litteras Doctoris Augustini datas ad Regem. Lydius, II. pp. 34–91; Freherus, p. 249, etc.; Brown, II. pp. 162–189. 5. Apology of 1503, MS., L. F., III. The Statutes of the Unity are found in the "Dekreten" and have been used by us in so far as they are reproduced in German by Czerwenka.

Apostles', the Nicean and the Athanasian Creeds, and in the Confession of 1503, introduce their own articles with the following words: "Living faith is the universal foundation of human salvation; it is imparted by the gift of the Holy Spirit and through the merit of Christ's grace."[2] But such faith, they further say, is to be understood and defined in a threefold manner. In so far as it relates to the truth of God's being, it is to "believe concerning God" (*credere de Deo*); in so far as it involves the truth of His revelation through His word, it is to "believe God" (*credere Deo*); and in so far as it implies the intent of this revelation—man's appropriating to himself that which God bestows and consecrating his heart and life to Him and His service—it is to "believe in God" (*credere in Deum*).[3] In this three-fold sense the Brethren confess their faith in the Trinity.

I. The Trinity.—The dispenser of salvation is the Almighty God, one in His being but triune in His person, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

The Father.—The Brethren believe concerning God the Father (*de Deo Patre*): that He begot His only Son from all eternity, gave Him for the redemption of the world, and works salvation through His merits, according to the purpose of His own election; they believe God the Father (*Deo Patri*), in that they accept His testimony of Christ delivered from heaven, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him;" and they believe in God the Father (*in Deum Patrem*), in that they love and obey Him with all their heart.

The Son.—Concerning Christ (*de Christo*) they believe: that He is the true God, in being, power and wisdom equal with the Father and the Holy Ghost, proceeding by an eternal generation from the Father; that by Him the worlds were made; that in Him is eternal life; that in order to bring salvation to the human race He became man; that He ascended to heaven and sits at the right hand of the Father, interceding for those who are hereafter to share His glory; that He will return and put all things under His feet. They believe Christ (*Christo*) in as

[2] Lydius, II. p. 3.

[3] Such a distinction of the categories of faith was made by Augustine, Beda and Peter Lombard, adopted by Hus, and derived from him by the Brethren. Luther approved of this distinction. See "Vom anbeten des Sacraments," 1522, fol. 15.

much as they acknowledge all His commandments to be true. They believe in Christ (*in Christum*) when they recognize in Him their God and Saviour, accept His words with full confidence, love Him with a perfect love and are united with His faithful members in faith and love.

The Holy Ghost.—They believe concerning the Holy Ghost (*de Spiritu Sancto*): that He is the true God with the Father and the Only Begotten Word and proceeds from both; that in as much as He vivifies, renews and changes men through faith, they attain to a share in Christ's meritorious grace—in other words, they attain to justification, truth, strength and salvation to the uttermost;[4] that the Holy Ghost keeps the Church upon the foundation of faith in Christ; that through the Holy Ghost the Scriptures are inspired, the members of the Church united, the gifts necessary for its government and for obtaining eternal life in glory dispensed. They believe the Holy Ghost (*Spiritui Sancto*) when fully assenting to the divine Scriptures; and they believe in Him (*in Spiritum Sanctum*), in as far as with full knowledge and faith unfeigned they love Him, and together with the members upon whom He has breathed, keep all His revelations unto eternal glory.

With regard to other cardinal points of doctrine the Brethren teach as follows:

II. The Holy Catholic Church.—The Holy Catholic Church is the entire body of the elect (*numerus omnium electorum*), from the beginning to the end of the world, whom God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit, elects, justifies, and calls to the glory of salvation, out of which body there is no salvation. In its visible form, however, the Church is a mixed body and comprises wicked men also. The Brethren do not claim to be the only true Church, but strive to be members of the only true Church. They have chosen the narrow, sad and despised way which Christ the Redeemer took, and on which the Church, His Bride, condemned and rejected by the world, follows in His footsteps.

III. The Sacraments.—The seven sacraments, together with the preaching of the Gospel, are means of grace.

1. *Baptism.*—Those who have attained, in mature years, to faith and been renewed in heart, are to be baptized in the name of the Triune God, the external "washing of water" being a sign of the internal cleansing through faith and of a union with the

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[4] "Cujus munere fidei vivificantis, renovantis et reformantis ad Christi participationem meritoriae gratiae, justificationis, veritatis, fortudinis, perfectaeque salutis, unusquisque pervenit." Lydius, II. p. 6.

Church.[5] Baptism is to be administered to children also, in order that, guided by their sponsors, they may be incited and accustomed to a life of faith (*ad vitam fidei invitandos esse, assuescendosque*).

2. *Confirmation.*—Children are to be brought to the bishop or to a priest, who catechizes them with regard to the truths of religion and, when they have promised to lead righteous lives, confirms them with prayer and the laying on of hands.

3. *The Lord's Supper.*—In the Lord's Supper the body of Christ is present in the bread, and the blood of Christ in the wine. Such presence is sacramental or mysterious. The words with which Christ instituted this sacrament must be accepted in simplicity and faith, and all explanations of them avoided, except with regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation and the belief that bread and wine constitute mere symbols. The Scriptures teach neither the one nor the other view; and, furthermore, give no authority whatever for the adoration of the host. The sacrament is to be enjoyed, not adored.

4. *Ordination to the Priesthood.*—The priesthood was instituted by Christ himself, the chief Bishop and High Priest of the Church. He is its Head, not the Pope; therefore the priesthood does not proceed from the Pope, and his authority must not be acknowledged. Three things are necessary in order to render ordination a sacrament: a holy life, fasting and prayer, and the laying on of hands.

5. *Marriage.*—Marriage is a union, formed in Christ, between a man and a woman, and at the same time a type of Christ's union with a believing soul and with the whole Church.

6. *Penance.*—When confession is made with a humble and contrite heart, in true faith and sincerity of mind, and when the priest, in Christ's stead and by authority of the Church, represents to the penitent the magnitude of his guilt, and the penitent humbly subjects himself to the power of the keys,—then penance is a sacrament. But if these conditions are not fulfilled, penance is an empty work devoid of Christ's grace.

7. *Extreme Unction.*—In this sacrament, which is based upon the teaching of St. James (V: 14 and 15), the unction is a sign of the forgiveness of sins; yet the assurance that they are forgiven does not depend upon the pouring of the oil but wholly upon the faith of the sick.

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[5] The rebaptism of such as joined the Brethren's Church was still practiced, although voices, within its communion, were raised against this usage.

IV. The Communion of Saints.—All those members of the Church who, in living faith, make use of God's gifts of grace and of the means of grace which He has instituted, laboring together for the general good—constitute the communion of saints. Only the elect can have part in true faith, in divine grace and in Christ's righteousness; the impenitent and wicked, even though they receive the word and the sacraments, do not belong to the communion of the saints. Such as do belong to it, however far they may be led astray, are not lost but eventually reclaimed.

V. The Remission of Sin.—Whoever truly repents and believes, receives the remission of sin; and by partaking, in living faith, of the Lord's Supper, is assured of such forgiveness.

VI.—The Virgin Mary.—To praise God that the Incarnate Son was born of the Virgin Mary; to call her blessed and to celebrate the days sacred to her—is right. But to worship her, or to pray to her, or to bend the knee before her, or to expect help from her—is not right. Christians must follow her example, in so far particularly as, at Cana, she said of her Son: "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it."

VII. The Saints.—The saints are those who, in life, received the grace of God through the merits of Christ, and the gift of the Holy Ghost. In their footsteps men must walk; but they must not pray to them or adore them.

VIII. Purgatory.—The Bible knows nothing of a place where, after death, men are purged from sin and prepared for heaven. After death comes the judgment. When treating of the other world the Scriptures speak only of hell and of Abraham's bosom.

From this survey of the doctrinal system of the Brethren it appears, that they occupied a biblical standpoint and upheld an evangelical faith. The only remnant of Romanism was their teaching seven sacraments; but instead of explaining these in a Romish way—that a mere outward participation in them is of avail—they made their efficacy to depend wholly upon the faith of the recipient.

Gindely maintains that their view with regard to justification was in full accord with that of the Roman Catholic Church.[6] This is a grave error. The faith by which a man is justified they did not understand in a Romish sense, although they taught that it must work by love; and what is

[6] Gindely, I. p. 122, and Dogm. Ansichten, pp. 361–370.

more, the doctrinal reasons which they assigned for separating from the Catholics cannot be reconciled with Gindely's assertion.[7]

It may rather be said that the essential features of the system of the Reformers were practically contained in that of the Brethren before the Reformation. The difference between the two was this: the Reformers gained, from a scientific point of view, a deeper insight into theology than the Brethren, and hence defined dogmatical tenets more clearly and systematically. But from the standpoint of practical religion, the question "What must I do to be saved?"—would have received the same answer from a minister of the Brethren's Church as from a minister in the time of the Reformation. Yet the former would have set forth, more earnestly than the latter, holy living as a result and sign of saving faith, and in doing this, would have had the Bible on his side.[8]

In the period of which we are treating the Brethren were distinguished by their high standard of spirituality. The walk and conversation of all classes were made to conform, as far as possible, to rules laid down by the Synod and the Executive Council.[9]

The ministers set the example. Their labors were earnest, their prayers unceasing, their lives holy. Such sins as disgraced the Catholic and Utraquist priesthood, rarely occurred. The nobility, whatever their prerogatives in the eye of the

[7] The Brethren say, as recorded in the "Dekreten," that the R. C. Church reverses the plan of salvation; sets aside the merits of Christ; changes the work of the Holy Ghost into a work of man; and teaches sinners to earn forgiveness through meritorious acts.

[8] The tendency of German Moravian writers, such as John Plitt, Bishop Croeger, and especially Dr. Herman Plitt, is to make prominent the weak points of the theology of the U. F. prior to the Reformation, and to ascribe undue weight to its influence in subsequently shaping that theology. While no one can deny that the Reformation did exercise an influence, to a certain extent, upon the doctrinal system of the Brethren, its original biblical character and evangelical features ought rather to be urged, both of which are astonishing when we consider the age to which they belonged. John Plitt accuses the Brethren of a tendency to worship the Virgin Mary!

[9] Czerwenka, II. pp. 115–122, according to the "Dekreten."

civil law, were not recognized as a privileged order by the statutes of the Unity. Not only were these alike binding upon them and upon the humblest member, but there existed also special rules for their conduct as manor-lords and office-bearers under the government. In the same way were prescribed, according to the Scriptures, the duties of dependents and serfs and servants. The laborer in the field, the artisan in his shop, and the tradesman with his wares, were not forgotten. Their concerns were carefully regulated with a view to industry, to honesty and to the glory of God. Certain occupations were deemed dishonorable and hence were forbidden. To this class belonged the manufacture of dice, the theatrical profession, painting, music, astrology, witchcraft, usury, alchemy, pandering and prostitution.

Piety adorned especially the homes of the Brethren. Parental discipline was strict; the children were instructed in religion; the spiritual welfare of the servants was promoted; around the family altar gathered, every morning and evening, the entire household. Extravagance and immodesty in dress, immoderate feasting and unbecoming pastimes were forbidden. From public amusements, especially the annual village-fairs, the Brethren stood aloof. They were noted, too, for their temperance in the use of intoxicating drinks, the retailing of which was discouraged in every possible way. Not less remarkable was the manner in which they hallowed the Lord's day, desecrated as it was by the people in general. The poor and sick were cared for with all tenderness and love. Whenever a member of the Church undertook a journey, he notified his priest, or one of the elders, in order that he might be included in the prayers of the congregation and publicly committed into the keeping of God.

Such was the religious life of the Unity. While, to a certain extent, that puritanical element still appears which was originated by Peter Chelcicky—the picture is attractive. The Brethren were true to their profession, reached a type of Christianity unprecedented in their age, and showed themselves to be a royal priesthood and a peculiar people.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Ministry, Constitution, Ritual and Discipline of the Unitas Fratrum at the Beginning of Luther's Reformation.
A. D. 1517.

Bishops.—Priests.—Deacons.—Their Ordination.—Acolytes.—Synods.—The Executive Council.—Its President.—The Judge.—Parishes, and their Lay Officers.—Official Visits.—Installations.—Public Worship and the Administration of the Sacraments.—Marriages and Funerals.—Festival Days.—Fast and Prayer Days.—The Discipline.

THE ministry of the Unitas Fratrum embraced the three orders of bishops, priests or presbyters, and deacons.[1] Candidates for the ministry were called acolytes and filled a distinct office in the Church.

Bishops were elected by the priests, who held a secret meeting for this purpose, after having spent a day in fasting and prayer. In case they could not all assemble, such only were convened as resided in the district where the Executive

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[1] Sources for this chapter are: Dekrete d. B. U., as reproduced in German by Czerwenka, II. pp. 76–84; Gindely, I. pp. 79–88; Apologia veræ doctrinæ, etc., 1532-1538; Quinta Pars, Lydius, I. Second Part, p. 332, etc.; Ratio Disciplinæ Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate Frat. Boh., drawn up in 1616, together with the notes of Comenius (Halle ed. of 1702); and Seifferth's Ch. Constitution of the Boh. Brethren. London, 1866. The ministry and discipline were the same in 1517 as in 1616, and in the century that intervened but few changes were made in the constitution and ritual; hence the Ratio Disciplinæ constitutes an important authority for our review. The changes were mostly unessential and are noted in the text.

Council had its seat. The election was by ballot and each ticket contained three names. The tickets were given to the presiding Bishop, who was not permitted to examine them until the third day, when they were opened and counted in the presence of the Executive Council. In order to a choice a unanimous vote was necessary. If the result was not unanimous, a second ballot, restricted to those who had received the highest number of votes, was ordered; in case they scattered even now, the presiding Bishop, after consulting with the Council, decided which of the candidates should receive the appointment. This mode of election was gradually changed in so far, that bishops were publicly chosen at a General Synod and by a majority of votes; but the tickets were still opened and counted in private by the Council. Priests only could be elevated to the episcopacy.

The consecration of bishops was conducted with the utmost solemnity—in early times, in secret, at a later period, in public—and generally the day after the result of the election had been determined. The priests, or in subsequent times the entire Synod, having assembled and engaged in religious exercises, the presiding Bishop announced that God had heard the prayers of His servants; that a new bishop had been chosen; and that it was the duty of the brother thus elected, when his name would be made known, to obey the divine call without hesitation and present himself before God and the Church. Thereupon another bishop published the name. This was the first intimation which the priest, who had been chosen, received of his election. His feelings may be imagined when he came forward and was asked by the presiding Bishop, in presence of the entire assembly, whether he believed that he had been called of God and whether he was willing to offer the service of his life to God and the Church? If he answered in the affirmative, the duties of the episcopal office were read to him from the apostolic canon; after which he took the solemn oath prescribed for bishops, promising to discharge his episcopal obligations and functions faithfully, sincerely and constantly. Thereupon the whole assembly fell

on their knees and the presiding Bishop prayed that God would ratify in heaven what had been done on earth, that He would endow His servant with the gifts necessary for the office he was to fill, and grant to him the spirit of wisdom and power. The act of consecration immediately followed, the presiding Bishop invoking the name of God and repeating the prescribed formula, while all the bishops present took part in the imposition of hands. Meanwhile the congregation, still kneeling, engaged in silent intercessions and, when the consecration had taken place, united in the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. At the conclusion of this hymn the bishops embraced their new colleague and welcomed him to their ranks as a brother, while the other ministers pledged to him their right hands in token of obedience. The service was closed with the celebration of the Holy Communion.

The official title commonly given to a bishop was "Senior." This, says the *Ratio Disciplinæ*, was owing to the fact that the former name "had become odious through the anti-Christian abuse of it;" nevertheless it very frequently occurs in the writings of the Brethren.

The special duties of the bishops were: the ordination and the superintendence of the ministers; official visits to the churches; watching over the doctrine and discipline; overseeing the publication offices of the Unity; and providing for the training of youths of good parts for the service of the Church. Districts, or dioceses, were assigned to the bishops at an early time, and when the Unitas Fratrum had increased to three Provinces, the episcopacy was represented in each Province.

When deacons were to be advanced to the priesthood, they were subjected to a very careful examination, first by members of the Council and then by a bishop. The latter examination was particularly strict. It was "a trial of the conscience" of the deacon: whether he proposed to follow Christ from pure love or for a livelihood? whether he sought the flock or the fleece? whether he was ready to impart to his hearers not the Gospel of God only, but his own soul also? (1 Thess.

2: 8.)[2] The testimonials furnished by the elders of the parishes in which the candidates had served as deacons, were scrutinized by the priests assembled at a Synod, on which occasion the ordination took place. Their assent to these testimonials, or their dissent from them, was sent to the bishops in writing.

Priests were usually ordained in the ember weeks, on a Sunday; in the early period of the Church, with closed doors, but in a later period publicly. The candidates were presented to the Bishop by two members of the Council, with these words:

"Venerable brother in Christ, the Bishop, we bear witness before God and this Church, that these men are of worthy parentage and education, and that their lives have hitherto been honest and unblamable; also, that having been examined by us, they have been found to be sound in doctrine and faith, and of a sincere intention to serve Christ and the Church. We therefore request, in the name of the congregations they are to serve, that you would confer on them the pastoral office, by the power committed to you by Christ and the Church, and that you would confirm them in the same."

The Bishop replied:

"This testimony of yours, given in the presence of the Church of Christ, is admitted; and your petition shall be granted in the name of God."[3]

Thereupon a series of questions was put to the candidates; having answered these they took the prescribed oath of fidelity to God and the Church. Then the Bishop addressed them and said:

"Beloved brethren, that you may entertain a firm hope of divine assistance, listen to Christ, the eternal High Priest interceding for you; who, when about to sanctify himself as a victim for the sins of the world, most fervently commended to His Father all His followers who should proclaim redemption."

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[2] "This last trial of the conscience," says Comenius, "was sometimes so affectingly conducted, that instances are not wanting of persons having shrunk from the office through alarm of conscience, or their age, or inexperience; feeling more disposed to work out their own salvation than to be engaged in caring for that of others." Seifferth's Ch. Con., p. 188.

[3] Comenius, in Seifferth's Ch. Con. pp. 188 and 189.

Another bishop now read, from the seventeenth chapter of St. John, the high priestly prayer of Christ. "It was seldom heard without tears," says Comenius. The act of ordination followed, with prayer and the imposition of hands, the Bishop repeating the prescribed formula and the congregation kneeling and, as at episcopal consecrations, singing the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Finally the Bishop delivered a charge to the newly ordained priests, at the close of which, during the singing of the one hundred and thirty-third psalm, they pledged to him and his colleagues their right hands in token of obedience, and to the other ministers in token of fellowship. The service was generally concluded with the celebration of the Holy Communion.

At the head of each parish stood a priest. It was his duty to preach and administer the sacraments, to solemnize marriages, to instruct the old and young in the truths of religion according to the catechism and the Confessions of the Brethren, and to devote himself to pastoral work. Theoretically he was permitted to marry, but practically obstacles were thrown in his way. Permission must, in each case, be given by the Executive Council, and a married priest was debarred from the discharge of certain ministerial functions. In later times, however, such restrictions were removed. A priest was supported, in part, by the voluntary gifts of his parish, and, in part, by the work of his own hands.[4]

The priests were assisted by deacons. These instructed the young in the truths of religion, preached, baptized, and distributed the elements at the Lord's Supper. They were not allowed to administer this latter sacrament, and could baptize only by direction of a priest. Deacons were advanced

[4] Dr. Käsebrot, in his attack upon the Unity, ridiculed this custom. In their reply the Brethren said: "Let him consider the beginning of the primitive Church, whether there were many of the noble, powerful, wise or rich, in these offices. We are not ashamed of our priests because they labor with their own hands; for both apostolic teaching and example so lead us, and indeed we would rather see this, than that, giving way to indolence, they should frequent taverns, and follow vanity and vice." Seifferth's Ch. Con. p. 188.

to their office from the ranks of the acolytes, and their ordination was conducted in a way similar to that of the priests.

Acolytes were youths living with the priests and preparing for service in the Church. They engaged in the prescribed studies; read the Scriptures at private worship and sometimes delivered a brief exhortation; taught the catechism to the children in the schools; attended the priests on their journeys; opened, closed and lighted the chapels, and rang the bell for public service. Acolytes were formally inducted into their office at Synods. Their duties were read to them; they promised faithfulness and obedience; and pledged their right hands to a bishop in token of both.

We turn to the constitution of the Unitas Fratrum.

Its highest authority was the General Synod which, in the period under review, met once a year; in later times, every three or four years. To it came the bishops, the members of the Executive Council, the priests, the deacons, the acolytes and the patrons of the churches, so that there were often several hundred persons gathered. But only the bishops, the members of the Council and those priests who had charge of parishes, took part in the deliberations and were entitled to a vote.

On the day before the opening of the Synod a preliminary meeting of the Executive Council was held. At this meeting an opportunity was given for a fraternal interchange of views with regard to the personal relations of the members. After a searching charge by the presiding Bishop to the whole Council, he and his episcopal colleagues conferred together in one apartment and the remaining members in another. Faults were freely confessed and forgiven, differences adjusted and offences removed. Then the entire body again assembled, their mutual trust and love renewed, and agreed on an order of business.

In the evening of the following day the Synod was opened, in the chapel, by the presiding Bishop, who gave thanks unto God and welcomed the brethren. The next morning a synodical sermon was preached, and then legislation began.

But it was not carried on by the Synod in one body. There were, what might be called, two Houses; the upper consisting of the bishops and Council, the lower of the priests. In the former the presiding Bishop occupied the chair; the latter chose its president. The two Houses interchanged their propositions and nothing of moment was transacted without the consent of both. Meanwhile, under the supervision of the bishops, the deacons and acolytes held meetings of their own at which theological studies were carried on and examinations instituted. The bishops also consulted with the patrons in relation to the business which these might wish to bring forward. Religious services took place every morning, afternoon and evening; and daily sermons were preached. On such occasions the entire Synod assembled. It was closed with a charge to the ministers by one of the bishops, to which a priest replied in the name of the former, thanking the bishops for their paternal care. Then followed the celebration of the Holy Communion. The Acts of the Synod were registered and each bishop received a copy.

Particular Synods—*Particulares Synodi*—as they were called, met frequently. These consisted of a smaller number of bishops and priests, and transacted business that was local in its character. The Acts of such Synods were communicated to all the bishops.

The executive authority was vested in the Council. This consisted of the bishops and generally of ten other members, among whom, in the earliest period of the Unity, were laymen.[5] At a later time priests only were chosen; and eventually an election to the Council involved a consecration as assistant bishop. Thus the body became exclusively episcopal. The tenure of office was for life and new members, after taking an oath of fidelity, were inducted by the presiding Bishop. Vacancies were filled by the Council itself, but its choice was restricted to such priests as the

[5] In the long period in which Matthias was the only bishop, the Council embraced thirteen members.

churches nominated. In course of time this rule was abrogated and the General Synod filled vacancies. The members of the Council resided in different parishes and its chief seat was occasionally changed. It was the province of this body to appoint priests to the various churches; to provide for official visits; to elect the Ecclesiastical Judge; and in every particular to care for the welfare of the Unity. In this way an associate form of government was produced. No bishop could act independently. In all matters of moment he was bound to consult not only his episcopal colleagues but also the other members of the Council. At the same time, however, the bishops ranked according to the priority of their consecration, and the President of the Council exercised great influence. He was the presiding Bishop of the whole Unity, convened the Executive Council and the General Synod, and took the lead at both.

At the meetings of these bodies he afforded every member an opportunity to speak on every question, beginning with the youngest and ending with the oldest. When all present had expressed their opinions, he rehearsed and weighed them, showed whether they could be reconciled, and in what manner a common conclusion could be reached. If this was impossible, he pointed out the different results to which the views of the members had led and the reasons for each result, and then presented the question for renewed discussion, always striving to bring about unanimity if possible.

An office of great authority was that of the Ecclesiastical Judge. Although not inhering in the episcopacy, it seems to have been filled by the presiding Bishop, except toward the end of the episcopate of Matthias, in 1495, when it was given to Prokop, in whose hands it remained for twelve years. This was owing, however, as we have shown in another connection, to the arbitrary course which Matthias pursued. The Judge settled all disputes in the Church, that were referred to him, making known his decision publicly; in the event of his finding it impossible to adjust a case, he laid it before the Council. From this body an appeal could

be taken to the General Synod; but such an appeal was final. In course of time the office of Ecclesiastical Judge disappeared.

The various churches of the Unity were all governed by the same rules and developed according to one system. Inquiring more closely into the character of both, we find many points of interest, which become attractive and memorable when we call to mind the age to which they belonged.

The membership of a Brethren's church was classified; embracing Beginners (*Incipientes*), Proficients (*Proficientes*), and the Perfect (*Perfecti*), or those "going on unto perfection."[6] Beginners were such as were "learning the first elements of religion"—children and converts from "the idolaters;" Proficients, such as "having become well acquainted with those elements, exercised themselves, more and more, in the knowledge of the will of God and in its practical observance;" and the Perfect, "such as had made eminent attainments in the knowledge of divine things and had become so established in faith, love and hope, as to be able to enlighten others."[7] Hence this last class generally furnished a church with its lay-officers.

Of these there were three boards: the elders, the almoners, and the ædiles. They were elected by the people. The elders, or overseers, watched over the membership with pious care and, in every other way, assisted the priest in his pastoral work. Associated with them was a body of female elders—widows and single women—whose duty it was to oversee and labor among their own sex. Their ministrations to the sick and their other works of charity were distinguished. The almoners provided for the poor of the parish and had charge of the money contributed toward their support. Individual gifts were frequently received; at Christmas and on the Day of John the Baptist (June the twenty-fourth), collections

[6] "Sive ad perfectionem tendentes." 1 Cor. 2: 6; Heb. 5: 13 and 14.

[7] Seifferth's Ch. Con. pp. 104 and 105. This classification is set forth in full in the third part of the Conf. of 1532–1538 (Lydius, Part II, p. 177, etc); it undoubtedly existed in 1517.

were, every year, instituted. The ædiles formed the trustees of a church. They managed its financial affairs; looked after the parsonage and chapel and school-house; and rendered an annual account to the parish, whose contributions were paid quarterly.

The centre of every parish was the *Zbor*, or the parsonage.[8] It was a large edifice in which lived not only the priest, but also the deacons who assisted him, the acolytes under his charge, and usually the female elders of his church. Not unfrequently, too, superannuated ministers found a home there and traveling brethren a lodging-place. The entire household was governed by strict rules. There were fixed hours for rising, for private devotions, for family-worship, for study and manual labor and for retiring to rest. Idleness was unknown; from morning to night the parsonage teemed with activity and life. Nor did the parishioners fail to frequent its apartments. They came to engage servants, to seek counsel, to lodge complaints and to settle disputes. So constant were these visits that the enemies of the Brethren reviled them for "running into the House" about every trifle. The chapel, for public worship, was either under the same roof with the parsonage, or constituted a separate edifice. In early times the parsonage included the parochial school likewise; at a later period school-houses were constructed. Noblemen belonging to the Unity, or the parishes themselves, erected all these buildings; the town and village churches remained in the hands of the Utraquists and Catholics.

Every parish was visited, once a year, by the bishop set over the diocese to which it belonged. He was generally accompanied by several members of the Council and by some of the neighboring priests. In case he was prevented from appearing in person, a member of the Council took his place. Such visits were very thorough, involving a close inspection

[8] The *Zbor* or *sbor* (a church) was also called *Dum* (the house); hence the phrase *do sboru jeti*, that is, "to go into the house," gradually came to mean "to attend divine service." Herrnhut, 1875, No. 6, Feb. 6, upon which authority is based the description which follows.

of the parish in every particular. The pastor was examined in relation to its state and his own work and life; the deacons and acolytes were questioned with regard to the manner in which they discharged their duties; the elders were interrogated both as to the obligations which they had assumed and as to the degree of faithfulness manifested by the pastor; the female elders were asked to give a report of what they had accomplished; and finally, in conjunction with the elders and ædiles, the buildings and other property belonging to the parish were inspected. The bishop, moreover, preached, took occasion to instruct and admonish the different classes of the membership, and always administered the Holy Communion. If a new pastor had been appointed, he installed him with great solemnity; if new elders had been elected, he formally inducted them into their office; and if a new chapel had been built, he dedicated it to the worship of God.

The Day of the Lord was kept holy throughout the parish. In summer five public services were held; in winter four. The first and second took place in the forenoon. At both, after singing and prayer, sermons were preached. Prior to the sixteenth century the text was restricted to the Gospel or Epistle appointed for the day, and the most of the prayers were intoned by the priest; subsequent to that period liberty was given to select a text—although the old order was commonly observed—and the intoning fell into disuse. In prayer both priest and congregation kneeled. At noon, after an early repast, the children, in the presence of their parents and sponsors, were instructed by the deacons in the catechism. This was the service which took place in summer only. At "the time of vespers" a third sermon was delivered, generally on the Epistle for the day; and at sunset followed a service of song and prayer. When this had been concluded the congregation, expressing, each to the other, good wishes for the night—"May you rest in peace and in God!"—returned to their homes, joyful and glad of heart.[9]

[9] According to the Ratio Disciplinæ, p. 31, it became customary, in course of time, to select the text of the first forenoon sermon from the

Divine service was held in the course of the week also. Moreover, as opportunity offered, not only the three classes of Beginners and Proficients and the Perfect, but likewise the married members, the single men, and the single women, met separately and were addressed by the pastor on topics suitable to their respective circumstances. In the season of Lent on Wednesday and Friday evenings, the so-called *Salva* took place,[10] at which meetings the mystery of redemption was "diligently inculcated, especially upon the young."

Children were baptized a few days after their birth. The service was impressive. First of all, the parents and sponsors were taught their respective duties from the Scriptures; then, in answer to questions put by the officiating minister, the parents authorized the sponsors to take part in the religious training of the child, and the sponsors accepted this responsibility, both parties pledging their right hands in token of their mutual promise. All kneeling, a fervent prayer by the minister followed. He besought God to grant to the child, through the Holy Ghost, the new birth in Christ Jesus and a part in the covenant of His Church; parents and sponsors reverently responding *Amen!* Thereupon the minister baptized the child with pure water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. A brief exhortation closed the service.

The baptismal covenant was renewed in the rite of confirmation which, as a rule, took place on the occasion of an episcopal visit, but was not necessarily administered by a bishop. The young people having come forward, were questioned in relation to the sincerity of their purpose and their faith in Christ. They renounced the world, the flesh and the devil; professed their faith by reciting, in concert, the Apostles' Creed; and kneeling, repeated after the officiating minister a prayer for pardon and grace to lead holy lives.

Prophets; of the second, from the Gospels; of the sermon at vespers from the Epistles, and to combine with the evening song the reading of the entire Bible in order, as also brief comments on the portions read.

[10] The name *Salva* was derived from the hymn *Salva nos Jesu, rex cœli,* "Save us, Jesus, heavenly King."

He then imparted absolution, and confirmed them with the imposition of hands and an invocation to God.

No service was conducted with greater solemnity than that of the Holy Communion. We will, in imagination, visit a parish at such a season.

The day for the celebration of this sacrament is, we find, appointed two or three weeks previously, and with the appointment the priest combines earnest exhortations, addressed to the communicants, to "prove their ownselves." At a subsequent time he delivers a special discourse on the meaning of the Lord's Supper and on the duty of further preparing for it in the most prayerful way and with the most searching self-examination. Then confession takes place, either in public or in private, followed by a solemn charge on the part of the priest to repent and do the first works. He imparts absolution with the imposition of hands.[11] Entering the chapel on the appointed day, we find it filled with reverent worshipers. A hymn is sung, prayer offered and a sermon preached; after which, while another hymn swells through the sanctuary, the priest and his assisting deacons approach the communion table which is covered with a white linen cloth and on which stand the sacred vessels—the flagon, the chalice and the paten with common bread.[12] Turning to the communicants the priest exhorts them to call upon God for the pardon of their sins. All fall on their knees; the priest leads in a fervent prayer, closing with the Lord's Prayer, and the people respond *Amen!* Still kneeling they sing a short hymn. Then all rise and the priest, having admonished them to believe implicitly that their prayers have been heard and that their sins have been forgiven,

[11] In a later period of the Church the communicants, according to the Ratio Disciplinæ, called at the parsonage, either by families, or masters with their servants, and were carefully examined by the priest with regard to their spiritual state. Such as proved unworthy were forbidden to participate in the Lord's Supper, unless they promised a thorough amendment.

[12] In accordance with a resolution of the General Synod, adopted in 1534, wafers were thereafter substituted and lighted candles were permitted on the communion table.

pronounces a general absolution. And now he consecrates the elements with the words of institution—prior to the sixteenth century these words were always chanted—and invites the congregation to draw near to the table of the Lord. First the priest and the deacons partake; then the people come forward with all reverence and in regular order. The manor-lords, in their capacity of magistrates, take the lead; next the elders approach; then the men, and last the women—in each case according to age—and receive, kneeling, both the bread and the cup from the hands of the officiating ministers.[13] Meanwhile hymns, treating of the sufferings and death of Christ, are sung in sweet harmony. When all the communicants have partaken, the priest offers a prayer of thanksgiving, to which he adds intercessions for the Church universal, for rulers and lords of domains, for friend and foe, for the fallen and the penitent and the sick, for all states and conditions of men. In conclusion, without making the sign of the cross, he pronounces the benediction, all the people saying *Amen!* Before leaving God's house they engage in silent prayer.

Neither at the Holy Communion nor on any other occasion were priestly vestments used.

The marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel and accompanied with the reading of the Scriptures and a discourse. At funerals an address was delivered and, on the way to the grave, the school children, led by the minister, sang hymns. The festivals of the Christian Church, as also the days of the Apostles and of some of the martyrs, were duly celebrated. Four times in the year, Wednesday and Friday were observed as days of solemn supplication to God, both in public and in private. All work ceased; the people assembled in their chapels; discourses were delivered; confession of sin was made and fervent prayer offered. Prayer

[13] In the fifteenth century the Brethren received the elements standing, as a protest against the adoration of the host; but this practice gave such offence and caused such fierce persecutions, that they were obliged to relinquish it. R. D., pp. 37 and 38.

was continued, in the closet and the family circle, as far as possible, throughout the whole day. On such occasions the Brethren fasted, as also at the approach of danger from persecutions, war or pestilence, and whenever ordinations to the ministry were about to take place.

The discipline exercised within the Unitas Fratrum, constituted one of its brightest jewels. Carefully regulated according to the Scriptures, this discipline embraced three degrees. The first consisted of private admonition and reproof; the second of public reproof and exposure; the third of excommunication and entire exclusion from the Church.

If a brother saw his brother sin, it was his duty and privilege, in all kindness, to point out the offense. In case the reproof remained without effect, the offender was cited before the elders, or the pastor, and admonished by them. Did he acknowledge his fault, he was dismissed in peace; did he continue refractory, he was suspended from the Holy Communion until he had given evidence of true repentance. In serious cases a condition was fixed. If his offence had remained unknown to the church, he was required to ask pardon of the elders privately; but if it had been made public, he was obliged publicly to seek forgiveness of the assembled congregation. In the event of his remaining contumacious, or of a gross transgression, he was formally and publicly excommunicated, the people setting, as it were, their seals to the sentence, in that they exclaimed *Amen! Amen!*

To such discipline, in its three degrees, all the members of the Unity were subject, "from the child," says the *Ratio Disciplinæ*, "to the old man, from the serf to the lord, from the acolyte to the bishop." It was enforced "neither in a hypocritical, nor in a violent and tyrannical manner, but as the Apostle has advised, in the spirit of meekness, with deep compassion, in the name and by the authority of Christ, to edification and not to destruction." [14]

[14] R. D., pp. 53 and 55. Seifferth's Ch. Con., p. 172. The review given in the above chapter shows in how many points of constitution, of worship and of discipline the Unitas Fratrum of the present day resembles the Unity which existed at the time of the Reformation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Growth and Enterprises of the Unitas Fratrum at the Beginning of Luther's Reformation. A. D. 1517.

The principal Churches of the Brethren in Bohemia.—The Establishments of Carmel and the Mount of Olives at Jungbunzlau and Leitomischl.—The principal Churches in Moravia.—The number of Members.—Noble Families belonging to the Unity.—Its Schools.—Its Publication Offices.—The first Catechism.—The first Hymnal.—Other Publications.

THE Unitas Fratrum was no longer a small body of obscure believers, but a flourishing, influential and numerous church. While accurate statistics are wanting, an approximately correct idea of its growth may be given.

In Bohemia it had three principal centres.[1] The first may be called the Reichenau-Kunwald, or the Jungbunzlau-Leitomischl centre. It stretched from the eastern end of Bohemia westward to Jungbunzlau and Brandeis on the Elbe, and from Vilimow and Kuttenberg in the South to Turnau and Braunau in the North. Within these limits there was scarcely a town of any importance in which the Brethren had not established themselves, so that the number of churches reached about one hundred and fifty. The most noteworthy were those at Skuc, Richenburg, Landskron, Brandeis on the Adler, Hohenmaut, Chrudin and Chotzen, in the circuit of Pardubitz; Senftenberg, Kunwald, Reichenau, Pottenstein, Kosteletz, Königgrätz, Neustadt on the Mettau, Krcin and Jaromir, in the circuit of Königgrätz; Jungbunzlau, Bidschow, Nimburg, Brandeis on the Elbe, Turnau, and Weisswasser, in the circuit of Jicin.

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[1] The chief authority for this chapter is Gindely, I. pp. 92–94, 96, 108, 109, 121, 122, 124 and 126, who assigns the centres given above.

The second centre may be named the Stekna centre, in the southwestern part of Bohemia. It was connected with the first by churches scattered in the line of Vilimow, Beneschau, Wotitz, Tabor and Frauenberg, near Budweis, and its most important seats were those at Stekna, Wodnan, Wolin, Klösterle, Strakoniz, Mirovic, Klattau, Schlüsselberg, Taus, Aujezd and Haid.

The third centre may be designated the Saaz-Lenesic centre, in the western section of the country. This centre flourished in the early period of the Unity; in later times it suffered greatly from persecutions. Its prominent churches were at Saaz, Lenesic, Ploscha, Laun, Bilin, Brüx and Teplitz.

The chief seat of the Brethren remained, for the most part, within the first centre. Originally it was at Kunwald, then at Reichenau, later at Brandeis on the Adler, and in the time of Bishop Luke, at Jungbunzlau. In this town stood a large edifice—once a Franciscan convent—which was renovated and given to the Unity by Baron Krajek. It contained a chapel, a school and the residence of the principal members of the Council. This structure was called "Mount Carmel." A similar establishment at Leitomischl was known as "Mount of Olives." Jungbunzlau, Pardubitz and Leitomischl constituted the three domains on which the Brethren were most thickly settled.

Moravia comprised two centres, of which the one may be named Prerau-Prossnitz and the other Eibenschütz. In the first the leading churches were at Prerau, which always remained the chief Moravian seat of the Brethren, Prossnitz, Wischau, Eywanowitz, Tobitschau, Chropin, Kajetan, Kremsier, Straznic, Ungarisch-Brod, Walachisch-Meseritsch, Weisskirchen, Neutitschein, Kunewalde and Fulneck; in the second, at Eibenschütz, Kanitz, Mährisch-Kromau, Bitesch, Trebitsch and Datschitz.

According to the *Historia Persecutionum* the number of chapels and therefore of parishes, in 1500, both in Bohemia and Moravia, was about two hundred.[2] But this is too low

[2] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XX. 8.

an estimate. The researches of Gindely have shown that there were between three hundred and four hundred churches in Bohemia alone, and that the number of members amounted to between seventy-seven thousand and one hundred thousand. At the same time, there were, according to one account, about seventy thousand, according to another, about one hundred thousand members in Moravia. Hence, taking the lowest estimates, it appears that at the beginning of the Reformation the Brethren had, in Bohemia and Moravia, more than four hundred churches and a membership of at least one hundred and fifty thousand, and probably of two hundred thousand souls.[3]

Some of the prominent noble families connected with the Unity were those of Kostka, Pernstein, Krajek, Waldstein, Sternberg, Zerotin, Bozkowic and Kaunitz. Particularly zealous on its behalf were several women of ancient lines: Joanna von Krajek, Crescencia Zmrzlik, Anna von Ostrowic and her daughter, Martha von Bozkowic, as also a daughter of Baron von Schellenberg, who was a Catholic and one of the most powerful supporters of the Catholic church. Gindely says: "The Brethren hung together like an unbroken chain, from the royal palace to the humblest cottage."[4]

The enterprises of the Unity were its schools and publication offices. Of the former there existed, in addition to the parochial schools found in every parish, several higher ones, especially at Jungbunzlau and Leitomischl, attended by young people not connected with the Unity, among whom were not

[3] From a conversation between George Volinsky and Baron Rosenberg (Gindely I. p. 94, Vide p. 195 of this History), it appears that in 1513, the Brethren had about eleven thousand full grown men in Bohemia. Reckoning the men as the one-seventh of the whole number, this must have amounted to seventy-seven thousand. From Dr. Henry Institoris Sancte Romane ecc. fidei defensionis, (Vide p. 183 of this History,) we gather that there were said to be, in 1500, about one hundred thousand Brethren in Moravia; but Gindely claims that the number in Bohemia was larger than in Moravia. Consequently our estimate in the text is not too high, but perhaps too low.

[4] Gindely, I. p. 126.

a few young nobles. We know nothing with regard to the course of study or the system of education in this early period.

In 1517 the Unity had two publication offices. The one was at Jungbunzlau, established in 1500; the other at Leitomischl, established in 1507. In 1519 a third was opened at Weisswasser.[5] The superintendent of the office at Jungbunzlau was Nicholas Claudianus, a distinguished physician and learned man.[6] All the three offices were supplied with printing presses of their own, and sent forth numerous works.

In 1505 appeared the first Catechism of the Brethren entitled *Detinske otazky*—"Questions to the children"—written by Bishop Luke, and the first Hymnal, edited by the same author, containing paraphrases and translations of old Latin hymns together with many original compositions. Both these works are lost. Other publications were the Confessions of Faith, mentioned in previous chapters; numerous polemical writings by Luke and Krasonicky; Luke's answer to an attack, by Catholic priests, upon the Catechism; his Treatise on the Incarnation, his Commentaries on the Psalms, on the Gospels and Epistles of the Ecclesiastical Year, on the Third, Fourth and Sixth chapters of St. John's Gospel, and on the Eleventh chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians; several monographs against rebaptism, written by his brother, John, a distinguished physician; and a map of Bohemia drawn by Claudianus and issued under his supervision.[7]

These are only a few instances of the literary activity of the Brethren. Between the years 1500 and 1510, sixty works appeared in Bohemia, of which not less than fifty were

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[5] At this time there were only two other presses in Bohemia, the one at Pilsen (1468) in the hands of the Catholics, the other at Prague (1488), in the hands of the Utraquists.

[6] He was one of the deputies sent by the Church to Erasmus of Rotterdam, and under his supervision the Apology of 1507 was printed at Nuremberg. He died in 1526. Goll, p. 124, Note 23.

[7] This map was printed at Nuremberg, as were also several of the Confessions of Faith.

published by the Brethren. The press was a power in their hands. They used it conscientiously to the spread of the true faith and the glory of God.

The Bohemian version of the Bible, translated from the Vulgate and published at Venice, in 1506, was not, as has been generally supposed by Moravian writers, a work of the Brethren. It originated in the Utraquist Church.[8]

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[6] This has been clearly shown by William G. Malin in his Treatise on the Bohemian Bible, published in his Catalogue, p. 135, etc., and also in the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, I. p. 143, etc.

CHAPTER XXV.

Intercourse of the Brethren with Erasmus and Luther; and other Events to the Death of Luke. A. D. 1517–1528.

Death of Bishop Thomas.—Skoda elected to the Episcopacy.—Pacification of St. Wenzel.—Erasmus of Rotterdam and the Brethren.—His letter and Introduction to the New Testament.—Bohemia and Germany from the Point of View of their Reformations.—Lutheran Movement in Bohemia.—Luke and Luther.—Deputation to Luther.—Luke's and Luther's Controversial Writings.—Second Mission to Luther.—Its Object and Failure.—Estrangement between the Leader of the Reformation and the Head of the Unity.—Luke and the Zwinglian System.—Strifes in the National Church.—Gallus Cahera.—Utraquist Reaction.—The Brethren appeal to the King.—Battle of Mohacs and Death of the King.—Luke and the Amosites, the Habrowanites and the Anabaptists.—Death of Bishop Luke.

At the beginning of the memorable year which constituted the dawn of a new era in the world's history, there lingered among the Brethren their aged Bishop Thomas, the last of the founders of their Church and the only representative of its primitive ways and pristine simplicity. But the approaching revival of the pure Gospel was not to gladden his heart. He died at Prerau, on the twenty-third of February, 1517. Humble, forbearing, ready to yield for the sake of peace, he allowed Luke to follow a course which he could not always approve, and beheld, without a murmur, his position as presiding Bishop overshadowed through the commanding influence of his colleague. "Lord," he was sometimes heard to pray, "if I am standing in the way of Thy work, take me hence!"[1] Although not as learned a man as Luke, he was

[1] Todtenbuch, pp. 6 and 7, which incorrectly assigns the year 1518 as the date of his death. Comp. the Boh. Hist. Frat., cited by Gindely, I. p. 166.

well educated and displayed considerable literary ability.[2] At Prerau there was a burial-place which the Barons of Slavkov subsequently purchased and shared with the Brethren. On that ground Thomas was interred; and in course of time many other bishops were there laid to rest.

Martin Skoda was now elected to the episcopacy and consecrated by Bishops Luke and Ambrose, and the Assistant Bishops Daniel and Wenzel (1517). Luke became the presiding Bishop. He assigned the second place to Skoda, thus interfering with the rights of Ambrose.[3]

Meanwhile the disturbances, caused by the death of Uladislaus, were brought to an end through the so-called Pacification of St. Wenzel (September the twenty-eighth, 1517). The states acknowledged the Emperor Maximilian and King Sigismund of Poland, whom the late monarch had appointed, as the guardians of young Lewis, and chose six directors to administer the government.

This adjustment of national affairs did not affect the condition of the Brethren. They continued to enjoy tranquillity. In order to establish their position still more fully, the Council determined to enlist the aid of Erasmus of Rotterdam —that illustrious, liberal-minded and yet faint-hearted scholar who, after having done more than any other man to bring on the Reformation, trembled when it came and abandoned it at the threatening beck of Rome. He had several correspondents in Bohemia. Among them was John Slechta von Wsehrd, whose bitter animosity to the Brethren has been mentioned in another connection. In one of his letters this man gave Erasmus an account of the religious parties in Bohemia and spoke in a disparaging tone of the Unity. The answer of Erasmus was strongly in its favor. He wrote:

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[2] The Third L. F., p. 202, etc., contains one of his treatises (Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 232–244), addressed, in the form of a letter, to the R. C. Baron Albert von Sternberg and showing that the U. F. was a work of God. It is a treatise of great merit.

[3] Jaffet's Sword of Goliath, I. p. 16, in Reichel's Zusätze, p. 245; Gindely, I. p. 186.

"That the Brethren elect their own teachers is not contrary to the custom of the Ancient Church, for in this manner St. Nicholas and St. Ambrose were elected. That they choose men who have not received a thorough education and who are unlearned, is excusable, because the piety of their lives may well be considered as a substitute for learning. That they call themselves brethren and sisters, I can not recognize as wrong, but wish to God that this mode of address might become common among all Christians. That they have less faith in the teachers of the Church than in the Holy Scriptures, is right. That Christ and His Apostles, when they consecrated the elements, wore their ordinary dress, is extremely probable; although I deem it improper to despise what the Fathers, for good reasons, have introduced. If, as you say, they take such great delight in the Lord's Prayer, we must not forget that this Prayer constitutes a part of our own mass; and in regard to ecclesiastical feasts, their view seems to me to be not very different from that of Jerome's age, whereas in our day such feasts have enormously multiplied and, more than anything else, afford the common people occasions for vice of every kind, forcing them to be idle and preventing them from earning the daily bread which they and their families need."[4]

In reliance upon this letter the Executive Council, in 1519, sent Nicholas Claudianus and Lawrence Wotic to Erasmus, at Antwerp. The two deputies presented the Latin Confession of 1508, begging him to examine this document and if he approved of it, to furnish a favorable testimony for publication. In due time they received his cautious answer. He had found, he said, no errors in the Confession, but a public testimonial would be dangerous to himself and useless to the Brethren. This was the reply which the deputies brought back to Bohemia, where the disappointed heads of the Church comforted themselves with Christ's words: "But I receive not testimony from man."[5]

And yet Erasmus was so impressed with the character of the Unity that, in the introduction to the second edition of his Greek Testament, which appeared in the same year, he

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[4] Comenii Hist. Fr. § 72, p. 22; Plitt, Sect. 36; Regenvolscius, Cap. XI, pp. 54 and 55.

[5] John 5 : 34.

referred to the Brethren, without mentioning them by name, in the following appreciatory terms:[6]

"I call that man a true theologian who teaches not artificially and through forced deductions of reason, but with fervency of spirit, by his actions, his eyes, his whole life, that earthly things are nothing; that the Christian must not depend upon the world's protection, but must trust wholly in God, that he is not to requite evil with evil, but to bless them who curse him, to do good to them who despitefully use him, to love with his whole heart and to aid all the godly as members of one body, at the same time bearing patiently with the wicked who will not be converted; that those who are deprived of their possessions and driven from their hearths and homes, those who mourn and are persecuted, may be called blessed; that in their case death is but the transition to immortality. Whoever, constrained by the spirit of Christ, preaches, urges, enforces, invites and encourages to such doctrines, is, I say, a true theologian, even though he be only a digger of the soil or a weaver of linen; and whoever, through his walk and conversation, testifies to the truth of such doctrines, is a great doctor."[7]

But this commendation, while gratifying in spite of its veiled form, did not induce the Brethren to make new overtures to Erasmus. Their attention was absorbed by his greater and more heroic cotemporary at Wittenberg.

The religious development of Bohemia, after the close of the Hussite wars, attracted comparatively little notice in

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[6] This introduction was entitled: Ratio seu Methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram Theologiam; and was also published separately in 1522. Herzog's Encyklop., IV. p. 115.

[7] "Is denique magnus est doctor." Comenii Hist. Fr., § 71, p. 21. The visit to Erasmus is described by Blahoslaw in his Summa (Goll, pp. 124 and 125), Lasitius, III. pp. 87–89, cited by Plitt, Camerarius, pp. 125 and 126, Regenvolscius, Cap. VIII. p. 37. Comenius and Regenvolscius assign the year 1511 as the time of the visit, which date is adopted by Gindely and Czerwenka. We have followed Goll, p. 124, Note 22, who shows from the date of Slechta's letter to Erasmus, October the tenth, 1519, based upon Erasmi Ep. Opus. Bar., 1538, that the visit could not have been paid until that year. Plitt, Section 35, knows of the date of this letter, but says that it had nothing to do with the sending of the deputies, and that the great fame of Erasmus and the wish to secure a testimonial were the sole cause of this mission. In as much, however, as Blahoslaw brings it into connection with Slechta's letter we have followed Goll, although we are not prepared to say that his position is not assailable.

Germany. It was a development which that country could not understand. Not only did the difference in language and that mutual antipathy which was deeply grounded in the Teutonic and Slavonian races stand in the way, but the Germans were not ripe for a change, and continued patiently to bear the Romish yoke.[8] It was only at times that preachers of the Hussite faith, like Hans Böheim and Frederick Reiser, appeared among them; and in but a few countries—Suabia, Bavaria and Franconia—were converts found.[9] Even the Church of the Brethren, although it was the goodliest and most fruitful tree which grew out of the Bohemian Reformation, neither won admiration nor took root on German soil.

Luther's Reformation, on the contrary, awakened immediate and general interest in Bohemia and Moravia. The members of the Unity recognized in his doctrines that which they had been maintaining for more than half a century; the Utraquists looked upon him as a champion of their cause, in so far as he attacked the papacy with which they had broken, while not a few of the more enlightened among them longed for better things than their Church could furnish, and were horrified by the immorality of their priests, which was growing to be a national scandal; the German settlers, whose number was large, could not but give heed to a work which so powerfully affected their mother-country

Thus it came to pass that, in 1519, a Lutheran movement began at Prague, inspired, in part, by the startling sermons of Matthias the Hermit, who suddenly appeared in its streets, preaching against the degeneracy of the times; renewed through those denunciations of the Utraquist Church which fell from the lips of the subsequently notorious Thomas Münzer, when he came to the capital in 1521; and greatly

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[8] In Germany and other countries, "Bohemian" and "Hussite" were terms of reproach. Henry the Eighth and Dr. Eck used them in their controversies with Luther.

[9] Reiser suffered martyrdom at Strasburg in 1458 (*Vide* p. 149 of this History). His interesting biography may be found in Bœhm's F. Reiser's Ref. des K. Sigmund, Chap. IV, pp. 78–96

strengthened by letters from Luther himself (1522), addressed to the Utraquist states and to Count Schlick who had introduced a radical reform at Elbogen, exhorting both to remain true to the Gospel and not to forget the innocent blood of Hus and Jerome.

Bishop Luke watched these developments with an eagle eye. At first his heart yearned toward the German Reformer; but when young Bohemians, who had studied at Wittenberg, brought back wild notions of evangelical liberty and began to denounce the Brethren as a "degenerate monastical sect," whose discipline was contrary to the Gospel,[10] he experienced a revulsion of feeling and looked upon Luther's work with suspicion and alarm. In this frame of mind he wrote, in 1520, a violent treatise against genuflections at the sacrament, and in 1521 another, hotly defending rebaptism.

In the same year Luther appeared before the Diet of Worms as the hero of his age, manfully declining to retract what, by the Holy Spirit, he knew to be eternally true. His abduction to the Wartburg followed. In early spring of 1522 he left this castle, passed through the gloomy forest by which it was surrounded and which had witnessed his silent reveries and heard his ejaculatory prayers, and boldly made his way back to Wittenberg. When the news of his return reached Luke, he was moved to open direct communication with the intrepid Reformer. Whether his wonderful courage, which showed how supremely confident he was in the justness of his cause, had dissipated the Bishop's scruples, or whether he was constrained by other motives, is not clear. In any case his proposition met with favor on the part of the Council. Two deputies, John Horn and Michael Weiss, were sent to Wittenberg, where they arrived in May.[11] Thus, for the first time, representatives of the Reformers before the Reformation met its illustrious leader. He gave them a cordial welcome, and they congratulated him, in the name of

[10] Gindely, I. p. 187.

[11] Blahoslaw's Summa, Goll, p. 125; Comenii Hist. Fr., § 74, p. 22; Regenvolscius, Cap. XI. p. 55.

their Church, on having recognized the light of truth, and expressed the hope that it would spread and illumine the earth.[12] A conversation followed on the faith of the Brethren as taught in their new catechism, which had recently appeared in Bohemian and German. Luther begged the deputies to have the doctrine of the Lord's Supper set forth more explicitly and in a separate treatise. In this connection they delivered a letter from Paul Speratus, containing certain questions in relation to the same subject. These questions had been drawn up by Benedict Optatus, after reading the Confessions and catechism of the Unity, and sent to Speratus, who referred them to Luther. Optatus and Speratus were two of his most enthusiastic admirers. They had come to Moravia in 1522, and were zealously spreading his tenets.

In June of the same year Luther sent an answer to the questions which had been laid before him. This answer was published, so that Luke made use of it when writing the treatise for which the Reformer had asked. It bore the title of "Faith Victorious" and was composed in Bohemian; but a Latin translation was forwarded to Wittenberg. In the beginning of the next year (1523) Luther transmitted his reply, together with a copy of Melancthon's *Loci Communes*. Luther's work was written in German, entitled *Vom Anbeten des Sacraments des heyligen leychnams Christi*, and addressed to *Meynen lieben herzen und freunden den Brüdern genant Valdenses in Behmen und Mehren*.[13]

While it set forth, with much candor, the points in which the Brethren seemed to him to err, its tone was kind and conciliatory. But it roused Luke, who seized his pen and wrote

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[12] Qui ipsi gratularentur lumen agnitæ veritatis, et apprecarentur, ut ea sese ipsius opera, in orbem terrarum quem latissime effunderet. Regenvolscius, p. 55.

[13] "Concerning the Adoration of the sacred body of Christ, To my dear hearts and friends, the Brethren, called Waldenses, in Bohemia and Moravia." Printed at Wittenberg, anno 1523. It is a quarto pamphlet of 32 pages. In July of the same year the Brethren published, under a title of their own, a Bohemian translation at Leitomischl.

a rejoinder (June, 1523), defending the seven sacraments and the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as taught by the Brethren, and adding his views on celibacy and justification. In regard to the last point these views were extreme. He spoke of a righteousness existing in the believer, through the grace of God and for the sake of Christ, which righteousness belonged, in a certain sense, to the believer and rendered a daily appropriation of the merits of the Saviour unnecessary. This was clearly a polemical position for which the Unity was not responsible. He was driven to it by the fear that evangelical liberty would degenerate into licentiousness. Luther remained silent; but Luke continued to write until he had produced three more works which were all polemical in their character. The first treated of Repentance; the second of Marriage; the third of Love.

That he was actuated by pure motives and not by the desire of controversy becomes clear from the second mission to Wittenberg (1524).[14] Horn and Weiss were again the deputies. They received instructions to confer with Luther not only on the Lord's Supper, but also on the constitution and especially the discipline of the Unitas Fratrum. Luke and his colleagues remembered those enactments of the Synod of 1486 which spoke of reformers whom God might raise up, and imagined that, through the agency of the new movement, that development might perhaps be made general which had been going on for sixty-seven years within their own communion. In other words, they hoped to impress the disciplinary character of the Church of the Brethren upon the churches that would grow out of the German Reformation.[15] But they were disappointed. The second visit to Luther instead of producing such a result, brought about an estrangement between him and Luke. For eight years the Unitas

[14] Regenvolscius, p. 56; Comenii Hist. Fr., § 75.

[15] This is the view of John Plitt (Section 39), based upon intimations found in the writings of the Brethren. It is undoubtedly correct. Gindely is unable to appreciate the Brethren in their relations to the Reformers; whenever he writes on this subject his words are flat and his views pointless.

Fratrum stood aloof from the Reformation. One cause of this rupture was the dissatisfaction which the two deputies expressed with the free way of living at Wittenberg, especially among the students ;[16] but there must have existed other causes also which have not been put on record. In his *Tischreden* Luther subsequently took occasion to censure the discipline of the Brethren with great severity.

Luke's opposition to the Zwinglian system was still more decided. He met with it in 1525. Three of its ardent followers, who had belonged to a monastic order at Breslau—Michael Weiss, John the Monk and John Cizek—applied for admission to the Unity, without letting their real views become known. As they could preach in the German language, and German preachers were needed, the Council gladly accepted their services. Weiss was appointed to the parish at Landskron; but no sooner had he established an influence than he began to spread Zwinglian principles and, as he said, to reform the Unity. He was warmly supported by John the Monk and Cizek, and the peace of not a few churches was marred. Luke warned the promoters of this discord to forbear; and the Council, at a special convocation, reaffirmed, with great solemnity, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as taught by the Brethren. But while Weiss died and John the Monk disappeared, Cizek remained contumacious. Hence he was excommunicated.[17]

Meantime the National Church had been gradually divided into a conservative party, which leaned toward Rome, and a liberal faction, which identified itself with the Lutheran movement. This latter wing, however, was composed of discordant elements, and the preaching of its priests presented an incongruous mixture of opinions. In 1523 Gallus Cahera became prominent. He was a graduate of the University of Prague who, after quarreling with his parish at Leitmeritz,

[16] Lasitius, V. 39, cited by Plitt.

[17] Gindely I. pp. 191, 192. The above Michael Weiss must not be confounded with the hymnologist and deputy to Wittenberg, who bore the same name.

had spent several months at Wittenberg, blinding the eyes of Luther and winning his friendship under insincere pretences. Ambitious, fickle and false-hearted, he now appeared at Prague, presented a letter from the Reformer, and thrust himself forward as his champion. Through the most persistent intrigues he succeeded in gaining the administratorship of the Utraquist Consistory. He labored in the interests of the Reformation; Martin Luther's name was continually on his lips; he caused articles of faith to be adopted that were almost wholly evangelical in their character (1524). But when a reaction set in he instantly became its ardent supporter, turned his back upon the Reformation, abandoned Luther, banished from Prague all priests of evangelical views and helped to restore Utraquism in its most conservative form. To this reaction the Diet set its seal by recommending a union of the Utraquists and Roman Catholics and adopting measures against the Brethren (January, 1525).

As soon as this became known, the Executive Council drew up a letter to the King, praying for his protection and boldly declaring, that "no disgrace, no sufferings, not the loss of their freedom, not the sacrifice of their lives or of their possessions would induce the Brethren to deny the truth."[18] This letter was sent to Ofen but, at the instigation of Archbishop Salkan and Cardinal Campeggio, withheld from the King (1525). These prelates were afraid that such a document might interfere with the negotiations which were about to begin between the Utraquists and the Catholics. It soon appeared, however, that the suspicions of the former were as great, and the demands of the latter as intolerant, as on all former occasions of the kind. No union was effected. On the contrary the King tried to curb the reactionary zeal of Cahera, but without success. At Prague and throughout the kingdom religious disturbances increased, until they were

[18] This letter was written in Bohemian. The original is lost, but a German translation exists. It ought not to be counted as one of the Confessions of the Brethren. It was, as the German translation says, a *Sende Brieff*. Malin Library, No. 882.

hushed, for a time, by a sudden and fearful shock. On the twenty-ninth of August, 1526, Solyman the Magnificent, with his fierce host of three hundred thousand Turks, totally defeated Lewis, at Mohacs, in Hungary. While fleeing from the field of carnage the young King fell from his horse and was killed.

The last years of Bishop Luke's life were troubled by sectarian animosities. His ancient enemies, the Amosites, bestirred themselves. At their head stood John Kalenec. This man wrote with intense bitterness against the Brethren and against Luke personally (1525). Luke replied and the controversy was prolonged until 1527, when, owing to the cruel persecutions of Cahera, the Amosites disappeared from Prague, which was their chief seat.

But now the Habrowanites, or the Lultschian Brethren, a fanatical sect organized, in 1527, on his estate in Moravia, by Baron John Dubcansky von Habrowan, with the assistance of Matthias the Hermit and Wenzel of Lultsch, began to pester the Unity. Dubcansky made overtures to Luke and proposed a conference. These overtures were declined. Although Dubcansky became very indignant, he did not relinquish his project, but was silenced merely for a time.[19]

In Moravia there were many Anabaptists. Might not these enter into a fraternal fellowship with the Unity? So thought some of their friends among the nobility who urged the holding of a conference. Luke and the Council yielded to such persuasions. Three conferences took place, but resulted in bitter denunciations of the Brethren, not in a brotherly union with them. They were, said the Anabaptists, gross idolaters.[20] Such a result was inevitable. There could be no affinity between the Unitas Fratrum and a fanatical sect.

And yet these negotiations were not absolutely fruitless; for they opened the eyes of Luke to the impropriety of

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[19] L. F., IV. contains the correspondence. Reichel's Zusätze, pp. 240–248.
[20] L. F., V. cited by Gindely I. pp. 124, 125.

rebaptism. In a letter to a friend he said, that he no longer considered it essential and that it would be well to abolish this practice in course of time.

And now the career of this illustrious Bishop was drawing to a close. For many years he had been afflicted with stone. This disease became aggravated as he grew older and brought on his end. He died on Friday, the eleventh of December, 1528, at Jungbunzlau, aged seventy years, and was buried the next day in Mount Carmel. He left an elaborate will addressed to the ministers of the Church.[21] In this document he commends his soul to God, asks his brethren to forgive his faults, suggests in what way the government of the Church shall be carried on, leaves his writings in its hands, gives some account of its property, recommends the poor to its special care, and solemnly declares that he dies with unchanging loyalty to the Unity of the Brethren.

Luke was a great man, "mighty in word and deed."[22] He gave to the Unitas Fratrum a new and better form. Gregory was its founder, Luke its renovator. Without him it would have gradually petrified and become incapable of inward development or of outward growth.

His literary activity never flagged, resulting in the production of eighty-five works.[23] They are written, however, in a style that is obscure, inelegant and perverted with a multitude of Latinisms and Germanisms. As a historian he is not only without authority but he also not unfrequently, by reason of his strong polemical bias, misleads his readers.

Luke's colleague, Bishop Ambrose, died eight years earlier, in 1520, at Jungbunzlau, and was buried in Mount Carmel.

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[21] Todtenbuch, pp. 8–11.

[22] Todtenbuch, p. 8.

[23] Gindely in Böhm. Muscal-Zeitschr., 1861, p. 278.

PERIOD VI.

THE UNITAS FRATRUM IN ITS RELATION TO THE REFORMERS AND ITS CONSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT. A. D. 1529–1580.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Further Intercourse between the Unitas Fratrum and Luther; new Confessions of Faith. A. D. 1529–1539.

Finding and Burial of the Body of Lewis.—Ferdinand the First elected King of Bohemia and Hungary.—His Policy.—The Unitas Fratrum undisturbed.—Election of Bishops.—Ciklowsky, Bily and Horn.—Synod of 1532.—John Augusta and his bold Course.—Election of Bishops.—Augusta, Baworinsky and Veit.—The Unitas Fratrum assumes a new Position.—A Confession of Faith presented to the Elector of Brandenburg.—Published by Luther at Wittenberg with a Preface of his own.—Rebaptism relinquished.—Persecution in royal Cities.—The Presentation of a Confession of Faith to Ferdinand the First.—He promises the Brethren Peace.—The Elector of Saxony and their Confession.—Missions to Luther and Negotiations with regard to the Publication of their Confession and of their Apology.

For more than six weeks the body of the unfortunate young king lay buried in a rude grave, dug by unknown hands, on the bank of the Danube, near the spot where he had perished. Thither came Ulrich Zettritz and other nobles, sent by the Queen to search for the corpse, found this grave, disinterred the remains, and conveyed them to Stuhlweissenburg, in Hungary, where amidst solemn chants and imposing ceremonies, they were deposited in the royal vault. Lewis was the last of the Jagellons. In consequence of his death, Bohemia fell to the House of Hapsburg. On the twenty-

third of October, 1526, one of its representatives, the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, a brother of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, was chosen king by the Diet. After having promised to maintain the constitution, to uphold the Compactata, and to respect the prerogatives of the nobility, and after having given a written declaration that he had no inherited claim to the kingdom, but was its sovereign merely by election, his coronation took place at Prague, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1527.[1] Soon after he was chosen king of Hungary, and in 1531, Roman king.

The policy which Ferdinand set on foot exerted a lasting influence upon the Unitas Fratrum. This policy may be designated as Spanish-Austrian in its character. He had been educated in Spain and was a bigoted Romanist. While his religious convictions were sincere and he meant to be just, his mind was warped by its one-sided training, he gave no heed to the solemn calls of his age and failed to comprehend that the world had been turned into a new current which no human hand could arrest. To restore, at all hazards, the Roman Catholic Church to its former supremacy throughout Bohemia and Moravia; and to re-establish the royal authority which had been overshadowed by the power of the nobles;—such was his purpose. But he was too prudent to let it become prematurely known; nor had the time arrived for carrying it into execution. Hungary and the Turks absorbed his attention. John Zapolya, the Prince of Transylvania, had set up a rival claim to the Hungarian crown and had invoked the aid of Solyman, whose hordes anew invaded the country, advanced into Austria and besieged Vienna. Under such circumstances Ferdinand did not interfere in the religious affairs of Bohemia and Moravia, except that he began severe measures against the Anabaptists.[2]

[1] Queen Maria, the childless widow of Lewis, was Ferdinand's sister, and Anna, the sister of Lewis, was Ferdinand's wife.

[2] The Anabaptists owed their origin to Thomas Münzer and were a body of mystical fanatics, distorting the principles of the Reformation. They aimed to establish a union of all the spiritually minded, a government sustained by immediate revelations of God, and a church having all things

The Unitas Fratrum pursued its way unhindered. Bishop Martin Skoda, having succeeded Luke as President of the Council, convoked a synod at Brandeis on the Adler. It met in September, 1529, and elected Wenzel Bily, Andrew Ciklowsky and John Roh to the episcopacy. They were consecrated by Skoda and the Assistant Bishops Wenzel and Daniel.[3] Two of them, however, exercised the functions of their office but a short time. Ciklowsky — eloquent, faithful to God and of a heroic mind, but stern, passionate, and peculiar in his ways—died a few weeks after his consecration; Bily fell into sin and was deposed.[4] John Roh, on the contrary—who was also known as Horn, or Cornu—took part for eighteen years in the government of the Church, ruling faithfully and well. He was a native of Taus and had been ordained to the priesthood in 1518. Although not a learned man, he spoke several modern languages with fluency. Of keen understanding and liberal in his views, he realized the importance of the events which the Reformation was bringing about; and having been associated with both the deputations to Luther, he had learned to honor him as its heroic leader. But as long as Skoda stood at the head of the Unity, Horn made no attempt to change the exclusive policy which prevailed and which had been introduced by Luke.

And yet this policy was hastening to an end. In 1532, on the fourteenth of April, there met, at Brandeis on the Adler, a synod which led the Unitas Fratrum to a position of prominence and influence such as it had never before occupied. At this meeting Bishop Skoda, being advanced in years, resigned his presidency in favor of Horn, and announced that new bishops were to be chosen and other vacancies in

in common. They were particularly numerous in Moravia, where they had about sixty congregations. Some of the nobles were their friends and they had accessions even from the higher ranks of the Roman Catholic clergy.

[3] Jaffet's Sword of Goliath, I., p. 17, in R's Z. p. 250.

[4] Todtenbuch, pp. 11 and 12. Ciklowsky died October twenty-eighth, 1529, and was buried at Jungbunzlau, by the side of Luke, whose devoted disciple he had been. Bily repented and was re-admitted to church-fellowship, but not allowed to exercise episcopal functions. He died in 1533.

the Council to be filled. Such elections were about to begin, when a young priest, John Augusta by name, rose and addressed the synod. He said that he spoke in the name of a number of his fellow priests; that he and they were unanimously of the opinion that the Executive Council had become torpid and was an inactive body; that it did not show itself equal to the requirements of the age; and that there must be infused into it a new and vigorous element. Augusta did still more. With an imperturbable self-possession, which struck the older members of the synod dumb, he offered himself and four of his friends—Martin Michalek, Michael Weiss, Mach Sionsky and John of Tein—as candidates for the Council.[5] They were elected. But a still greater triumph awaited the bold speaker. He and two of his associates, Benedict Baworinsky and Veit, who fully shared his progressive views, were chosen bishops and consecrated by Skoda, Horn, Wenzel and Daniel. Skoda died soon after. He was a man of simple ways and distinguished piety.[6] Bishop Horn being in sympathy with the position of his new colleagues, the Unity now assumed a far more conspicuous attitude. From this time forth its history constitutes an important part of Bohemian history in general.[7]

The man who took the initiative in bringing about this change, John Augusta, was the son of a hatter, and born at Prague, in the year 1500. Originally a member of the Utraquist Church, he was offended by the immoral lives of its priests, sought fellowship with the Nikolaites, who failed to satisfy his longings, and at last found peace among the Brethren. In 1524 he joined the church at Jungbunzlau, and soon began to prepare for the ministry. Not having

[5] Boh. Hist. Fr., I. p. 897, cited by Gindely.

[6] Gindely, without assigning any authority, says that Skoda died before the meeting of this Synod. Czerwenka follows him. But the presence of Skoda at the Synod is evident from Jaffet, Sword of Goliath, I. p. 18, R's Z. p. 251.

[7] The synod of 1532 adopted a resolution with regard to the writings of Luke, similar to that in relation to the writings of Gregory. Luke's doctrinal position was to be of authority only in so far as it fully agreed with the Bible. The Unity acknowledged no other standard.

enjoyed a classical education, he now took up the study of Latin, which language he mastered. In 1529 he was ordained a deacon, and in 1531 advanced to the priesthood.[8]

Augusta must be classed among those men who are born to rule. His energy was boundless, his will indomitable. The persistence with which he pursued his aims degenerated, at times, into obstinacy; and the ambition which inflamed him, too often kept his steps away from the paths of humility and disqualified him for learning of his Divine Master meekness and lowliness of heart. And yet he was a great man and his works were illustrious. Endowed with natural gifts of an extraordinary character, he became Bohemia's most distinguished preacher, earned the title of "the Bohemian Luther," stood high among many eminent nobles as a trusted counsellor and friend, corresponded with the leading Reformers of Germany and Switzerland, and labored for the Unity with burning zeal and fiery enthusiasm. His career was a drama setting forth heroic incidents, tragic scenes, a lamentable fall. No other bishop of the Brethren was like him in his glory and in his shame.

His colleague Baworinsky, the scion of a noble house, possessed rare gifts both as a speaker and writer;[9] his colleague Veit—the brother of Martin Michalek—had studied at the University of Prague, attained the degree of a Bachelor and was eminent for his scholarship.

Soon after the adjournment of the synod a new Confession of Faith was drawn up, probably by Horn and Augusta, and printed at Jungbunzlau (1532). This was done at the instance of Baron Conrad von Krajek, in order that the document might be presented to the Margrave George of Brandenburg, a supporter of the Reformation, who had expressed a desire to become acquainted with the doctrines of the Brethren. The Confession was written in Bohemian. Michael Weiss produced a faulty German translation, which,

[8] Todtenbuch, pp. 49–51.

[9] On the authority of Blahoslaw, which is, however, not substantiated by a reference, Gindely, I. p. 221, calls Baworinsky an idiot! What we have said in the text is based upon the record given in the Todtenbuch, p. 13.

moreover, contained interpolations of his own. This version, through the overhasty zeal of several Swiss who were visiting Jungbunzlau, was printed at Zurich, before the Bishops could prevent its publication (1532).[10] In consequence they had a correct German translation made (1533), and sent it to Luther by the hands of Martin Michalek and another deputy. In the name of the entire Council these messengers begged Luther to have the document printed at Wittenberg, and to write a preface of his own. He consented; and the work appeared in due time.[11] In this way the connection between the Unitas Fratrum and the Reformer of Wittenberg was renewed. It would seem that neither party alluded to the estrangement which had taken place in the time of Bishop Luke.

In his preface Luther says, that he has published the Confession, because he desires to promote the unity of faith among all Christians; and because although the Brethren express themselves in a way which he would not adopt, the document shows how diligently they have studied the Scriptures, how near to this divine standard they have remained, and how groundless it is to call them heretics.

A copy of the Confession, as printed at Wittenberg, was presented to the Margrave of Brandenburg.

Both the Zurich and Wittenberg editions spread over Germany, exciting general interest. At the same time the discrepancies between them were apparent. Hence Wolfgang Musculus and other Lutheran divines of Augsburg wrote to Bishop Horn to know which was the authorized translation. In the course of the correspondence which followed, they suggested the issuing of a Latin version.

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[10] "Rechenschafft des Glaubens, der Dienst vnd Cerimonien der brüder in Behmen vnd Mehren. Getruckt zu Zürich bey Christofflel Froschouer." A duodecimo of XLVI fols. Malin Library, No. 808.

[11] "Rechenschafft des glaubens: der dienst vnd Ceremonien, der Brüder in Beheman vnd Mehrern, welche von etlichen Pickarten, vnd von etlichen Waldenser genant werden. Sampt einer nützlichen Vorrhede Doct. Mart. Luth. Gedruckt zu Wittenberg durch Hans Lufft. MDXXXIII. A quarto of 98 pages, which are not numbered. Malin Library, No. 345. Luther's Preface is reprinted in Gindely's Quellen, pp. 32–35.

Before this suggestion could be carried out, an important change in the practice of the Church was made. Voices had occasionally been raised within the Unity itself against the rebaptism of Roman Catholics. In particular had this usage been condemned by John Cerny, a distinguished physician and the brother of Luke. But yet it had been continued from year to year. Now however that time had arrived, of which Luke himself had spoken prior to his death, when the question of abolishing the practice could no longer be avoided. Not only were more liberal views with regard to baptism spreading among the Brethren, but the Diet had also adopted a severe edict against rebaptism as administered by the Anabaptists. This edict might be made to apply to the Unity likewise, although its usage had nothing in common with theirs. Under these circumstances Bishop Horn issued a circular letter asking each church to decide the question preliminarily for itself. Thereupon a synod was held at Jungbunzlau (1534). By an almost unanimous vote this body abolished rebaptism and acknowledged the validity of baptism as administered in the Roman Catholic Church.[12] Only one minister, a certain Valenta, of Holeschau, in Moravia, resisted this enactment and alienated four parishes. No sooner, however, was he dead, than they all rejoined the Unity.[13]

Meantime important developments in connection with the Reformation had taken place in Germany. The Protest of Spires had come to pass (1529), the Conference of Marburg had been held (1529), and the Confession of Augsburg presented (1530). This last event suggested a similar step to the Brethren. There were grave reasons for it. In 1535 Ferdinand began to manifest, in some of the royal cities, an alarming hostility. Members of the Unity were ordered to appear for trial at Prague; John the Hermit, a priest of extraordinary piety and influence, was cast into prison; and

[12] Dekrete d. u., p. 147, cited by Czerwenka, II. p. 207.

[13] Valenta choked to death, in 1534 or 1535, at the dinner table of Baron von Holeschau, whom he had induced to leave the Church. Todtenbuch, p. 13.

two young Barons von Janowic, on whose domains he labored and who had refused to give him up, shared the same fate.[14]

Although this persecution was, as yet, but a little flame, it might, at any time, burst into a formidable and pitiless conflagration. Hence the Bishops and Executive Council resolved upon a deputation to the King, which should present to him, in the name of the ministers and nobles of the Church, a new Confession of Faith. Such a Confession was drawn up, in Latin, by Horn and Augusta. It embraced, first, an introduction setting forth the origin of the Unitas Fratrum, the development of its faith as shown in its various confessions, the abrogation of rebaptism, and the relation of the Brethren to the Anabaptists; second, a manly preface by the nobles; and third, twenty doctrinal articles. This document having been signed by twelve barons and thirty-three knights, William Krinecky, as the representative of the former, and Henry Domausky, on the part of the latter, were appointed to undertake its presentation.[15] Accompanied by Bishop Augusta, Baron Krajek and two other nobles, these envoys proceeded to Vienna in the autumn of 1535. On the eleventh of November Ferdinand admitted Krajek to a preliminary audience, at which no one else, except the Vice Chancellor of Bohemia, was present. After thanking the King for granting him an interview, the Baron introduced the case of John the Hermit and the Janowics; begged that these prisoners might be liberated; avowed himself a member of the Unity; and intimated that it would relinquish its faith only if this faith were shown, from the Holy Scriptures, to be false. At first the King replied in a calm tone. Presently however he rose, advanced a few steps to a table, and turning upon Krajek exclaimed in a loud voice: "We would like to know how you

[14] They were the sons of that Peter Suda who had arrested and maltreated Bishop Luke but afterward became a friend of the Brethren, in whose schools these young men were educated. Suda was still living, but had made over his domains to his sons.

[15] Gindely says, I. p. 234, that all the nobles belonging to the Unity signed the Confession, but he must mean those in Bohemia only, for the list of signatures which he gives lacks well-known Moravian names.

came to accept this (Picard) faith. The devil must have persuaded you." "Not the devil, gracious liege," answered the Baron, "but Christ the Lord through the Bible. If Christ was a Picard, I am one too." At this reply Ferdinand grew livid with rage. "What business have you to meddle with such things?" he demanded in his harshest manner. "You are neither pope, nor emperor, nor king! Nevertheless, believe what you will; we do not prevent you. For all we care, you may go to hell!" Krajek remained silent. "Believe what you please," the King continued in the same violent manner, "we do not hinder you; but we will hinder your meetings, at which you carry on your hocus-pocus. This we will not permit, and even if it should cost us our neck. And now we desire no further disputation with you." Krajek protested his loyalty, and Ferdinand, somewhat mollified, dismissed him more graciously.

Undismayed by this outburst of anger, which did not promise them a favorable reception, Krinecky and Domausky appeared before the King, three days later (November the fourteenth), and formally presented the Confession. Baron Krinecky was the spokesman. He said, that the ministers and nobles of the Unity delivered this document in order that his Majesty might decide for himself, whether it was, or was not, right to call the Brethren Picards and whether the abusive language used by the Utraquist priests in their pulpits—that it was less sinful to kill a Picard than a dog—would tend to the peace and unity of the kingdom. The answer of the King was affable. All signs of his recent anger had disappeared. He received the Confession and promised to examine it carefully. On the twenty-first of November the two deputies had a second audience, at which he said that he had been prevented by other engagements from reading the document; but that he was willing to grant the Brethren peace, if they would remain his loyal subjects. It is evident that the step taken by the Unity left at least a passing impression upon his mind. He did not relinquish the purpose which he was nurturing in secret, but he gave up all thoughts of an immediate persecution.

The Elector John Frederick of Saxony, who followed the great example of his father in supporting the Reformation, happened to be on a visit to Vienna. He had written to Kostka, a Bohemian noble belonging to the Unity, and asked for an account of the faith of the people called Picards, who were said to live on this Baron's estates. Kostka hastened to Vienna and supplied him with a copy of the Confession delivered to Ferdinand. It was translated into German, for the Elector's use, by Spalatin and John Agricola, who were in his suite. Bishop Augusta assisted them. In this way these two Lutheran divines became thoroughly acquainted with the belief of the Brethren. It elicited their unqualified admiration. "We would not have thought it possible that such an exposition of doctrine could be found in Bohemia," they said. And when the Elector had read the Confession, he averred that the Brethren were true Christians and upheld the true faith.

Meanwhile in the beginning of 1535, another mission to Luther had been undertaken.[16] Its object was to inquire into the doctrines, the faith and particularly the life prevailing at Wittenberg; as also to ascertain whether the Lutherans, as was commonly said in Bohemia, were opposing the Brethren on the score of their discipline. The Bishops had cogent reasons for desiring to obtain such information. Evil reports of the morals of Wittenberg and of its university in particular, were spreading in Bohemia; and several young members of the Unity, on their return from that school, had shown themselves to be unfit for service among the Brethren, one of them even becoming a pervert to Romanism.

The deputies, at whose head stood Martin Michalek, having

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[16] A full account of this and other missions to the Reformers is found in a Bohemian Quarto MS., written, in part, by Nicholas of Schlan, (See p. 171, Note 15, of this History) and preserved in the Herrnhut Archives. Gindely in his Quellen, pp. 16–45, has published a German translation of the larger part of this invaluable record. Upon it is also based, to a great extent, the account, as given above, of the presentation of the Confession to Ferdinand. Comp. further Gindely's Geschichte d. B. B., I. pp. 234–238.

presented two letters from Bishop Baworinsky, the one addressed to Luther, the other to Melanchthon, spent four weeks at Wittenberg in fraternal intercourse with the Reformers. Justification by faith, baptism, the Lord's Supper, and other theological points were freely discussed. The discipline of the Brethren which, in the time of Luke, had called forth Luther's strictures, now excited his profound admiration; and he expressed his regret that he could not, as yet, introduce a similar system. It had, he said, thus far been his province to destroy, rather than to build up. The time for building up was, however, at hand.[17] The deputies "recognized the pious purposes of the Reformers and perceived that the state of affairs among the Lutherans was entirely different from what had been reported in Bohemia, and that there was far more of good than of evil among them, especially in point of doctrine. They convinced themselves, too, that the Reformers were not only not opposed to the Unity, but also willing to stand by it, as brethren in the Lord, treading the same way of salvation which, for years, had been trodden in Bohemia and Moravia."[18] The parting with Luther was cordial. "Tell the Brethren," he said, "that they shall hold fast that which God has given them and not relinquish their constitution and discipline." "On account of our discipline," replied one of the deputies, "many oppose and revile us as a new monkish sect." Luther rejoined: "Let the Brethren take no heed of such revilements. The world will behave foolishly. We here are not exempt from its abuse. If you, in Bohemia, were to live as we do, that would be said of you which is said of us—that we are a wild set, eating and drinking without fearing the Lord. If we were to live as you do, that would be reported of us which is reported of you. The world is

[17] "Ich musste aus vielen Gründen zerstören, ich konnte nicht umhin (wo der Papst mächtig war und man viel Werth auf solches legte) die Mönchskappe eine solche zu schimpfen; doch möchte ich nun wohl gern eine Ordnung einführen. Denn ich will die Kirche nicht zerstören, sondern aufbauen." Gindely's Quellen, p. 17.

[18] Nicholas of Schlan's Record, Quellen, p. 18.

satisfied with nothing. It must always seek occasion to find fault. Tell the Brethren to pay no heed to the world, but to maintain their constitution and discipline."

On their return to Bohemia the deputies delivered answers from Luther and Melanchthon to Bishop Baworinsky's letters, and reported the friendly feeling which prevailed at Wittenberg.

The satisfaction which this intelligence caused was enhanced by the news brought from Vienna. No better time could be found—so thought the Bishops and the whole Council—for giving to the world, again under the auspices of Luther, the Confession presented to Ferdinand and thus making known the decided step which the Unity had taken.

With this end in view Bishop Augusta himself, accompanied by Erasmus Sommerfeld von Tunic and George Israel, proceeded to Wittenberg (June, 1536). The overture to Luther met with a friendly response. He said that he had received, through Spalatin and Agricola, a favorable report of the Confession, and proposed that it should now be submitted to a conference of Wittenberg divines for further examination. This suggestion was eminently reasonable, as Luther had been asked to write a preface and consequently wished to be assured that the work contained nothing to which he could not subscribe. The conference took place at his house. There were present, besides himself, Justus Jonas, John Bugenhagen, Philip Melanchthon, Caspar Cruciger and a bishop—so says the record—whose name the deputies did not know. The Confession was discussed and met with unanimous approval, excepting the articles on the celibacy of the clergy and the time of grace. As regarded the former point Augusta explained that it referred to a voluntary celibacy; the latter he promised to refer to his fellow bishops. The deputation spent several weeks at Wittenberg. On taking leave, when the impracticability of a union between the Brethren and the Lutherans was alluded to, Luther said: "It must be so; do you be the Bohemian, we will be the German Reformers; do you labor for Christ according to your circumstances, we will labor

according to ours." [19] A letter to the Bishops which he gave Augusta, suggested that they should either change the article on the time of grace, or word it with greater perspicuity, so that he could write his preface accordingly. They adopted this suggestion, defining the time of grace as one which continues as long as life, but adding that signs of true repentance very rarely appear on a bed of death. Luther had declared himself satisfied with the article on celibacy; nevertheless they gave a clearer definition of the views and practice of the Church with regard to this subject likewise.[20] Thereupon Augusta, again accompanied by Sommerfeld and Israel, returned to Wittenberg not only with this corrected Confession but also with the Latin version—which had meanwhile been completed—of the Apology presented to the Margrave of Brandenburg. Both these works Luther promised to publish.

Three-quarters of a year passed by, however, and they did not appear. Toward the end of 1537 the Bishops dispatched a messenger with a letter to Luther inquiring the reason of the delay. He could not—so he wrote in reply—find a printer willing to take the risk connected with such a publication; the times were so hard that publishers feared to incur heavy losses; so many worthless books appeared that good books were supplanted; his onerous duties and frequent ill health must serve as an excuse for his not having written sooner. At the same time he sent back both the Confessions. The Bishops and the whole Council were bitterly disappointed. It is true that they might have issued the works from one of their own printing offices; but in this way they would not have reached the purpose which they had in view. They meant, by the publication of these two Confessions under the auspices of the great Reformer, to give to the Unitas Fratrum that position among the Protestant churches of Europe to

[19] Lasitius incorrectly, as Nicholas of Schlan's record proves, reports this saying in connection with Augusta's last visit to Luther. Comenius, Plitt, Croeger and even Gindely follow Lasitius.

[20] Art. 19, §§ 4 and 5, and Art. 20, §§ 4 and 5 were changed. N. of Schlan's Record.

which it was entitled, both in view of its history and of its faith. This project had been devised in the fear and to the glory of the Lord. To Him, therefore, they committed it, in earnest and frequent prayer, asking Him to let it succeed, if in harmony with His will, but to frustrate it, if not according to His mind. And now Augusta and his two companions visited Wittenberg a third time, and informed Luther that the Council was willing to assume a part of the cost of publication. As soon as he heard this, he cheerfully offered to do his utmost to secure a publisher. The next day, at his house, a contract was concluded with George Rhaw. Luther's wife was present and took an active interest in securing favorable terms for the Brethren.

The Confession and the Apology appeared in one volume (1538).[21] To the former Luther wrote a preface in which he spoke, in very appreciatory terms, of the faith and life of the Brethren, commending them to his own followers and to all who served God in spirit and in truth. For the Apology Agricola prepared a brief introduction.[22] These publications, as the Bishops had anticipated, greatly increased the interest with which the Unity was regarded among Protestants.

[21] The Title of the Confession is the following: "Confessio Fidei ac Religionis, Baronvm ac Nobilivm Regni Bohoemiae Serenissimo ac Inuictissimo Romanorum, Bohemiae etc Regi, Viennae Austriae, sub anno Domini 1535 oblata. VVitebergae in Officina Georgii Rhavv." Quarto, 34 fols. A picture of Hus and, as a motto, St. Paul's words in Acts 24: 14, adorn the title-page. Malin Lib., No. 198. This Confession is contained in Niemeyer Conf., pp. 771–818; in Lydius, Tom. II. Part 2, 1–94; and in Kœcher's Glaubensbekentnisse, pp. 98–160, but in the last named work, without the introduction. A German version of Luther's Preface to this Confession is given in Comenii Kirchen-Historie, Schwabach, 1739, pp. 456–461. The title of the Apology is the following: "Apologia Verae Doctrinae eorvm qui vvlgo Appellantvr VValdenses vel Picardi. Retinuerant enim Joannis Hussitae doctrinam, cum scripturis sanctis consencientem. Oblata D. Georgio Marchioni Brandenburgensi. Impressum Viteberge per Georgium Rhavv." 118 fols. Title and last page adorned with pictures of Hus. Mottoes, Psalm 69: 8, and Jno. 15: 25. Malin Lib., No. 198. This Apology is contained in Lydius, Tom. I. Part 2, pp. 92–367.

[22] Oeconomia locorvm praecipvorvm qui in hoc libro continentvr. Lydius says, in a marginal note, p. 93, that this introduction was written by John Eisleben, that is, Agricola.

The Confession is based upon and closely follows the doctrinal part of the Apology. In its Latin form the latter can, however, scarcely be called a translation from the German version of 1533; it is, in fact, a new work comprising five parts. The first treats of the origin of the Unity; the second, of its doctrines; the third, of its membership and of its rules and discipline; the fourth, of its ministry, of the word and the sacraments; and the fifth, of its constitution, worship and ceremonies.

Both the Apology and the Confession show a marked advance in the knowledge of doctrinal truth. Rebaptism is no longer taught; the seven sacraments have disappeared; and justification by faith is more clearly defined and more earnestly insisted on.[23] As regards the Lord's Supper there are references to former Confessions and to other documents, to show that the Brethren still teach, as they have ever taught, that the words with which Christ instituted this sacrament must be accepted in simple faith and all explanations of them avoided.

Baworinsky having died in 1535 and Veit in 1536, the synod of 1537, which met at Prossnitz in Moravia, elected Martin Michalek and Mach Sionsky to the episcopacy. They were consecrated by Horn, Augusta, Wenzel and Daniel.[24]

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[23] In the Conf. of 1535 we find the following: "Men are freely justified by faith in Christ, and receive salvation and the remission of their sins, without any human works or merit." "By faith alone men are justified in the sight of God, without any exertions, merits or works of their own." The Conf. of 1532 is the first which omits the seven sacraments.

[24] Jaffet's Sword of Goliath, p. 18. R's Z., p. 252.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Unitas Fratrum and the Strasburg Reformers. Last Mission to Luther. A. D. 1539–1546.

The Brethren and the Habrowanites.—Visit of two Waldenses.—Cerwenka and the Strasburg Divines.—Letter from Bucer.—Letter from Calvin.—The last Visit to Luther and the Discipline.—Death of Krajek.—Letter from Luther.—End of the Amosites.—The Decline of Utraquism.—Its continued but fruitless opposition to the Brethren.

WHILE their fellowship with the Reformers of Germany strengthened the hearts of the Brethren, they reaped nothing but ill-will and abuse from their intercourse with the Habrowanites. Bishop Luke had rejected the overtures of this sect; now that he was dead, they were persistently renewed until the Council agreed to a conference with Dubcansky. It was held in 1531, and four years later a second meeting took place. But both occasions again showed that the Unity had nothing in common with fanaticism. Dubcansky's subsequent imprisonment cooled his ardor. After he had been set free he ceased to teach his vagaries, and his followers united with the Anabaptists.[1]

The Waldenses of France, whom Luke had visited, had not forgotten the Unity. In 1540 two of their number, Daniel and John, both learned men, came to Bohemia and spent half a year among the Brethren. It proved to be a pleasant fellowship, to which the Lord's Supper set its seal.

[1] L. F., IV. p. 199, etc., contains a full report of those conferences. B's Z. pp. 252–268.

The visitors rejoiced to find that the report, which had reached France, of a spiritual decline in the Unity, was unfounded; and bewailed the disputes that had broken out among their own people.[2]

Soon after these Waldenses had bidden farewell to the Brethren, Matthias Cerwenka, a teacher at Leitomischl and an acolyte who enjoyed Bishop Augusta's particular favor, was sent to Strasburg. Two other members of the Church were his traveling companions.[3] He was instructed to make himself acquainted with the doctrines, the life and the customs of the Reformers of that city, and to report to the Council.

Having reached Strasburg in June he, first of all, visited Martin Bucer and gave him a copy of the Confession and Apology published at Wittenberg, as also a letter from Augusta. In this letter Augusta asked Bucer for an opinion with regard to the doctrinal system of the Brethren and complimented him on his writings, especially his Commentaries, which, he said, were so full of the Holy Ghost that the bishops intended to translate them into Bohemian.

Bucer received Cerwenka with the utmost cordiality and entertained him for six weeks at his own house. In the course of his stay he became acquainted with a number of distinguished men, and particularly mentions a dinner-party given by "a Doctor," at which he met Capito, Caspar Hedio, Joachim Camerarius, who, at a later time, wrote a history of the Brethren, John Sturm, John Calvin, who had been

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[2] Lasitius, V. p. 76, quoted by Plitt; Comenii Hist., § 78; Camerarius, pp. 128, 129.

[3] Cerwenka, who often signed his name in its Greek form, Erythraeus, subsequently rose to be a distinguished bishop. Born at Celakowic, February the twenty-first, 1521, he joined the Brethren at Jungbunzlau in 1533, became a teacher at Leitomischl in 1540, a deacon in 1544 and a priest in 1549. Todtenbuch, pp. 42 and 43. Cerwenka himself wrote a very interesting account of his visit to Strasburg. It forms a part of the Quarto Boh. MS. found in the Herrnhut Archives and treating of the correspondence of the Brethren with the Reformers. (See Chapt. XXVI., Note 16, of this History.) Gindely's Quellen, p. 35, etc. On this source, as also on Comenii Hist. and Reichel's Geschichte, our narrative is based.

expelled from Geneva in 1538, Claudius, Professor of Greek at the Academy, three Doctors of law and several other celebrities. His subsequent intercourse with these men was pleasant and encouraging. They gave unmistakable tokens of their good will and of the fraternal love with which they regarded the Unity. "Not a little astonished were they," writes Cerwenka, "at our past history and present state."

With Bucer he had a formal conversation, in the presence of other divines, on the Apology of the Brethren. Concerning the discipline, as portrayed in this publication, Bucer expressed himself in terms of unqualified praise. "Your churches," he said, "have received a great gift from God—the bond of love and unity, of good order and fellowship. Where these things are wanting, Christ is driven out and can neither be taught nor preached. Many have cast off the yoke of Antichrist, but refuse to take upon themselves the yoke of Christ. May God our Lord guide us, for we are still far from the truth!" Again he remarked: "Where order and discipline prevail in the Church, there the divine throne has been set up." The constitution, worship and usages of the Brethren elicited his commendation in no less a degree. He declared that the Unity had reached the apostolic ideal more nearly than any other Church, adding with tears, as he turned to his associates: "Truly this is more of a heavenly than of an earthly system!" And when Cerwenka begged him to write words of encouragement to the Brethren, he replied: "What shall I write to men who carry on the work of the Lord in such a way; or how shall I instruct those whom God has himself instructed?"

Cerwenka had frequent conversations about the Unity with Calvin also. From him he learned the antecedents of the two Waldenses, who had recently visited Bohemia. They were well-known to Calvin. He said that he had himself been associated with the Waldenses, but had withdrawn from them on account of their disputes and incorrect views in regard to justification by faith.

When, at last, the time arrived for parting from his friends at Strasburg, Cerwenka strongly felt what the Apostle experienced when his friends came from Rome to meet him: "He thanked God and took courage."

Bucer, Capito and Calvin each wrote to Augusta. Bucer's communication was as follows:

"Your letter and the books which you sent have occasioned me much joy. Both show that God has given us one mind. This difference only exists between us and you, that we must sow on the thorny acre of the papacy, which ground has, as yet, not brought forth a Scriptural discipline. Hence there spring up so many anabaptistical and other weeds. God preserve to you that which He has given you, and encourage us through your example! You alone, in all the world, combine a wholesome discipline with a pure faith. I have read your Confession and rejoiced greatly over that light of truth and good order which shines among you. When we compare our Church with yours, we must be ashamed. What I have heard from your brother Matthias, that the principal ministers among you are unmarried, in order that they may the more faithfully serve the Lord and attend to the duties of their office, appears to me to be proper. But I beseech you, let no one esteem celibacy so highly as to assume it contrary to his own inclinations, and let it not be forced upon any one. Great injury came to the Church in the times of the apostles and martyrs, because celibacy was overestimated, a thing which Cyprian and others bewail. I thank God that such things are not reported of you. Therefore we will enter into fellowship with you. Let it be a fellowship not only of faith and purpose, but also of mutual comfort and admonition. In this way it will be renewed and strengthened from time to time."

Calvin wrote:

"I congratulate your Churches with all my heart that the Lord, in addition to pure doctrine, has given them so many other excellent gifts. It is a thing not lightly to be esteemed, that they have shepherds who know how to guide and direct them, and that they maintain such good morals, order and discipline. These constitute the best and only means to uphold the bond of obedience. We have, long since, recognized the value of such a system, but cannot, in any way, attain to it. Indeed I would despair, if I did not know that the building up of the Church is the Lord's work, which He will carry out through His own power, even if all human means, on our part, should fail."

Calvin, like Bucer, admonished Augusta not to over-

estimate celibacy. In his judgment, this was done in the Confession.[4]

These letters were answered in the following year (1541), while Bucer and Calvin were attending the Conference of Regensburg.[5]

The favorable result of the mission to Strasburg induced Bishop Augusta to pay another visit to Wittenberg (1542).[6] Luther received him and his two companions, George Israel and Joachim Prostiborsky, with his wonted kindness. The subject which they presented to his notice was again the discipline. Augusta urged this very strongly, telling Luther that the Utraquists of Bohemia were willing to accept his doctrines, but not willing to give up their ungodly lives; that this state of affairs was injuring the Unity; that he had himself extolled its system, and that the Strasburg divines had now done the same. Did he approve of that misuse of the Gospel which grew out of a lack of discipline? In reply, Luther again recognized its importance, but said that he could not have broken the power of the papacy except by breaking its yoke of superstition and restraint. The question of introducing a discipline would receive his earnest attention, but not immediately, as the public mind was disturbed by the expectation which the Pope had raised, that a General Council would soon be convened. Augusta rejoined, that if the Reformation devoted all its attention to a development of theology and neglected practical religion, evil would certainly ensue.

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[4] A year later Calvin returned to Geneva and there carried out what he so greatly admired among the Brethren. The above two letters are contained in full in the Boh. MS., but have not been reproduced by Gindely in his Quellen, except in the way of a brief summary. Nor are they complete as given in the text. We have translated them from Reichel's Geschichte, pp. 47 and 48, and Comenii Hist., §§ 79 and 80. Comenius says that Calvin's letter is found in his published correspondence, probably the collection edited by Beza, in 1576.

[5] Gindely's Quellen, pp. 43–45.

[6] The only account extant of this visit is found in Lasitius, V. p. 99, etc., whom Comenius follows, Hist. § 81. See also Gindely's Quellen, pp. 31, 32.

And thus they parted—the great Reformer of Wittenberg and the earnest representatives of the Unitas Fratrum—not in anger, but in love. It was the last mission of the Brethren to Luther, and their last words were prophetic. Evil did ensue. Hardly had he closed his eyes, when the most acrimonious disputes broke out among his followers and a dead orthodoxy began to chill the life of the Church. With unfaltering integrity, convinced that they had been appointed of God to be the bearers and promoters of a discipline befitting His Church, had the Brethren striven to avert so lamentable an end. "Would to God," says Comenius, "that they had been false prophets when foretelling, from the very beginning of the Reformation, the results which have now come to pass!"[7]

In the spring of the same year in which this last mission to Luther was undertaken, the Unity lost its noblest member and most influential patron. Like a prince in Israel there died, at Jungbunzlau, in the seventy-first year of his age, Baron Conrad von Krajek (May the tenth, 1542). He was a hero of faith, fearless in his confession of Christ, great in God. On his deathbed he delivered a glorious testimony.[8]

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[7] The testimony of a distinguished Lutheran writer, Salig, in his celebrated History of the Augsburg Confession, may here find a place. "Neither a scriptural discipline," he says, "than which nothing can be more important, nor the real object of the whole Reformation, was attained. Both died with Luther's death. For the Smalcald War began and the theologians cared little for a godly discipline and life, but fell into the most violent quarrels. In the universities were taught words, distinctions and formulas, and such things were made to constitute the kernel of pure Lutheranism. To lead young people to true godliness was not thought of. . . . . Men that were great at universities, in stickling for words, remained the smallest children in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the practice of the heavenly rules of life. . . . . In order that the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren—which, as could not be denied, Luther had praised—might not be accepted, and other Christians thus by them be put to shame, suspicion was cast upon their doctrine and some of them were accused of fanaticism." Salig's Hist. d. Augsburg. Conf., II Theil, 6 Buch, pp. 550, 551.

[8] Todtenbuch, pp. 14–17. Krajek's funeral was attended by a large part of the Bohemian nobility. John Cerny preached the sermon.

Several months later Luther sent the following fraternal letter to Bishop Augusta.

"*To the Venerable Brother in Christ, John Augusta, Minister of the Divine Word among the Brethren at Leitomischl, my very dear Friend. Grace and Peace!*

One of your brethren, Lawrence of Leitomischl, has asked me to write to you, and told me of your sentiments toward me, that you and your brethren have a true and sincere regard for me and that you remember me in your prayers. For this I thank you all and beseech you to pray for me in future also. For I am persuaded that the time of my poor life on earth will not continue much longer. That God may take my soul hence in peace and that I may have a happy end—this is my wish. Amen.

Further I admonish you in the Lord, that even as you began, so you may continue with us to the end, in the fellowship of the Spirit and of doctrine. Help us to fight, with the word and with prayer, against the gates of hell, which continually oppose the Church of God and its Head, Christ the Lord. And although it may, at times, seem as if the power of Satan were unequally great, nevertheless Christ's strength will be made perfect in our weakness, His wisdom will be magnified in our ignorance, and His goodness will be glorified in our iniquity and sins, according to His own wonderful ways which are past finding out. May this Lord strengthen, protect, keep and stablish us and you, so that we may together grow into the same image, to the glory of His mercy, which is perpetually to be praised! Amen.

Given Thursday after St. Francis (October the fifth), 1542.

Reverently greet all the brethren in the Lord.

MARTIN LUTHER."[9]

This was the last communication which Luther sent to the Brethren; but to the end of his days his favorable opinion of them remained unchanged. It may be summed up in the words which he used in one of his lectures: "Since the time of the apostles no Church has as nearly resembled the apostolic churches as the Bohemian Brethren."[10]

About the year 1542 the Amosites, after having once more, through John Kalenec, poured out their bitterest venom upon

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[9] This letter is found in Boh., in the MS. of Nicholas of Schlan. It was written in Latin, in which form Gindely, Quellen, pp. 28, 29, gives it, taking it from De Wette's ed. of Luther's Letters.

[10] Comenius quotes these words, Hist. § 82, on the authority of Lasitius. Comp. his Lasitii Ecc. Discip. p. 157.

the Unity and Augusta in particular, disappeared from history and were lost among the Anabaptists and other fanatical sects.[11]

While the Unitas Fratrum continued to develop a healthful activity and to spread a beneficial influence, Utraquism was undergoing a process of disintegration. The Compactata were practically forgotten, except by a small body of conservatives. Lutheran views prevailed. And yet Lutheranism was not established. The National Church of Bohemia was neither Protestant nor Catholic, neither evangelical nor papistic, neither identified with the Reformation nor obedient to Rome. It had no stable character and no fixed position. Its spiritual state was bad; the morals of its priests were abominable.

Nor had this Church ceased from its hostility to the Brethren. John Mistopol, the new Administrator of the Consistory, hated them with a bitter hatred. Of the same mind was Wenzel Mitmanek, the incumbent of the Thein parish, and a renegade from the Unity. Not only did its prosperity constitute an offence in the eyes of these men and of their associates, but they also smarted under the stinging lash with which Augusta and Michalek, in their writings, corrected the glaring inconsistencies and the scandalous evils of Utraquism. On every possible occasion charges were brought against the Brethren. In particular was a public ordination of priests at Jungbunzlau (1540), to which solemnity many people streamed together, decried as a political gathering. Utraquist nobles manifested their animosity at the Diet. The King was twice induced to order the arrest of Bishop Augusta. And yet all these machinations proved unsuccessful. Through the efforts of the nobles of the Unity, Augusta was not arrested, and the state of feeling at the Diet was pacified. Ferdinand himself when he designed beginning his long projected persecution, met with

[11] L. F., IV. p. 215, etc. R's Z. p. 268, etc., where is found an account of their final attack upon the Brethren.

the most strenuous resistance on the part of some of his own councilors (1543). With a hypocrisy that did honor to his training, he publicly said, on leaving Prague, that he had never meant to suppress the Unity, or any other religious body, but merely to lop off a few excrescences. The very next year, the Bohemian capital saw, for the first time, a church of the Brethren established within its walls (1544). Of this church John Czerny was constituted the pastor. Thus the days of the Unity were bright for a time longer. Then came the darkness and terror of a great storm.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Smalcald War and a General Persecution of the Unitas Fratrum. *A. D.* 1546–1548.

The Smalcald War.—A League organized in Bohemia.—Death of Bishops Horn and Michalek.—Ferdinand punishes the Members of the League.—The Brethren accused of being its Instigators.—Edict of St. James renewed.—Persecutions begin.—The cruel Zeal of the Utraquists.—Czerny's Views of their Course.—Sufferings of the Brethren on confiscated Estates.—Sixteen Heads of Families in a foul Vault.—Arrest, Imprisonment and Torture of Bishop Augusta.—Other imprisoned Ministers.—Developments in Germany.

A FEW months after Martin Luther had closed his eyes in death (February the eighteenth, 1546), the first conflict of arms evoked by the Reformation, broke out. In this war, which is known as the Smalcald War, Bohemia became entangled. Although a large part of its people sympathized with the German Protestants, Ferdinand determined to aid his brother Charles the Fifth, and the Diet granted, for a limited period, troops against the Turks and "against any other enemy that might attack the kingdom" (July, 1546). The time of enlistment expired in November. But the King immediately asked for a new levy. This demand roused general opposition. A League was formed having in view religious liberty, the rights of the aristocracy and a decrease of the royal power (February, 1547). At its head stood a Committee of Safety, whose efforts to raise an army were, however, not crowned with success. Scarcely two thousand

JOHN HORN.

men took the field; and before this insignificant contingent could join the Elector of Saxony, the battle of Mühlberg left him a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor and crushed the hopes of the Bohemian confederates (April the twenty-fourth, 1547).

Bishop Horn was spared the news of this disaster. He died, at Jungbunzlau, on the Friday preceding the second Sunday in Lent. His brethren mourned for him with deep sorrow. He was a man of rare ability and sound judgment, and belonged to the excellent of the earth.[1] His colleague, Bishop Martin Michalek, preceded him to the rest which remains to the people of God. He died on the twenty-fourth of January, of the same year, at Prossnitz in Moravia, aged sixty-three years.[2]

Ferdinand having returned to Bohemia, convened the Diet, on the third of June, at Leitmeritz. He bore himself with such unexpected graciousness, that a majority of the nobles and cities connected with the League submitted unconditionally, trusting in his promise of forbearance. But they were soon undeceived. Measures of the greatest severity were adopted. Four nobles—one of them, Wenzel von Petipesky, a member of the Brethren's Church—were executed. The rest were condemned to remain, for life, in certain towns and castles, and their estates, in part, were confiscated. Some of the most prominent patrons of the Unity—Krajek, Kostka, Krinecky[3] and others—suffered in this way; and Leitomischl,

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[1] Todtenbuch, p. 19, which says that a more complete history of him and of other pious men, than can be given on earth, will be written in the life eternal. He was buried on the second Sunday in Lent, John Czerny preaching the funeral sermon. As far as we know, Horn is the first Bishop whose portrait has come down to our day. The original is a life size oil painting, by Wallerat, formerly the property of the late Bishop Anders, of Berthelsdorf, Saxony, now, we presume, in the Herrnhut Archives.

[2] Todtenbuch, pp. 18 and 19, which work calls him a great man, sagacious and eloquent. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1531.

[3] Baron Krinecky, who had presented the Confession to Ferdinand, in 1535, not only lost all his possessions, but was also condemned to death. He fled to East Prussia where he lived in great poverty.

Turnau, Richenburg, Brandeis on the Elbe,[4] all chief seats of the Brethren, fell into the relentless hands of the King. Upon Prague and other cities were imposed heavy fines.

It was amidst such circumstances that the Utraquists displayed the worst traits of their double-dealing character, and that Mistopol, in particular, adopted a dastardly course. No party had been more active in furthering the League than he and his immediate followers; and yet, with one accord, they imitated his cowardly example and screened themselves behind the Brethren. These—so rang the cry throughout Bohemia and Moravia—were the chief instigators of the League! Augusta was the arch-conspirator! He had had secret consultations with the Elector of Saxony; he had visited the Duke of Liegnitz with treasonable intent; he had planned the dethronement of Ferdinand! These accusations were false. While Augusta did not oppose the League, he took no active part in it, and foretold its disastrous issue;[5] and while a number of the nobles of the Unity manifested great zeal in furthering the movement, they were not more guilty than their Utraquist confederates.

But however unfounded such charges were—in view of Ferdinand's purpose they could not have been more opportune. He caught them up with eager joy. The occasion for which he had so long and patiently waited, was come. Death to the Unitas Fratrum!

On Sunday, the eighteenth of September, as he stepped from the door of the cathedral where he had attended mass, representatives of the Roman Catholics and Utraquists presented themselves, and with a vehement show of sincerity, besought him to defend his faithful subjects against the machinations of the Picards. He promised to fulfill the

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[4] At Brandeis Krajek had built a large church for the Brethren. It was designed by an architect from Milan, is still standing, and known as the *Dechantei-Kirche*.

[5] Gindely, I. p. 307. Either in 1546 or 1547 Augusta did visit the Duke of Liegnitz; for what purpose is not known—certainly not with treasonable intentions.

petition of these suppliants who, without doubt, had engaged in this demonstration by his own orders. Nor did he fail to keep his word. On the eighth of October, by royal mandate, he renewed the Edict of St. James.

Thus was inaugurated, throughout Bohemia, the fourth general persecution of the Brethren. In Moravia they could not well be molested, because its nobles and cities had stood aloof from the League. Ferdinand, however, solaced himself with the hope that if the Brethren were rooted out of the former country they would languish and die in the latter. But he imagined a vain thing. The Unitas Fratrum was not suppressed. It grew in numbers and influence. Indeed, in one sense, persecution stretched out a suicidal hand; for it opened a way for the extension of the Brethren to Prussia and Poland. Nevertheless it was, at the same time, a cruel hand and besomed the Bohemian part of the Church with pitiless fury.

The afflictions of the Brethren began with the closing of their chapels and the interdiction of their religious worship in every form. Such a course was pursued even on the domains of their own members. Baron Kostka, imbittered by the confiscation of Leitomischl, carried out the royal edict with great severity.[6] The installation of Catholic or Utraquist priests followed, on all the estates seized by the King. These priests immediately began to pervert the Brethren. Not a few succumbed to the fear of torture and death. The parish at Brandeis on the Elbe, it is said, went over, almost in a body, to the Utraquists.[7] And now began the arrest of the priests. A number were seized. The bishops and members of the Council, confronted on every side by the rack and

[6] Augusta wrote him a severe letter, denouncing his course. L. F., VII. p. 120, cited by Gindely.

[7] This seems to have been owing to the well meant but mistaken counsel of John Czerny, who advised the members of the parish, if there was no way of escape, to attend worship in the Utraquist church. Augusta, on the contrary, earnestly exhorted them to avoid this church. L. F., VII. p. 64, cited by Gindely.

stake, were forced to conceal themselves; and when one place of refuge became insecure, sought another. Nevertheless they did what they could to strengthen their brethren, addressing pastoral letters to the Unity, writing to the single parishes, and secretly visiting the oppressed. Augusta, who had succeeded Horn as President of the Council, was particularly active. His energetic character expanded in proportion to the perils by which he was surrounded. In the name of the entire Church he sent a letter to the King, who had gone to attend the imperial Diet at Augsburg, beseeching him to spare the Unity, which was innocent and had not conspired against him.[8] In the beginning of 1548 a reply was received from the Chancellor's office, sternly pointing the Brethren to the royal mandate as setting forth Ferdinand's unalterable determination. John George, the messenger who had been employed in this correspondence, was arrested on his return from Augsburg, imprisoned at Prague, narrowly escaped the rack, and was at last set at liberty on condition of his emigrating. Moreover a second royal edict against the Brethren appeared, commanding the first to be strictly enforced and ordering the arrest and imprisonment, at Prague, of every minister of the Unity. Ferdinand, prior to his departure, had given the same instructions to his son, the Archduke Ferdinand, whom he had constituted Regent of Bohemia.

In carrying out the cruel purposes of the King, Mistopol proved himself to be a zealous abettor. He directed his deans to care for the strict observance of the royal mandate. He caused lists of the members of the Unity to be prepared, so that, in the case of every one of them, it might be known whether he had or had not recanted. He produced a lengthy formula of recantation which every pervert was forced to accept with a solemn oath. The priests at Brandeis on the Elbe and Leitomischl vied with him in all the arts of persecution. Other Utraquist ministers were not slow to follow their example.

[8] Letter in L. F., VII. This same Folio, as cited by Gindely, is the authority for the most of the facts which follow in this chapter.

For such conduct there was not the shadow of an excuse. It was revolting. Mistopol and a large part of the priests under him belonged to that wing of Utraquism which entertained many of the tenets of Protestantism. Lutherans at heart, they became time-servers and renegades who, by their craven zeal for tyranny, escaped the sufferings which they ought to have shared with the Unity. What an impression such a course made upon the Brethren, let John Czerny, who passed through all the troubles of that period, tell. He writes:

"The shameless Utraquist priests, especially those at Brandeis and Leitomischl, were the worst of persecutors. Although, in their own lives, wanton scoundrels, adulterers, drunkards and unparalleled liars, they became the most ardent sycophants of the King in undertaking the conversion of the Picards. Neither the royal town-captains nor the Roman Catholic priests were guilty of such tyranny, such revilements, such lies, such tormenting, such menaces, such imprecations, as these bare-faced Utraquists, dead to shame and disregarding all divine and human laws."[9]

The calm and moderate tone which generally pervades Czerny's writings, renders this severe arraignment overwhelming.

The domains confiscated by the King suffered more than any others. He appointed a commission to carry out his edict, choosing four barons whose hearts were steeled against mercy. They proceeded in a barbarous manner. Unjust and untruthful accusations were eagerly entertained. Informers received high praise. Private revenge for real or fancied wrongs could, with a word, gain the most cruel satisfaction.

The first to suffer was the village judge of Semanin, charged with having used images of Christ and the Virgin as fuel for a fire at which he broiled fish. He was cast into a foul cellar at Leitomischl, where he languished for half a year until he became, physically and mentally, a wreck. In this state he promised to recant, but died as soon as he was taken out of the cellar. From the same town a certain Gabriel, accused of being a messenger of the Bishops, was hurried to

[9] Gindely I. pp. 312 and 313.

Prague and cruelly imprisoned for months. Many others were cast into loathsome dungeons, or stretched upon the rack in order to extort confessions of treason. A large number perished. Not a few, with shattered constitutions, eked out a miserable existence. The slightest approach to the forms of worship common among the Brethren, was punished in a frightful manner.

An instance occurred at Leitomischl, where Schöneich, whom nature intended for a creature of tyranny, had been appointed town-captain. At the funeral of a member of the Unity, while his remains were borne to the grave, the young people began, as of old, to sing hymns. For this trivial offence sixteen heads of families were arrested, conveyed to Prague and confined in the White Tower. Every attempt to induce them to deny their faith having failed, they were thrust into a vault which formed the receptacle for the closet-drains of the tower. The stench was fearful and the air thick with disgusting exhalations. In this state, which beggars description, they languished for several months. At last six of them, broken down by sickness, promised to recant. The rest endured with unshaken heroism until a certain Doctor Erhard, a favorite of the King, took pity on them and secured their release. They joined their families which had meanwhile emigrated to Prussia.

There was no one whom Ferdinand more eagerly longed to get into his power than Bishop Augusta.[10] Although the Council had published a document in his defence, the animosity against him, both among Catholics and Utraquists,

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[10] Sources for the account of the arrest, imprisonment and sufferings of Augusta are: History of his Life, by J. Blahoslaw, in Bohemian, which work remained in manuscript until 1837, when Sumawsky published it in an incomplete form; the Seventh Lissa Folio (both these sources as cited by Gindely); Bucholtz's Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand I., Wien, 1831, etc.; Hormayr's Taschenbuch für die Vaterländische Geschichte, for the year 1820; Bechstein's Deutsches Mus. für Gesch., 1862; Pelzel's Abbildungen Böhm. Gelehrten, 2tr Theil, Prag, 1775, with Augusta's portrait.

did not abate, and the King looked upon him as a personal enemy. That a liberal reward would be paid for his arrest, was well known.

Schöneich's mercenary and cruel nature was excited to the utmost. He prowled about like a tiger watching for its prey. But in spite of all his efforts Augusta could not be found. He was concealed in the vicinity of Leitomischl and frequently changed his hiding-place. Jacob Bilek, a deacon, carried his letters to the churches and made his appointments with their elders for secret meetings at night.

When Schöneich saw himself foiled, he concocted a plot which deserves to be called satanic. Going to the house of one whom he knew to be an elder of the church at Leitomischl, he told him that he was troubled in his conscience and needed the advice of a faithful minister, and asked whether Augusta could not be persuaded to grant him an interview. Through Bilek this request was made known to the Bishop, who replied, that if Schöneich would pledge himself not to arrest him, he would consent to a meeting. Such a pledge was given, and Augusta designated a clearing in the midst of a forest, about two and a half miles from Leitomischl, as the place of the interview.[11]

Near this clearing, early in the morning of the appointed day—April the twenty-fifth, 1548—the perfidious captain posted three of his hirelings. They were ordered to arrest Augusta as soon as he would appear. Concealing themselves behind trees they waited for his coming. Presently a man emerged from the forest and looked around. Schöneich's creatures rushed from their lurking-place and seized him

[11] Gindely I. p. 319, followed by Cerwenka, represents Schöneich as saying, "that he had something very important to communicate to Augusta." This representation not only destroys the point of the narrative but is also rendered improbable by Gindely himself, who says that Augusta had no confidence in the sincerity of Schöneich's message. The only consideration which could overcome such distrust on the Bishop's part, was the thought that he would perhaps be able to minister to a troubled soul. In union with Reichel and Croeger, we follow Plitt (Sect. 48), whose authority is Lasitius.

with eager hands. But he proved to be Jacob Bilek and not Augusta. With all haste, and dragging Bilek along, they hid themselves again. After a while another man, dressed like a peasant and carrying an axe, came out of the forest. This was Augusta. So completely, however, had he succeeded in disguising himself that the hirelings were baffled. Twice they arrested and twice they set him free. But as he was about going his way, their suspicions were again aroused. Seizing him a third time they began to search his person, and found a handkerchief such as—so they asserted—peasants never used. Thereupon Augusta made himself known. "Sir, is this your faith?"—he indignantly said to Schöneich when this miscreant appeared.

The prisoners were first conveyed to Leitomischl, and then taken, in a covered wagon, to Prague, where they arrived on the twenty-eighth of April. A member of the Church, William by name, secretly followed them on horseback all the way to the capital, in order to ascertain the place of their imprisonment. Bilek was confined in a dungeon of the royal castle and Augusta in the White Tower.[12] As to Schöneich, he was munificently rewarded.

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[12] The oldest royal castle at Prague, known as the St. Wenzel Castle, dated back to the time of Ottokar the Great in the twelfth century. It was enlarged and strengthened by Wenzel the First. This castle has long since passed away. In 1333, near by its site, Charles the Fourth erected the Hradschin, to which Uladislaus added a second and magnificent palace. In 1541 a terrible fire destroyed a large part of the Hradschin. It was rebuilt by Ferdinand the First. Originally the entire pile of buildings had twenty-two massive towers, which have, however, all crumbled to dust except three, the Black Tower, the White Tower and the Daliborka. The first is four-cornered, the other two are round. They stand on the North side of the Hradschin and overlook the Hirschgraben. In the Middle Ages they contained all the appliances of its inhuman mode of administering justice, including subterranean vaults into which, through an opening large enough to admit a human body, criminals were let down by means of ropes and a wheel, to a depth of fifteen fathoms, to die of hunger. These vaults are still to be seen, and even at the present day contain masses of human bones. Schottky's Prag. II. pp. 86, etc., and 134; Illustrirte Chronik von Böhmen, Prag., 1854, II. p. 230, etc.

The news of the arrest of the Unity's chief bishop caused a sensation throughout Bohemia. His friends mourned and called upon God; his enemies, it has been well said, rejoiced with the joy of the Philistines when Samson fell into their power. That the Brethren would submit, now that they were deprived of the man whose commanding influence had sustained their courage, was the common belief. But such expectations were triumphantly disappointed. The Church of the Brethren was built upon Jesus Christ, not upon Augusta.

On the day of the arrival of the two prisoners at Prague, the royal chamber of justice subjected Bilek to an examination: of Augusta no notice was taken for an entire week. It was on the tenth of May that his sufferings began. He was put in chains, in a way that rendered walking almost impossible, and thrust into one of the lowest cellars of the tower. The next day (May the eleventh), the Governor of the Castle, accompanied by two nobles, appeared, ordered his irons to be taken off, and addressed a series of questions to him with regard to the Unity and especially his supposed treasonable transactions at Wittenberg and Liegnitz. His answers were pronounced unsatisfactory and he was delivered to the executioner for torture. Stretched upon a ladder, his hips were smeared with boiling pitch, which was set on fire and torn off with iron tongs. From this horrible torment he was relieved only in order to be forced into excruciating stocks; and when taken out of these, he was hung up on a large hook thrust through his flesh; and when this agony was over, he was laid on the floor and his abdomen loaded with heavy stones. Not until he was half-dead did the Governor order the executioner to cease from his fiendish work. And yet, even now, the afflicted Bishop's sufferings were not at an end. The next morning (May the twelfth), after only a few hours' respite, he was mercilessly tortured a second time.

In the midst of all these physical torments Augusta remained strong of heart. He refused to deny his faith; he refused to confess treasonable proceedings of which he was

innocent; he refused to say anything that would bring new danger to the Church. When his agonies were at their height, he was asked what his brethren were doing. "They are seeking refuge, with one accord, in impassioned prayer to God!"—was his illustrious answer.[13]

Meantime, for three days, Bilek had been lying in chains still more cruelly fastened than in Augusta's case. On the thirteenth of May—the holy day of the Lord—they were taken off and he was made to pass through the same frightful ordeal as his Bishop. These tortures were resumed the next morning, until he swooned and life was nearly extinct. In the evening, while lying in utter weakness and misery, the Governor came and informed him that, as soon as his strength revived, he would be tortured again, and tortured ten times, unless he confessed everything.

It was a confession of Augusta's supposed treason that was to be extorted from Bilek. With this end in view a long series of written questions, covering several sheets of paper, had been put to him while he was stretched upon the ladder. Ferdinand either obstinately believed, or pertinaciously pretended to believe, that Augusta had been the soul of a conspiracy against his throne—to which the Elector of Saxony was to be elevated—and in this way tried to justify his inhuman course. It is reported that, at a later time, he even sent him a message saying, that it was not on account of his faith that he was made to suffer.[14] But the policy, which the King had been steadily pursuing, his violent bigotry, and the fact that Augusta and Bilek were offered their freedom on condition of forsaking the Unity,[15] all prove this assurance to have been grossly untrue. In any case, Ferdinand covered himself with shame. For when the cruel proceedings in the White Tower were reported to him by his son and the Chancellor, and the latter remarked

[13] Blahoslaw's Narrative, L. F., VIII. p. 43, R's Z. p. 359.

[14] Bucholtz, VI. p. 438. Ferdinand himself had given orders that Augusta should be tortured.

[15] Plitt, Sec. 48, on the authority of Lasitius.

that the use of the torture could scarcely be kept a secret, he replied—in a letter written from Augsburg, on the twenty-seventh of May—that he was well satisfied with what had been done, that he would bear the responsibility, and that Augusta should be tortured again in order to ascertain the object of his journeys to Wittenberg. In this letter he inclosed a slip of paper on which he recommended one of the following three modes of torment as more efficacious than those which had been employed:

First, for five or six days and nights in succession, let Augusta be forcibly prevented from sleeping.

Second, strap him to a board, or a shutter, with no support for his head; rub vinegar into his nostrils; fasten, with half a nutshell, a large beetle on his navel; keep him in this state for a day or for two days and two nights.

Third, season his food as highly as possible, but give him nothing whatever to quench his thirst.

Let Bilek be treated in the same way.[16]

Love to the brethren, because it is the greatest of the Christian graces, deems no sacrifice too grievous and shrinks from no danger. In spite of the imminent perils by which William was surrounded, he remained at Prague and gained access to Augusta. The forlorn Bishop rejoiced as though an angel had visited him. But as William passed through the Tower on his way back, he was suddenly confronted by Schöneich, who recognized him and had him cast into a dungeon. Two days later Wenzel Wejwoda, one of Augusta's servants, arrived. His sister was the prison cook. By her aid he, too, made his way to the Bishop and ministered to his wants, supplying him, in particular, with writing materials so that he could communicate with the Council. But before long, Wenzel also was detected and imprisoned. For three months he lay in a dungeon, until the unceasing intercessions of his mother secured him a pardon. William, after an incarceration of ten weeks, was set free at the claim of his lord, Baron Pernstein.

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[16] Hormayr's Taschenbuch for 1833, cited by Gindely, I. pp. 325 and 326, and Cerwenka, pp. 281 and 282.

None of the modes of torture recommended by Ferdinand were put into execution; for, when his letter arrived, Augusta and Bilek were no longer at Prague.

About twenty-five miles to the west of this city lies Pürglitz, one of the oldest and grandest castles known to Bohemian chroniclers. Crowning a huge conical rock, from whose base radiate three valleys, it lifts its hoary towers proudly to the sky. Hills, covered with dense forests, are round about it on every side. They stand like giants guarding the stronghold of a king.[17] Through one of the valleys, and the wildest and most romantic of them all, rush the dark waters of the Beraun, along whose course has been built a railroad to Rakonitz. Here and there ancient iron-works belch forth their flames and smoke; while sunny meadows and fields of golden grain form a brilliant hem to the dark green mantle of the forests.

Toward this castle Augusta and Bilek, guarded by twenty men at arms, set out in the night of the twenty-fifth to the twenty-sixth of May. Weak, covered with painful wounds—for which nothing whatever had been done—the two prisoners lay, each in a separate wagon, unable to comfort one another, alone with their thoughts and their God. At last Pürglitz was reached. Slowly the wagons, with the horsemen close about them, moved up the steep and winding road that led to the outer gate. Here they crossed the draw-bridge to the main entrance, ornamented with the royal coat of arms, and came into a large triangular court-yard. Passing along its northern side and turning into a very ancient and narrow gate-way, with a curiously constructed guard-house on the left, they reached a second and smaller yard, known as the king's courtyard. At one end rose a round keep, overtopping all the other towers and connected by a gallery with the royal dwellings;[18] at the other end was seen a balcony from which

[17] Tradition says, that in the Hussite War, when Zizka came with his army in order to make himself master of Pürglitz, he could not find the castle, so completely was it surrounded by hills and so dense were their forests.

[18] These dwellings no longer exist.

the sentence of prisoners was read to them before they were incarcerated.

In this courtyard the wagons halted. On all sides were dungeons. Two massive doors, on the left, were opened; through one of these Augusta was led into a vaulted cellar, through the other, Bilek passed into a second cellar similarly constructed. It was a long farewell which they were forced to bid to the world without. For sixteen years the Bishop, and for thirteen years his Deacon, lay immured within these gloomy walls.[19]

While, in some respects, their situation was less painful than at Prague, there were other experiences which proved to be hard and distressing. They were left in almost total darkness. Exceedingly narrow though the cellar windows were, they had been blocked up with double shutters. The only light the prisoners had, came through an opening four inches square. While taking their meals, which were served twice a day, they were allowed a taper; but it was removed as soon as they had finished eating. Nor were they permitted to communicate with each other. Neither of them set foot outside of his cellar. Nor were visitors admitted. They saw no one, except the

[19] Augusta passed through a square oaken door, Bilek through an arched one. Both these doors are still to be seen. The first led into a cellar adjoining that in which the Bishop was confined; the second straight into Bilek's prison. Augusta's cellar had no outer door. The interior of the cellars, which were not subterranean, but on a level with the ground, has been entirely changed. They are used by the inhabitants of the castle, who occupy the buildings surrounding the large courtyard. One of these buildings is a brewery; another, a tax-office; a third, the seat of the imperial district-court; in the rest live stewards and servants. The Castle of Pürglitz, to which belong wide domains, whose forests abound in deer and other game, is now the property of the Prince of Fürstenberg. In the Middle Ages it was a royal domain and a favorite hunting place of the Bohemian Kings. In the dungeons of the Castle many distinguished prisoners were at various times confined, among them Duke Henry, the brother of Frederick the Third, both of whom were captured in the battle of Ampfing, in 1322. At the north end of the first courtyard stands a large tower, called Huderka, into whose subterranean vaults criminals were let down and allowed to starve to death. Nitsche's Burg Pürglitz, Wien, 1876. In 1879 we visited the Castle and, guided by a warder, explored it thoroughly.

keeper when he brought their food, and the guards when they cleaned the prisons. Day and night were alike—silence and solitude and gloom.[20] The wounds which had been inflicted through the torture, were not looked after until they grew so offensive that the services of a surgeon became absolutely necessary.

Of the other ministers who fell into Ferdinand's power, the experiences of three are on record.

George Israel was the priest of the parish at Turnau.[21] Cited to Prague on pain of a fine of one thousand ducats, his people begged him to disregard the summons and offered to pay the money. "No!" was his answer, "I have been purchased, once for all, with the blood of Christ and will not consent to be ransomed with the gold and silver of my people. Keep what you have, for you will need it on your flight; and pray for me, that I may be stedfast in suffering for Jesus." With unwavering fortitude he bade farewell to his brethren, presented himself at Prague, confessed his faith, and was imprisoned in the White Tower, in the same dungeon which Augusta had occupied (May the thirtieth). The treatment which he received was, however, not rigorous; and so loosely was he guarded that escape became possible. But he was too conscientious to embrace, on the strength of his own judgment, the opportunities which offered. He sent a letter to Bishop Mach Sionsky, asking his advice. The Bishop assured him that it would be right to flee from his prison, if he could. Accordingly (July the twenty-eighth), disguised as a scrivener, a quill behind his ear, paper and ink-horn in his hand, he

[20] Twenty men, probably those who had brought Augusta and Bilek to Pürglitz, were detailed to guard them. Germans had been purposely chosen, of whom only three could speak Bohemian. Over these men was set a captain who reported to John Zdarsky von Zdar, the Governor of the Castle.

[21] G. Israel, whose name has several times been mentioned in connection with the missions to Luther, was born in Böhmishbrod, in 1508. He was the son of a smith, but well educated. His father reluctantly consented to his entering the ministry of the Brethren's Church. He was ordained priest in 1540, and subsequently became one of the most influential leaders of the Unity and its father in Poland.

passed, in broad day, out of the tower and through the midst of the guards, leaving behind a letter to the Governor of the Castle and a copy of one of the Confessions of the Brethren. He proceeded to Prussia.

Another minister confined at Prague was Paul Bossak, a Deacon. He, too, was loosely guarded. Often and earnestly he prayed that God might deliver him. Dreaming, one night, that in a certain cellar—it was the one in which Augusta had been tortured—there was an opening in the wall, he made his way to the place and found his dream fulfilled. Through this opening he reached the ground and escaped to Prussia.

John Rokita, one of Augusta's acolytes, was set free at the intercession of certain young men, Catholics, who had formerly been his fellow-students. They spoke so highly of his extraordinary gifts as a linguist that he received the offer of a secretaryship in the Chancellor's office. But he refused this position and followed his brethren into exile.[22]

A large part of the ministers who escaped imprisonment, fled to Moravia; some ventured to remain in Bohemia, where they hid themselves, but at night, in secret places, preached and administered the sacraments.

While such events were transpiring in Bohemia, the Augsburg Interim and, at a later time, the Leipzig Interim, which were to unite the Protestants and the Catholics until the Council of Trent could be reopened,[23] brought about the utmost dissatisfaction in Germany, and led, in some of its states, to persecutions on the part of the Emperor. At the same time these Interims widened the breach between the Philippists, or liberal Lutherans, and those who upheld the Lutheran system in all its details and with an iron bigotry. Nothing more disgraceful occurred, on the Protestant side of the Reformation, than the disputes between these two factions.

[22] Authorities for the above incidents: Regenvolscius, pp. 197–199; Lasitius, VI. 17, cited by Plitt.

[23] The Council of Trent was opened on the thirteenth of December, 1545, and protracted for eighteen years, until 1563; during which period it was in session only twenty-five times.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Unitas Fratrum established in Prussia and Poland.
A. D. 1548–1553.

The Brethren on the confiscated Estates banished.—Their memorable Journey to Poland.—Religious State of that Country.—The Exiles at Posen.—Expelled by royal Mandate.—Sionsky and Israel sent by the Synod of Zerawic to lead the Exiles to East Prussia.—Account of this Country.—Negotiations with Duke Albert.—Stay at Thorn.—The first Polish Brethren's Church.—Arrival in East Prussia.—Hard Terms.—The Prussian Parishes.—A Church at Posen.—George Israel Missionary in Poland.—His escape at Thorn.—Prosperity and Persecutions.—Israel and Count Ostrorog.—Ostrorog's Domain the Polish Centre of the Brethren.

THE measures of the King against the Unity were not yet exhausted. By his command the Regent, on the fifth and twelfth of May, 1548, issued two decrees banishing the Brethren of Leitomischl, Bidsow, Chlumetz, Turnau and Brandeis on the Elbe. But six weeks were granted them in which to prepare for their emigration; the earnest plea of the parish at Leitomischl for a longer respite, met with a stern refusal.[1]

If these Brethren had denied their faith and united with the Utraquist or Catholic Church, they would have been saved from exile. That they would take such a step, Ferdinand confidently expected. But he knew not the power of that spirit which suffers the loss of all things for Christ's sake. In

[1] Authorities for the account of the emigration to Prussia are L. F. VII., cited by Gindely, and numerous original documents given in his Quellen, Part II. pp. 72–124.

spite of the enormous sacrifices they were obliged to make in selling their property or leaving it unsold and confiscated, they were ready to depart when the appointed time came.

They traveled in three bodies. The first, which numbered about five hundred souls and was provided with sixty wagons, proceeded by way of Frankenstein, Glatz and Breslau, to Posen, arriving on the twenty-fifth of June. This body comprised the Brethren from Leitomischl, Bidsow, Chlumetz and Solnic, and was led by four priests, Matthias Aquila, Urban Hermon, John Korytan and Matthias Paterkulus.[2] At a later time they were joined by the second body, which consisted of the Brethren from Turnau and a part of those from Brandeis, numbering three hundred souls and fifty wagons. Under the leadership of Barons Biberstein and Krajek, this body crossed the Riesengebirge and passed through Lower Silesia. The third body, composed of the remaining Brethren from Brandeis, followed the same route.

It was a memorable journey which these exiles undertook. The only adequate description of it is the saying of one of their own number: "We were borne on eagles' wings."[3] Driven out of their country as obstinate heretics, stigmatized by the edicts of their King, their name a by-word and reproach among their neighbors, they nevertheless met with kindness and hospitality and honor wherever they came. Their departure was not the hurried flight of cowering fugitives; it

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[2] The domains from which the Brethren were driven, belonged, with the exception of Solnic, to the number of those which Ferdinand had confiscated. Solnic was the property of Baron Pernstein and therefore not affected by the decree of banishment. This nobleman, however, of his own accord, ordered those of its inhabitants who belonged to the Unity to leave his estate. Hence they joined the exiles. The four priests named above are not mentioned in the Todtenbuch.

[3] Croeger, I. p. 255, who says there is extant an original account of the journey, written by one of the exiles but, as usual, does not adduce the title of the document. It is undoubtedly contained in L. F. VII. p. 186, etc., which authority Gindely, I. p. 331, adduces. This account describes the journey of the first body of exiles; but the other bodies met with the same kind treatment.

was the solemn march of an army of the Lord. Many of their own faith, from parishes not affected by the decree of banishment, as well as many Catholics and Utraquists, came to protect them while passing through forests and defiles where robber-bands were wont to lurk. The captain of Pottenstein, which domain belonged to Baron Pernstein, a bitter foe of the Unity, sent an additional guard of horsemen and foot soldiers. Several hundred men accompanied them across the Silesian Mountains, as far as Frankenstein. Tolls and duty were remitted; provisions, in great abundance, were gratuitously supplied; the very roads were improved that their wagons might pass in safety. In Silesia other protectors offered themselves. At Glatz the burgomaster and the council entertained the exiles; the city-captain, with sixteen knights, gave them an honorable escort through the town and beyond its walls; one hundred and fifty armed men formed their guard to Breslau. The last part of their journey—from Breslau to Posen—was distinguished by similar tokens of kindness and respect.

In Poland the Unitas Fratrum found a second home.

To this country the seed of Christianity had been brought, in the ninth century, from Moravia, by Greek-Slavonian missionaries. The harvest came in the next century, when Christianity was universally accepted. Its development involved a repetition of the experiences made by Bohemia and Moravia. Amidst that antagonism between the Slavonian and the German races which continually reappears in history, the Greek liturgy and a national Church struggled against the Latin ritual and the Romish Hierarchy. In this case, too, Rome gained the victory. But a deep-seated prejudice against her pretensions and clergy continued to exist in the minds of the people and especially of the nobility.[4] The life of the Church did not flow with a smooth current. From

[4] The law established by the first Christian Duke, that the tenth sheaf of every kind of grain must be given for the support of the bishops and their clergy, was the original cause of this prejudice. Lukaszewicz, p. 1.

time to time it was violently agitated. The Flagellants caused a wild commotion; the Fratricelli and Beghards, with their united strength, denounced the Pope as Antichrist and the Romish Church as the Church of Satan; Milicz, having a higher aim in view, spread the Gospel with holy zeal. No one, however, prior to the sixteenth century, moved Poland more profoundly than John Hus. He had a multitude of adherents in that country. His coadjutor, Jerome of Prague, organized and taught in the University of Cracow (1410). Queen Hedwig favored the new doctrines and caused the Bible to be translated into the vernacular. The execution of Hus created almost as great a storm as in his own country. Hussite preachers came swarming into Poland and labored, openly or in secret, with indefatigable perseverance. The Romish bishops and their clergy, aided by the iron arm of the Inquisition, were no less active in suppressing such movements; nevertheless, when the Reformation began, a large part of Poland was ripe for its sweeping innovations. Lutheranism set the Poles free from the bonds of the Romish Church, but did not gain them, in large numbers, as its adherents. It was a German system and encountered the national prejudices of the people. Calvinism met with more favor and won many more followers. Both confessions established churches at an early day.

Three months prior to the coming of the Brethren, Sigismund the Second Augustus, the last scion of the house of Jagello, had ascended the throne. At heart he was not disinclined to Protestantism. His kingdom consisted of four provinces: Great Poland, Little Poland, Lithuania and Polish Prussia.[5] The royal seat was at Cracow, in Little Poland.

Posen received the Brethren with open arms. They were exiles, persecuted and afflicted, without a country or a home. They were the true followers of Hus, whose work had never been forgotten by the Poles. They belonged to a nation with

[5] Polish Prussia, or West Prussia, was ceded to Poland by the Teutonic Knights in 1466.

which Poland had always been united in a close bond of friendship.[6] Such considerations incited the people of Posen to words of welcome and works of love.

Posen was the capital of Great Poland and the seat of Count Andrew Gorka, its Governor. He was an open advocate of the Reformation, and allowed the Brethren to take up their abode in the suburbs of the city and on several of his own estates. Other noblemen followed his example. Public worship was instituted according to the forms of the Unity. The priests preached the Gospel with boldness and fervency of heart. Many Poles accepted the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

Such a blooming of the heretical plant which had been rooted out of Bohemia was odious in the sight of Benedict Jzbinski, the Bishop of Posen. He appealed to Sigismund Augustus and secured a royal decree, ordering the Brethren to leave Great Poland (August the fourth, 1548).

While they were preparing to resume their journey, Bishop Mach Sionsky and George Israel arrived (August the sixteenth) and put themselves at their head. The Synod, which had recently met at Zerawic, in Moravia, had sent these two men to lead them to East Prussia.[7]

This country was forcibly converted to Christianity by the Teutonic Knights (1283). They established an ecclesiastical state which flourished until 1525, when it was changed into a civil dukedom, with their Grand Master, Albert, as its duke, under the suzerainty of the King of Poland. Albert introduced the Reformation and strove to further its interests. But the Lutheran clergy exercised an undue influence over him, and the University of Königsberg, which he founded for the promotion of evangelical truth (1544), became a notorious centre of theological controversies.

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[6] Turnovius (of whom more hereafter,) says in his Defence of the Consensus Sendomiriensis: "From of old the Poles looked upon the Bohemians as their brethren." Lukaszewicz, p. 8, note 4, whose work is a principal authority for the history of the Brethren in Poland.

[7] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 165, etc., cited by Czerwenka.

In the dominions of this prince the banished Brethren hoped to find a retreat. Their fellow-exile, Baron Krinecky, advocated their cause;[8] but Mitmanek, who had been driven from Bohemia in 1543, spread such malignant calumnies with regard to their faith, that Albert grew suspicious and the negotiations were broken off.

At a later time, however, in reply to a written petition, he promised to receive them.[9]

On the twenty-fourth of August they left Posen and proceeded to Thorn.[10] Here they spent several months, preaching Christ and winning souls, until, at the instigation of the Catholic clergy, the royal decree which had ordered them to leave Great Poland, was made to include Polish Prussia also.

Again were these Brethren forced to depart. But their testimony did not pass away. A church was organized at Thorn and supplied with a resident priest.[11] This was the first Brethren's church in Poland. In speaking of it Lasitius says: "I owe King Ferdinand many thanks, that, without intending to do so, he sent such evangelical men to my native country.[12]

Christmas was close at hand when the immigrants reached Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia. They came into a Lutheran camp which flaunted the standard of bigotry. Although the Duke, in his reply to their petition, had informed them that they would be expected to submit to his clergy, they did not anticipate conditions as severe as those which were actually imposed. In the first place, a conference was appointed, at which nine of their priests were sub-

[8] Baron Krinecky was living in East Prussia in such distress that the Duke, at one time, sent him one hundred florins. He died in that country, and his widow, with her children, returned to Bohemia. See documents in Quellen, pp. 90, 106, 121, etc.

[9] Quellen, pp. 85–89, gives the petition and the Duke's answer, dated July the sixth, 1548.

[10] Thorn was the principal city of Polish Prussia.

[11] Lukaszewicz, p. 24.

[12] Lasitius, VI. p. 25, cited by Plitt.

jected, by a commission of Lutheran divines, to a searching examination with regard to the doctrine and ritual of the Brethren (December twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth);[13] in the next place, when this commission had reported favorably, Paul Speratus, the Superintendent of the East Prussian Church, who bore the title of Bishop of Pomesania, presented twenty articles setting forth the terms on which they would be received. These terms were hard, illiberal and uncharitable. They practically put an end to the independent existence of the Brethren. They rendered their situation, in so far as the free exercise of their own faith was concerned, not much better than it had been in Bohemia. At a time when the Reformation was still struggling to reach firm ground and when its adherents, of every name, ought to have assisted and upheld each other, Protestants gave their fellow Protestants a reception in which not a single trait of catholicity or large-heartedness appeared. But what could the banished Brethren do except submit?[14] At Whitsuntide, 1549, in the presence of a number of Lutheran ministers, Speratus formally acknowledged them, by the authority of the Duke, as a part of the evangelical Church of East Prussia.

They took up their abode at Marienwerder and Garnsee, which parishes were in charge of George Israel, at Soldau, where Aquila was stationed, at Neidenburg, Bolstein, Baldow and Gilgenburg, in which town Bishop Sionsky had his seat. The whole number of Brethren who gradually settled in East Prussia was about fifteen hundred.[15]

[13] A report of this conference, which took place at Königsberg, is given in Quellen, pp. 92–97.

[14] The twenty articles are given in full in Quellen, pp. 97–106, and taken from Lasitius. As a specimen we present the following: The Brethren must accept the Augsburg Confession; their bishops are not to ordain their priests, these must be ordained by the Lutheran bishop; the priests of the Brethren stand under the Lutheran parish ministers; the Brethren are forbidden, with a few unimportant exceptions, to retain any usages or ceremonies of their own; they must support their own priests; they must help to support the Lutheran ministers, etc.

[15] Quellen, p. 72. Comenii Hist., § 86, gives the number at nine hundred. In course of time Bishop Sionsky won the favor of the Duke and was

In the course of the first year of their abode in that country, Bishop Sionsky was taken ill and went to Posen to consult its physicians, who occupied the foremost rank of their profession. He was entertained by Andrew Lipczynski. At the house of this nobleman he began religious meetings. They were held in secret and generally at midnight. God blessed the Word as it was expounded and taught by the Bishop. Lipczynski, his wife, and a number of other hearers, were converted to the true faith, and admitted into the Unity of the Brethren. Thus was established their first church in Great Poland. In the following year the work was continued by Israel, Aquila and Cerwenka, who stopped at Posen on their way from Prussia to Moravia. The number of converts increased; and in 1551 they applied to Bishop Sionsky for a minister.

No one was better qualified for this position than George Israel. He spoke the Polish language. He possessed that energy of character without which evangelistic labors in a new field cannot be a success. His faith never faltered and his courage could not be shaken. Accordingly he was appointed missionary to Poland, retaining, however, his parishes in Prussia.

It was spring when he set out for his new field of labor. He traveled on horseback. The roads were bad and the streams swollen. Reaching Thorn on the fourth Sunday in Lent, he rested for the day. Thorn is situated on the Vistula, which was covered with ice, and, in anticipation of a flood, the floating bridge had been removed. On Monday morning Israel walked to the river in order to see whether the ice was strong enough to allow him to cross on horseback. He found and followed a track leading to an island and beyond to the farther bank. Convinced that he might

highly esteemed by Speratus. Anton Bodenstein, the Lutheran Minister at Kwizina, became an enthusiastic admirer of the Brethren, especially on account of their discipline, and wrote a letter to John Brenz, the Suabian Reformer, in which he gave full flow to his feelings. Comenii Hist. § 85, taken from Lasitius.

venture the passage, he turned back. As he was going from the island toward the city, suddenly, with a loud crash the ice gave way, breaking into a mass of fragments, on one of which he was swept down the river. Death seemed inevitable. But in that awful moment his trust in God put on its strength. Invoking His holy name and raising the one hundred and forty-eighth Psalm, he sprang from one ice-block to another, singing as he pursued his perilous way—"Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, and all deeps: fire and hail; snow and vapor; stormy wind fulfilling His word"—until he reached the shore in safety. There a great multitude had gathered to see the marvellous spectacle. They received Israel with a shout—"To us! Hither to us!"—and escorted him to Thorn. For years afterward his escape was spoken of as one of the most wonderful events in the history of the city.[16]

When the waters had subsided, he continued his journey and reached Posen in safety. The work which he began bore immediate fruits. In the course of the Passion Week, Luke Jankowski and his wife, who was a sister of the powerful Counts Ostrorog, the Countess Catharine Ostrorog—another sister of these magnates—and several others, were admitted to the fellowship of the Church. Israel accompanied by John Korytan, paid a second visit which was crowned with similar success.

But now a time of trial began. The Protestant Governor of Great Poland, Count Gorka, died and his Catholic successor, Janus Koscielecki, in conjunction with Bishop Jzbinski persecuted the Brethren; so that they were constrained to hold their religious meetings in secret and with the utmost caution. Israel was in constant danger. It is said that Jzbinski, stumbling at no means to rid his diocese of the presence of so fearless a preacher, put forty assassins on his track. By continually assuming new disguises, and appearing sometimes in the garb of an officer and again in

[16] Regenvolscius, pp. 101, 102.

the dress of a coachman or a cook, he escaped their hands and carried on his missionary work.[17] The death of the Bishop brought no relief. His successor, Andrew Czarnkowski, continued to pursue the Brethren, several of whom were arrested. Israel was summoned before the Governor, who, however, merely advised him to leave the city, which advice he did not follow; but Paul, one of Israel's converts, was taken to the Bishop's country-seat and condemned as a heretic.

Occurrences like these excited the magnates. Their inherited jealousy of the power of the clergy was roused. They delivered the prisoners who were confined at Posen. A body of nearly one hundred nobles rode to Czarnkowski's country-seat and carried off Paul in triumph. In consequence of this bold course the persecution waned and the Brethren began to lift up their heads.

Meanwhile George Israel had been released from his Prussian parishes and devoted himself, with the assistance of other priests, to his work in Poland. He lived at Posen, in a house rented for him by Jankowski, where he preached every day, until an outbreak of the plague drove him from the city. Relying upon the good offices of Catharine Ostrorog, he established himself in the outskirts, on one of her brother Jacob's estates.

The ancestral seat of this magnate was Ostrorog, where lived Felix Cruciger,[18] his chaplain, and Francis Stancarus, an Italian Professor.[19] These two men were jealous of

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[17] Regenvolscius, p. 218.

[18] Cruciger had been a Roman Catholic priest in a village near Cracow. Having embraced the evangelical faith he first joined the Lutherans but subsequently the Reformed, whose Superintendent he became in Little Poland.

[19] Stancarus came to Poland from Mantua, where he had imbibed the principles of the Reformation, and filled the position of Professor of Hebrew at Cracow. He subsequently taught at Königsberg and Frankfurt-on-the-Main, but returned to Poland at a later time. He is famous on account of his controversies with Osiander. His own views became heterodox. He excluded from the atonement the Lord's divine nature. His system was eventually absorbed by Socinianism.

Israel's influence and feared that the Count, who had withdrawn from the Catholic Church but not yet united with a Protestant body, might be induced to join the Brethren. Hence they suggested to him, that inasmuch as Israel had been exposed to the plague, he should not be permitted to visit Ostrorog. The Count gave his steward an order to this effect. But in spite of it, Israel appeared at the castle and was courteously received. He invited Ostrorog and Cruciger to witness, at Posen, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, according to the ritual of the Unity. The Count was impressed but still wavered. Soon after, his wife requested the priests of the Brethren to hold a religious meeting in the castle at Ostrorog. While this service was in progress several Catholic nobles called on the Count; and when they heard of it, ridiculed it as a conventicle. One of them said, that if his wife were to introduce heretics into his castle, he would beat her into subjection. Such remarks excited Ostrorog and he persuaded himself that his authority had been grossly insulted. Seizing a whip and exclaiming, "I will drag my wife out of this conventicle and bring her here!"—he hurried off and burst into the meeting. But when he beheld the devout and solemn assembly, and saw that Cerwenka, who was preaching, manifested no alarm but calmly continued his discourse, giving it a turn that reproved the Count's unseemly anger, he was overcome by a sudden fear, stood humbled and remained speechless. In that moment Israel rose and pointing to a vacant seat, said, "Sir, sit down there!" The Count obeyed and by the time Cerwenka had finished his sermon, believed in Christ, rejoiced in God, and was fully persuaded in his own mind to join the Unity.[20] Cruciger and Stancarus left Ostrorog; Israel took up his abode in its parsonage; its parish church, the churches on all the other domains of the Count, and large buildings at Posen, were given to the Brethren. Ostrorog became their Polish centre and its noble proprietor their most

[20] Regenvolscius, pp. 107, 108.

faithful patron. In a short time additional parishes were established at Kozminek, under Albert Serpentinus, who was followed by John Rokita, at Marszevia, under Peter Scalnicus, at Lobsenia, under George Philippensis, and at Barcin, under John Rybinius.[21] Moreover the example of so powerful and well-known a magnate as Ostrorog, induced a number of other noble families to join the Unity. It greatly prospered in Poland; its churches walked in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost.

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[21] Lochner, p. 95.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Brethren and the Reformed in Poland. *A. D.* 1554–1557.

The Unitas Fratrum a Centre of Union for the Polish Protestants.—Nogotiations with the Reformed.—An unsuccessful Persecution.—Union Synod of Kozminek.—Articles of Agreement between the Brethren and the Reformed.—Lismanin and the Swiss Reformers.—The Union of the Reformed with the Brethren does not prosper.—John von Laski.—Vergerius.—Further negotiations with the Reformed.

THE Protestants of Poland were attracted by the Unitas Fratrum. Its Confession of Faith found favor among their clergy and nobility; its discipline excited general admiration; it had a well-ordered constitution, a simple but sufficient ritual, and presented, in all other respects, a completed organization. The other evangelical churches, and particularly the Reformed, recognizing their lack of unity and want of a proper system, began to look around for a rallying-point.[1] In the beginning of 1555 the idea was broached that the Brethren's Church might, perhaps, afford such a centre.

This idea gained ground in Little Poland, in consequence of a visit which George Israel and Count Ostrorog paid to Cracow. They met with Jerome Philipowski, an influential magnate and adherent of the Reformed faith. He was so charmed with their account of the Unitas Fratrum, that he induced Cruciger to invite its Executive Council to send delegates to a Reformed Synod, which was soon to meet at

[1] Authorities for this chapter are Lukaszewicz, and especially L. F., X. which contains George Israel's narrative of the negotiations of the Reformed with the Brethren. R's Z., pp. 282–303. Gindely, I. p. 392, etc. Lukaszewicz's narrative is incomplete and sometimes incorrect.

Chrecice. This Synod, Cruciger added, would consider the question of a union of the Reformed with the Brethren.

The Council would not have been true to its antecedents if it had not cordially accepted such an overture. From of old the Church of the Brethren had sought to promote unity among God's children. Accordingly Israel and John Rokita were appointed delegates to the proposed Synod. It took place on the fourteenth of March, 1555.[2] Israel gave a short account of the origin, progress and sufferings of the Brethren, and explained the fundamental principles of their system. It was agreed to hold another meeting at Goluchow, on the twenty-fifth of March. On this occasion Israel met ten representatives of the Calvinistic faith, who discussed, article by article, the Confession of the Brethren. A fraternal spirit prevailed; but it became evident that the Reformed were not yet of one mind with regard to the proposed union. A report of the proceedings was sent to the Council, together with an invitation to appoint delegates to a Union Synod at Kozminek.

Meantime the Bishop of Posen induced the King to issue an order to the Governor of Great Poland, closing the churches and forbidding the religious assemblies of the Protestants (1555). This order was carried out in the royal cities, but remained a dead letter on the domains of the nobles. Before long it was disregarded in the royal cities also. Moreover the Diet of Petrikau (1555) resolved to convene a national council in order to settle the religious affairs of the country, and the King consented to ask important concessions of the Pope: such as the mass in the vernacular, the Lord's Supper under both kinds, and the

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[2] Lukaszewicz says the Synod met on the twenty-fourth of May. The date we have given is taken from the L. F. Rokita, who has been several times mentioned, was ordained to the priesthood in 1555, at Prossnitz, and subsequently elected to the Council. He is famous on account of his interview with the Russian Czar, of which more hereafter. His abilities as a linguist have been mentioned. He died on the twenty-fifth of January, 1591. Todtenbuch, p. 85.

marriage of priests. Thus the persecution by which the Bishop meant to suppress Protestantism proved abortive, and the synod at Kozminek could be held in peace.

It was the first Union Synod of the Polish Protestants, and convened on the Day of St. Bartholomew, the twenty-fourth of August, 1555. There were in attendance, on the part of the Reformed, Felix Cruciger and Andrew Prazmowski, the two Superintendents—the latter of Kujavia[3]—together with seven other clerical and lay deputies: on the part of the Bohemian Brethren, Jacob Ostrorog, John Krotowski, John Tomicki, Adalbert Marschewski and Peter Grudzinski—Polish nobles and lay deputies; John Czerny, from Moravia, George Israel, of Ostrorog, Matthias Rybinius, of Kaminiec, Adalbert Serpentinus, of Kozminek, all from Poland, and John George, from East Prussia[4]—clerical deputies: on the part of the Lutherans of East Prussia, John Funk, the court-preacher of Duke Albert, Jerome Malecki and William Krinecky, the exiled Bohemian Baron who was, however, a member of the Brethren's Church. A large number of the magnates of Great Poland were present as spectators.

The Synod was opened at eleven o'clock by John Czerny, who delivered the following brief address:

"Having gathered here with great, important and very necessary objects in view, it is proper that we should turn to the Lord our God, seek refuge with Him, and call upon His most holy name; so that He may enlighten us with His holy Spirit and prepare our hearts to obey His holy will."[5]

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[3] Kujavia was originally an independent principality on the Vistula, but in course of time incorporated with Poland. It contained the cities of Jnowraclaw, Brzesc and Dobrzyn.

[4] John George, or Jirek, born at Swidnitz (Schweidnitz), was a Bachelor of Arts, taught in the Brethren's school at Leitomischl, was their messenger to the King in 1547, (Vide p. 268 of this History), and emigrated to Prussia, where he was ordained to the priesthood. In 1557 he was elected to the Council and became a sort of superintendent of the Prussian churches, in which capacity he was subjected to much enmity on the part of the flatterers of the Duke. He died March the first, 1562. He was a pious and upright man and a diligent scholar. Todtenbuch, pp. 34, 35.

[5] Lukaszewicz, p. 31.

Thereupon all rose and sang, with great enthusiasm, the Polish hymn: *Duchu S. przyjdz k'nam* (Come, Holy Spirit, visit us). This hymn was followed by an address from Cruciger, who showed the necessity of uniting against the "Romish Antichrist," and admonished the Synod to exercise moderation and to strive for peace. The Confession of the Brethren formed the basis of the discussions, which were protracted for several days. At first the most conflicting views appeared, and heated disputes took place; finally, however, the Synod came to the unanimous conclusion that this Confession might be adopted by all the Protestants of Poland. Thereupon the Brethren and the Reformed of Little Poland mutually agreed upon the following six articles:

1. The Reformed of Little Poland accept the Confession of the Brethren; acknowledge their doctrines as pure; and pledge themselves to remain faithful to this Confession.
2. The Reformed promise to introduce into their churches the liturgy of the Brethren, who, on their part, agree to give them their liturgical forms and to send some of their ministers to explain and establish the same.
3. The Reformed promise to undertake nothing in the affairs of their church, without consulting the Brethren.
4. The Reformed are, however, to retain their own superintendents, who will be independent of the bishops of the Brethren.
5. Some of the usages of their church will also be retained by the Reformed.
6. But they will renounce the tithes which they have been drawing according to Roman Catholic custom.[6]

A similar agreement, excepting the introduction of the liturgy, was entered into between the Brethren and Prazmowski, as the representative of the Calvinists of Kujavia. On Sunday, the first of September, a common celebration of the Lord's Supper set a seal to the union which was thus established. The next day the Synod adjourned. No influence seems to have been exercised upon its transactions by the Lutheran representatives, and they stood aloof from the union.

At that time there lived in Switzerland a man who had helped to establish Protestantism in Poland. His name was

[6] Lukaszewicz, pp. 32, 33.

Francis Lismanin. By birth a Greek, from Corfu, he become a Franciscan monk and, in course of time, the confessor of Queen Bona, the mother of Sigismund Augustus. Having imbibed evangelical views he established an association which secretly studied the writings of the Reformers. Upon the King he exercised a great influence and, twice a week, gave him private instruction in the doctrinal system of Calvin. In 1553 Sigismund sent him on a journey through Europe, ostensibly in order to buy books for the royal library, but in reality with the view to examine into the state of Protestantism. He went, first of all, to Moravia, where he spent a long time at Prerau, among the Brethren, with whose system he made himself familiar; then he proceeded to Italy, Switzerland and France. From France he returned to Switzerland and formed the acquaintance of Calvin, Beza, Musculus and other Reformers. The result was, that he openly renounced Catholicism, joined the Protestants and married. This step offended King Sigismund, who forbade him to return to Poland.

Soon after the Synod of Kozminek, Cruciger reported to Lismanin the union which had been established with the Brethren, and begged him to ask the Swiss Reformers for their opinion. This opinion proved to be, in the highest degree, favorable. Calvin said: "Let the union continually grow closer." Musculus wrote: "I joyfully praise the counsel of God, that He has transplanted the Brethren from Bohemia to Poland in order to assist you in acquiring and spreading the knowledge of the Truth." A number of other letters were received all pervaded by the same spirit.

And yet the union so auspiciously inaugurated and warmly commended, did not prosper. At the very next Synod, held at Pinczow, in 1556, the Reformed began to find fault with the Confession of the Brethren and to manifest a singular indecision; although they still said that they desired the introduction of the liturgy.

In order to bring this about the Executive Council sent Israel and Rokita to Little Poland. At Krticic they had a

meeting with Cruciger and other Reformed ministers. Israel told them, in plain terms, that they must declare, without further equivocation, whether they intended to abide by the agreement of Kozminek. Their answers were so confused and unsatisfactory that this conference led to no results. A second meeting, held after Israel's return from a short visit to Cracow, was equally fruitless. This was owing to the arrival of John von Laski at the neighboring Castle of Rabstein.

John von Laski, born at Warsaw in 1499, the scion of an ancient Polish family, was a distinguished Reformer and an illustrious servant of God. Educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood, in part at foreign universities, where he made the acquaintance of Erasmus and of Protestant divines, he attempted to reform Poland without cutting himself loose from the established Church. After eleven years of fruitless labors, he relinquished this effort, espoused Protestantism, went to Belgium, where he married, and, in 1540, settled in East Friesland. In that country he became the founder of the Reformed Church. Nine years later he organized, in England, a flourishing church of refugees from France and the Netherlands. This enterprise came to an end in 1553, in consequence of the persecutions of Bloody Mary. With a part of his flock he now wandered through Denmark, Friesland and Germany, driven from place to place by Roman Catholics and bigoted Lutherans, until 1556, when, in response to pressing invitations, he returned to his native land.

The arrival of their distinguished countryman had produced such excitement among the ministers gathered at Krticic, that they seemed unable to speak of anything else. Israel, who was preparing to depart, reluctantly yielded to their persuasions and accompanied them to Rabstein. Laski gave him a cordial reception, but soon began to find fault with the Confession of the Brethren. Without entering upon this subject Israel bade him farewell and went to Cracow, where he spent Christmas, and had an interview

with Lismanin, who had secretly returned to Poland (1556).[7] On his further journey he met, at Jaldow, soon after Epiphany, 1557, with another distinguished personage.

This was Peter Paul Vergerius, at one time the nuncio at the imperial court and subsequently Bishop of Capo d'Istria, in Dalmatia, where he was born in 1498. He stood high and had every prospect of being appointed a cardinal. While studying the Protestant system with a view to its complete refutation, he became convinced of its truth, resigned his episcopal office, gave up all his flattering prospects, and professed the evangelical faith. After laboring in Switzerland he accepted a position as councilor of the Duke of Würtemberg and, in conjunction with Baron von Ungnad, established a printing press for the publication of Slavonian bibles. At the same time he traveled to various countries in order to make himself acquainted with the progress of Protestantism. To Poland he came in 1556, simultaneously with Aloysius Lipomanus, the Bishop of Verona, who was sent by Paul the Fourth to subdue Protestantism. This pontiff had indignantly refused to grant the concessions asked for by Sigismund Augustus. That the presence of Vergerius helped to counteract the influence of Lipomanus, is more than likely. In any event, the Diet of Warsaw disregarded his vehement and dictatorial demand to uproot heresy, and induced Sigismund to grant the nobles religious liberty on their domains.

This triumph for Protestantism had been won when Israel met Vergerius. Their interview led to important results. Vergerius became one of the most enthusiastic admirers and faithful advocates of the Unitas Fratrum. He declared that it bore a truly apostolic character. He maintained that its Confession embraced a kernel which all Protestants ought to accept. He published this document anew at Tübingen, in

[7] Lismanin, who began to incline toward Socinianism, did not remain in Poland, but secured a position from Duke Albert of East Prussia. About 1563, in consequence of domestic troubles caused by the dissolute manners of his wife, he became insane and committed suicide.

the following year (1558), together with testimonials of Luther, Melanchton, Bucer and Musculus.[8]

Laski was of a different mind. He asked the Swiss Reformers for a new exposition of their views with regard to the Confession of the Brethren, and subjected it to a searching criticism of his own. Lismanin, with the same object in view, also wrote to Switzerland and expressed himself in an unfriendly way. Before any answers were received to these communications, the Reformed and the Brethren again met in Synod, at Wladislaw, June the seventeenth, 1557. Both Cruciger and Laski, influenced, no doubt, by the Protestant nobles, advocated the union of Kozminek, and said that it should be carried out at a later Synod.

To this Synod, which was to meet at Goluchow, Laski, on the twenty-fifth of July, invited the Executive Council to send accredited delegates. Cruciger and another Reformed minister gave a similar invitation.[9] Cerwenka replied that it would be laid before the approaching General Synod of the Unitas Fratrum.

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[8] It was a republication of the Latin Confession printed at Wittenberg in 1538. A German translation of the preface written by Vergerius is given in Comenii Kirchen Historie, etc., Schwabuch, 1739, p. 453.

[9] The three letters are contained in L. F., X.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The State of the Unity in Bohemia and Moravia during the continuance of the Persecution. A. D. 1548–1557.

The Unity oppressed in Bohemia.—Augusta and Bilek.—In Moravia the Brethren enjoy Peace.—Synod of Prerau and Prossnitz.—Augusta's Correspondence with the Council.—Assistant Bishops ordained.—Ferdinand and the Union of the Utraquists with the Catholics.—His interview with the Moravian Diet.—Death of Bishop Sionsky.—Augusta appoints Czerny his Vicar.—Persecution wanes.—Unsuccessful attempt to bring about the Liberation of Augusta.—The Council meets openly in Bohemia.—Augusta forbids the election of new Bishops.—John Blahoslaw.—The Parish of Jungbunzlau.—Death of Wenzel and Daniel.—Augusta's Correspondence detected.—Czerny and Cerwenka appointed Bishops.—Baron Krajek and the Regent.—Renewal of the Persecution.—The Brethren appeal to Maximilian.—Flacius Illyricus and the Unity.—Further Experiences of Augusta.

THE condition of the Brethren who remained in Bohemia was not ameliorated. Public worship ceased altogether; most of the chapels, with the land belonging to them, were either confiscated or in the hands of the Utraquists and Catholics; to confess the true faith was still to run the risk of imprisonment, of bitter sufferings, perhaps of death. A large part of the membership was forced to conform outwardly to the usages of the National Church. In many families dissensions broke out and interfered with the religion even of the home. On royal domains and such other estates as were not owned by members of the Unity, the number of the Brethren decreased about one-half. It was a time of sore tribulation and heavy gloom. And yet even now they were

not left wholly without the means of grace. Pastoral letters circulated among them, written by the Executive Council, and two priests, Paulin and Wenzel Hussita, braving all perils, distinguished themselves by the zeal with which they ministered to the parishes in secret.

Meantime Augusta and Bilek lay in their dark cellars at Pürglitz. In the summer of 1549 the weary monotony of their imprisonment was fearfully interrupted. Excited afresh by the suspicion of intrigues between Augusta and the Elector of Saxony and by the information that there were Bohemian barons who still protected the Brethren, Ferdinand sent two of his confidential councilors to institute a new hearing. On Sunday, August the seventh, they visited the Bishop's dungeon and questioned him very closely. As a sign of what he might expect, they brought the executioner with them. Augusta's answers were the same as at Prague. The next day the commissioners came again and began a still more searching examination, but brought to light nothing that would have satisfied the suspicions of the King. On Tuesday, August the ninth, they appeared a third time and ordered the application of torture. The Bishop was subjected to it, again upon a ladder, his head shorn and his mouth gagged. It was the third ordeal of the kind. But again he passed through triumphantly. On the following day Bilek was lashed to the ladder; but before the act of torturing began, the Governor's wife, by her compassionate pleadings, secured his release.[1]

In Moravia the peace of the Unity remained unbroken. The Executive Council had taken up its seat at Prerau; and at the same place Bishop Mach Sionsky convened the Synod on the twenty-eighth of October, 1549. This body took into consideration the state of the Church both in Bohemia and East Prussia. Some of the conclusions reached were the following:

[1] Bucholtz, VI. p. 440. It was at the Governor's own suggestion that his wife interceded for Bilek.

First, if no priest of the Unity can be secured, children may be baptized by Roman Catholic or Utraquist priests, but the parents are not, on that account, to leave the Brethren; second, the poor, who have greatly suffered during the persecution, are to be better cared for; third, in order to satisfy Speratus, who has written to the Synod on the subject, several young men are to be sent to German universities; fourth, the reasons for the voluntary celibacy of the priests, concerning which he has asked for further information, are to be communicated to him; fifth, all official letters and other historical documents are to be carefully collected and preserved.[2]

Sionsky's report of the constraint under which the Brethren in East Prussia were suffering, was received in silence. Soon after the Synod he began a series of official visits to the Moravian and, as far as possible, to the Bohemian parishes also.

While thus engaged an important change took place in Augusta's situation. The number of his guards had been reduced from twenty to six.[3] In January, of 1550, one of these six, a native of Leitomischl, was bribed to supply him with money, lights, books and writing materials. Augusta at once opened a correspondence with the Council. Everything of importance was reported to him and he gave his opinions as freely and authoritatively as though he were presiding at the meetings of that body. He wrote frequently to the parishes also. A member of the Church took up his residence at Pürglitz in order to receive and forward the letters; at a later time he was relieved by a priest, whom the Council specially intrusted with this duty. The good will of the new Governor, who was set over the Castle in spring, rendered the clandestine use of lights and books unnecessary. He provided Augusta and Bilek with both. Of the correspondence, however, he knew nothing.

After having finished his visits to the churches, Bishop

[2] Dekrete d. B. U. p. 167, cited by Czerwenka. The last resolution, which was owing to the destruction of the archives at Leitomischl, in 1546, (vide p. 152 of this History), led to the collection now known as the Lissa Folios. This collection was begun by Czerny and John Blahoslaw, and continued by the later bishops.

[3] At a later time the number was reduced to three.

Sionsky, in the spring of 1550, convened the Synod at Prossnitz. The future government of the Unity, in view of his possible death and of Augusta's continued imprisonment, formed the subject of anxious deliberations. To elect new bishops and have them consecrated by Sionsky and the two assistants, Wenzel and Daniel, would have been the proper and natural course. But it was not adopted, no doubt because it did not meet with Augusta's approval.[4] Sionsky, however, ordained three new assistant bishops—John Czerny, Matthias Strejc and Paul Paulin—gave them authority to oversee the churches, assigned them dioceses and set them over the entire priesthood.[5] At the same time he conferred upon Wenzel Wroutecky and Daniel Hranicky, the two oldest assistant bishops, power to consecrate bishops.[6]

[4] There is no record showing that Augusta opposed an election of bishops at this time, but as he persistently did so on later occasions, and as his opposition seems to be the only possible reason why such an election was not undertaken, we must take for granted that he had communicated with the Synod on the subject.

[5] Jaffet's Sword of Goliath, I. pp. 15, 19, etc., R's Z., p. 278. *John Czerny* was ordained to the priesthood in 1537 and elected to the Council in 1543. He was a model of piety, diligence and earnestness, worthy of being always remembered. (Todtenbuch, p. 38.) *Matthias Strejc* or Streyc (Vetter) was ordained to the priesthood in 1521 and elected to the Council in 1537—a man of sharp understanding, eloquent, cautious but very timid. He died May the thirteenth, 1555, at Krzizanow.—*Paul Paulin* was ordained to the priesthood in 1540 and became a member of the Council. He was a man of great influence which, however, waned toward the end of his life, partly on account of protracted ill health. He died, at Prerau, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1564. (Todtenbuch, p. 37.)

[6] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 170, cited by Czerwenka. Gindely, I. p. 347, says that Sionsky gave Strejc and Czerny—neither he nor Czerwenka mentions Paulin—authority to convene the Synod and watch over the discipline, but not the power to ordain. And yet he refers to precisely the same authority which we have given, viz.: Jaffet's Sword of Goliath, where we read: Sionsky, "as a prudent man, constituted and set apart episcopal vicars, supported in this arrangement by the first two, viz.: Wenzel Wroutecky and Daniel Hranicky, and added to them Brother Matthias Strejc, Brother Czerny and Brother Paulin. And he imparted to them complete episcopal power, to order all things which they might deem necessary in the churches, gave them dioceses which they were to administer, and set them over the entire priesthood." Gindely himself, moreover, in another

Meanwhile Ferdinand, after having brought about the election of his oldest son, Maximilian, as his successor on the Bohemian throne (February the fourteenth, 1549), strenuously urged the union of the Utraquists with the Catholics. Aided by Mistopol he prepared twelve articles having this end in view, although they were wholly Romish in their tendency. In December these articles were laid before the Diet; but the opposition which they evoked on the part of the Utraquist nobles who, in spite of Mistopol's efforts, were joined by one of his deans and thirty of his priests, was so violent that the King postponed the union to a later period.[7] In order to take off the edge of his disappointment, he sent from Augsburg, to which city he repaired immediately after the Diet, a new decree enforcing the continued persecution of the Brethren. This decree Baron Pernstein made the occasion for oppressing them on his domains, especially at Pardubitz, with still greater severity; while Bishop Sionsky embraced the opportunity to send a letter full of fatherly admonitions to stand fast, to exercise patience and to submit to the will of God.[8]

In April of the following year (1550), Ferdinand met the Moravian Diet at Brünn and tried to induce this body to pass a law against the Brethren living in the margraviate. But he sustained an ignominious defeat. Wenzel von Ludanic, the Governor of Moravia, whose parents belonged to the Unity and who had been educated in its schools, closed a fiery address with these words:

"Most gracious King, when your Majesty swore the oath by which you were constituted Margrave of Moravia, the number of those who held to the pure and unadulterated faith was small.

passage, calls Strejc and Czerny, Vice Seniors, that is, Assistant Bishops. While therefore it is evident that they, together with Paulin, were ordained to this degree, it is not clear what authority, if any, they received with regard to consecrating bishops. For although Jaffet in another part of his Sword of Goliath, II. p. 52, etc., says that they were ordained in order that, in case of necessity, they could consecrate bishops, he practically retracts this position when speaking of the consecration in 1553.

[7] L. F., VIII. p. 2, etc. R's Z. pp. 303–312.

[8] L. F., VIII. p. 2, etc.

This was owing to a want of knowledge of the true worship of God and of the proper use of the sacraments. Now that it has pleased Him to dispel the darkness, we thank Him from the depths of our hearts that He has brought us to a recognition of the Gospel in its purity; and beseech and conjure your Grace not to interfere with this highest good and not to forbid the exercise of our religion. Not one of us will move the breadth of a hair from our conviction. As regards myself, I will rather lose my head than give up my faith. Sooner shall Moravia disappear in fire and ashes than permit coercion in matters of religion."[9]

Turning to the members of the Diet Ludanic asked whether he had correctly expressed their views. A general "Aye!" rang through the chamber. The King, in the hope that a personal appeal would avail, called upon all such as were willing to obey him, to step to one side. Only five barons and two knights responded. When Ludanic saw this, he read aloud the oath which Ferdinand had sworn, as Margrave of Moravia. Full of indignation Ferdinand left the Diet and, soon after, as he stood at the window of his palace, saw, to his still greater chagrin, almost the entire body pass in triumphal procession, escorting the Governor to his home.

On the sixteenth of April, 1552, Bishop Mack Sionsky died at Gilgenburg, in East Prussia. He was a great man, wise, courageous and noble-minded, serving God and the Brethren with all his heart.[10] His death plunged their Church into the utmost perplexity. There were five assistant bishops and the following seven other members of the Executive Council: George Israel, Matthias Cerwenka, Wenzel Cech, George Ujec, Jacob Sidlar, John Husita and Wenzel Holy;[11] but the President of this body and the only

[9] Gindely, I. p. 353.

[10] Sionsky was a tall man and his appearance stately. He was buried in the Polish Bohemian church at Gilgenburg, "behind the little door;" a mural tablet, with a Latin epitaph, was set up by two of his friends, George Cyklowsky and John Lorenz. Matthias Czerwenka preached the funeral sermon. Todtenbuch, pp. 21, 23.

[11] *Cech* was ordained to the priesthood in 1540 and elected to the Council in 1550, a pious and zealous man, possessed of an extraordinary understanding. Died, at Meseritz, March the twentieth, 1560. (Todtenbuch, p. 30.) *Ujec*, ordained to the priesthood in 1534, elected to the Council, at

remaining bishop was still immured within the walls of Pürglitz. To whom should the government of the Church be intrusted? In order to settle this question the Council met on the twelfth of June, in Moravia, but reached no satisfactory conclusion. Hence the Synod was convened. Either by this body or previously by the Council, Augusta was asked for his opinion. He forbid the election of new bishops,[12] but appointed John Czerny as his vicar, giving him authority to preside at the Council, and in connection with its members and especially the other assistant bishops, to govern the Church.[13]

This was the first step in Augusta's downward career. He ought to have allowed the election of a new bishop and to have consecrated him in his dungeon. Such a consecration would, indeed, have been perilous, but not impossible. He was now guarded, comparatively, in a loose way; and one of the men-at-arms being in the pay of the Executive Council, would have done whatever this body asked of him. But Augusta was determined not to be superseded in his episcopal authority. He imagined that his long and terrible sufferings entitled him to rule the Unity even from a prison, and he seems to have had a strong presentiment of his eventual

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New Year, 1550, a distinguished pastor, who led, for many years, a blameless life. Died, at Dacic, in Moravia, February the twenty-seventh, 1560. (Todtenbuch, p. 30.) *Sidlar*, ordained to the priesthood 1531, elected to the Council in 1550, murdered, in 1551, by robbers in a wood near Eibenschütz. He was a brother of John Strejc (Vetter), humble, pious, diligent, beloved by the people and a favorite of the nobles. (Todtenbuch, p. 23.) *Husita*, ordained to the priesthood in 1543, a learned man, studied under Luther at Wittenberg, an eloquent speaker, fond of fun, somewhat proud, very boastful and ambitious. Died, October the twenty-seventh, 1552, at Eibenschütz. (Todtenbuch, p. 24.) *Holy*, ordained to the priesthood, 1753, elected to Council, 1550, a man pleasing to God and the Unity, faithful, diligent, upright and blameless. Died, August the twenty-ninth, 1570, at Brandeis on the Adler. (Todtenbuch, p. 44.)

[12] Czerwenka, I. p. 298. Gindely's account of the meeting of the Council and Synod, L. F., VIII. being his authority, is confused. The Dekrete d. B. U. give no information with regard to these meetings.

[13] Jaffet's Sword of Goliath, I. p. 19, etc. R's Z. p. 279.

liberation. So great was the reverence with which he was regarded, that the Synod submitted to his decision.

In accordance with its enactment a visit to the Prussian and Polish churches was undertaken by John Husita and Cyklowsky.[14] In the former they re-established the usages and customs of the Brethren, which, in many instances, had given way to Lutheran novelties, and recalled the young men who had been sent to the University of Königsberg.

About this time (1551) the persecution waned[15] and many unfaithful members of the Unity, who had turned their backs upon it in the hour of danger, asked to be readmitted to its fellowship. Augusta was consulted with regard to the matter. His decision was, that all such as sincerely repented were to be anew received, with the exception of those who, in order not to lose their property, had refused to emigrate. This decision was accepted and carried out by the Council.

In addition to his correspondence with this body he wrote, while in prison, a number of theological treatises, which are, however, not extant, and composed many hymns. Of these hymns Bilek made an illuminated copy.[16]

The Council now determined to bring about, if possible, the liberation of Augusta. Various circumstances seemed to render such an effort hopeful. The persecution, as has been said, had practically ceased; a decided reaction in favor of the Unity was beginning to show itself among the Bohemian nobles;[17] Ferdinand realized, more and more, that the Brethren could not be suppressed; and in Germany the cause of Protestantism gained new strength through the intrigues

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[14] Cyklowsky was a young, zealous, fiery deacon, ordained to the priesthood in 1553, and destined for the Executive Council to which, it was generally understood, he would be elected by the Synod of 1557, but while on the way to its meeting he died, at Krzizanowa, Friday before St. Bartholomew (August the twenty-fourth). Todtenbuch, p. 28.

[15] Czerny's Narrative, L. F. VIII., p. 40, etc. R's Z., p. 314, etc.

[16] Bilek's original MS. is preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna. Gindely, I. p. 517, Note 88.

[17] L. F. VIII., p. 58, etc., R's Z., contains some remarkable instances of this reaction.

of Maurice of Saxony against the Emperor. So successful was the Council in agitating its project, that a large number of the members of the Diet was won. At its meeting at Prague, in January, 1552, they agreed to petition the King for an amnesty on behalf of all who had taken part in the League of 1547, and especially for the liberation of Augusta and Bilek. John Dubravius, Bishop of Olmütz, the celebrated historian of Bohemia, consented to be the spokesman and addressed Ferdinand in these words:

"All the states here assembled have appealed not only to me but likewise to the other high dignitaries of the kingdom, to the end that we should speak to your Grace with regard to the liberation of your prisoners. They have been languishing long enough and have sufficiently atoned for their faults. In unison with all the states we therefore beg that they may be set at liberty."[18]

Although surprised, the King retained his self-possession, and merely said that he would take time until the next day to consider this request. But it was not until the close of the Diet and only after the Bishop had reminded him of his promise, that he vouchsafed an answer. It was evasive. He must have leisure to consider the question still more carefully; on some future occasion he would make known his decision. Thus saying he turned to leave the chamber while, loud enough for him to hear, Baron Zatecky exclaimed: "Good God, do Thou judge! Those in Pürglitz were tortured; the rest were deprived of their estates; and still one knows not whether one shall or shall not pardon them!"[19]

The disappointment of the Brethren was very great. They had confidently expected the liberation of Augusta. In other respects, however, they were encouraged and grew bolder. The Emperor's disgraceful flight from Innsbruck before Maurice of Saxony, the breaking up in confusion of the Council of Trent, and the negotiations for peace which followed, could not but react favorably upon the Unity in

[18] L. F. VIII., p. 58, etc. R's Z., p. 317.

[19] Czerny's narrative in L. F. VIII., cited by Gindely.

Bohemia.[20] John Czerny openly took up his residence at Jungbunzlau and convened the Council in that town (June the twelfth, 1552). At this meeting the appointment of a new bishop formed the principal subject of deliberation, and a letter to Augusta was agreed on, entreating him to permit an election. But again he declined. The Council—so he wrote—should patiently await his liberation. And again the Council submitted.

This body now devoted itself to the resuscitation of the Church in Bohemia. In such work John Blahoslaw, although a young man, took an active part.

He belonged to a noble family and was born at Prerau, in 1523, on the first Friday of Lent. Having received a thorough education in the schools of the Brethren, at Goldberg under the celebrated Trotzendorf,[21] and at the Universities of Wittenberg, Königsberg and Basel, he was ordained a deacon in 1553, and advanced to the priesthood in the same year. Distinguished for his faithfulness, diligence and learning, he became one of the most noted leaders and eminent writers of the Unity. "In the Bohemian literature of the sixteenth century," says Gindely, "there is not a single work to be found which, for elegance of style, flow of thought and purity of diction, can be compared with the writings of Blahoslaw." [22]

The Church at Jungbunzlau, where he labored under the direction of John Czerny, continued to look up. The chapel

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[20] These negotiations eventuated in the Treaty of Passau, July the hirty-first, 1552, which gave the Protestants of Germany complete religious liberty.

[21] Trotzendorf, so called from his birthplace, his real name being Valentine Friedland, was one of the most celebrated teachers of the sixteenth century, distinguished as a linguist and theologian. His pupils represented all parts of Europe. In 1556, while explaining the twenty-third Psalm, he suddenly said: "Dear hearers, this instant I am summoned to another school," fell over and was dead.

[22] Gindely, I. p. 366; Todtenbuch, pp. 48, 49. Gindely has given a history of Blahoslaw's life, with a complete list of his literary works, in the Bohemian Musealzeitschrift for 1856.

was reopened and worship publicly held; Baron Krajek, who was as devoted a member of the Unity as his illustrious father had been, taking the position that the edicts of the King were directed against the Picards and not against the Brethren.

In autumn, on the Sunday prior to the Day of St. Simon and St. Jude (October the twenty-eighth), Wenzel Wroutecky died at Prostegow. He reached a great age and spent his life in holy works. Not long after, on the thirteenth of January of the following year (1553), his colleague, Daniel Hranicky, followed him into eternity. He too was an aged sire, distinguished for his piety and the righteousness of his life. He was one of the exiles who sought refuge in Moldavia, and was well acquainted with Matthias Corvinus. Both these Assistant Bishops remembered the founders of the Unity, and constituted the last link which united them with a new and more progressive generation.[23]

A few weeks subsequent to the death of Hranicky there occurred, at Pürglitz, an event which led to far reaching consequences. Through the negligence of a servant who was not in the secret, the correspondence which Augusta was carrying on, became known to the Governor (February the tenth, 1553). The Bishop's dungeon was searched, and many letters, together with other papers, were found and seized. After the lapse of two months, during which the uncertainty of the fate awaiting him became daily more painful, he and Bilek were conveyed to Prague and, chained together by the feet, confined in the same cell of the White Tower. They fully expected to be put to death. But when it appeared that Augusta's letters contained exhortations to the Brethren to endure, with unwavering patience, whatever might come upon them; that the letters of the Council related exclusively to the affairs of the Unity; and that nothing of a treasonable or disloyal character could be discovered; the two prisoners were sent back to Pürglitz. There they were put into closer confinement; otherwise their condition remained unchanged.

[23] Todtenbuch, pp. 24, 25.

The news of what had occurred, led the Brethren to fear a fresh outbreak of the persecution; and fervent was their gratitude to God on finding their anticipations to be groundless. After the removal of Augusta to Prague, however, it was commonly rumored that he had been executed. The Executive Council being determined, at all hazards, to emancipate itself from his rule, made use of this rumor, although it could not be substantiated, in order to bring to an issue the question of the appointment of new bishops. A day of fasting and prayer having been observed, the Synod convened, on the fifth of June, 1553, at Prerau. The necessities of the case were discussed and, with great unanimity, it was resolved to elect new bishops. The choice of the Synod fell upon John Czerny and Matthias Cerwenka. But how should they be consecrated, Wenzel and Daniel, whom Bishop Sionsky had empowered to conduct an episcopal ordination, having died? In this emergency the Synod authorized the Assistant Bishops Strejc and Paulin to perform the act of consecration,[24] and after it had been consummated, all the members of the Council laid their hands on Czerny and Cerwenka and blessed them.[25] That this was neither a regular nor a legitimate consecration, is clear. But the Synod deemed the case to be one for which there was no law except that of necessity. Nor did the true succession remain broken; it was renewed by Augusta after his liberation.

Krajek grew more and more earnest in re-establishing the Unity on his domains. At Jungbunzlau he had a new and larger chapel built. It was dedicated on Good Friday, March the twenty-third, 1554, in spite of a royal edict which the Baron received on the previous day, ordering the absolute suppression of the Brethren and the general confiscation of their church property.[26] In consequence of this mandate Krajek sent a memorial to the Regent, in which he protested

[24] Jaffet's Sword of Goliath, I. p. 19, etc. R's. Z., p. 280.

[25] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 173, etc., cited by Czerwenka.

[26] This edict was dated March the ninth, 1554. All nobles who upheld the Brethren were threatened with severe punishments. L. F., VIII. p. 73, etc., cited by Gindely.

against being called a heretic, and asked his intervention with the King on behalf of the Unity. Its other nobles transmitted similar communications. Ferdinand, to whom they were forwarded, was so confounded by their number and tone, that he forgot his edict. Toward the end of the year, however, he issued the strictest orders that it should be observed, except—strange to say!—at Jungbunzlau. The persecution broke out afresh and threatened to become as severe as it had ever been.[27]

In order to devise ways and means to meet this emergency, the Synod was called together on the twenty-fifth of January, 1555. At the suggestion of Krajek, an appeal to the Archduke Maximilian, the future King of Bohemia, was resolved on.

Maximilian was born at Vienna on the thirty-first of July, 1527. Among his tutors were secret Protestants, through whose influence his views on the religious questions of the day became more liberal than his father's. He corresponded with Melanchthon and Paul Eber, applied to the Duke of Würtemberg for the writings of the Reformers, appointed John Pfauser, a Lutheran, his court-preacher, and another Lutheran the tutor of his children.

It was in view of a tendency so decidedly partial to Protestantism that the Brethren hoped for his good will and for toleration through his aid. John Blahoslaw was sent to Vienna as their commissioner. He arrived on the fifteenth of March, 1555, and succeeded in interesting Pfauser in the object of his mission, who promised to prepare the way for further negotiations.[28]

During Blahoslaw's absence, Baron Krajek died, March the eighteenth, 1555, at Jungbunzlau.[29] His death was a severe

[27] About two hundred Utraquist priests, who inclined to Lutheranism, were driven from Bohemia at this time. They fled to Meissen and the Palatinate, where they received consoling letters from Melanchthon.

[28] Blahoslaw wrote a full account of all his visits to Vienna, which narrative has been preserved in L. F., VIII. and reproduced in Quellen, pp. 126–184.

[29] Ernst Krajek was the son of Conrad Krajek. He was buried in the new cemetery at Jungbunzlau, John Czerny delivering the funeral discourse. At a later time a chapel was built over his grave. Todtenbuch, p. 26.

blow to the Unity. The youth and inexperience of his four sons, who inherited his domains, succumbed to the craft of its enemies, so that the new chapel, built by their father, was closed.

On the eleventh of November, of the same year, the Synod met again, at Prossnitz, and resolved to publish a new hymnal—the preparation of which was intrusted to Czerny, Blahoslaw and Adam Sturm[30]—and to take in hand another mission to Maximilian. Blahoslaw was again appointed commissioner and intrusted with the following documents: A petition to Maximilian; a paper giving the reasons why the Brethren had separated from the Roman Catholic Church;[31] the Confession of 1532; copies of the petitions sent, in 1547, to Ferdinand and Charles the Fifth. But Blahoslaw did not see the Archduke in person; he gave the documents to Pfauser, who promised to deliver them. Nor did these visits fulfill the hopes of the Brethren.[32] All that they gained was an indefinite promise, made by Maximilian through his court-preacher, that he would do for them what he could.

In the course of the year 1556 John Czerny carried on a correspondence with the Duke of East Prussia, who desired to secure a priest of the Unity as his court-preacher, which request was declined;[33] and with Flacius Illyricus, the celebrated author of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* and editor of the *Magdeburg Centuries*. It was with regard to this

[30] Sturm was a citizen of Leitomischl at the time when the Brethren emigrated to Prussia and accompanied them. There he lost his wife, and afterward went to Moravia, where he entered the priesthood. At the time of his death, October the fifth, 1565, he had charge of the parish at Leipnik. He was an able hymnologist.

[31] Quellen, pp. 150–159.

[32] A third mission, at the instigation of Vergerius, was undertaken in 1557. It had for its special object the liberation of Bishop Augusta. The Duke of Würtemberg sent, to this end, a very earnest appeal to Maximilian, at the request of a number of Polish nobles. Quellen, p. 179; Croeger, I. p. 298. John Rokita was appointed on this mission, but as he fell ill, Blahoslaw took his place.

[33] Correspondence given in Quellen, pp. 112–121.

work that he wrote to the Council. He wished to enlist the aid of the Brethren in his historical studies. The Brethren —he asserted—were not the spiritual seed of Hus, but descended from the Waldenses. They should commission some one to visit Italy in order to investigate their early history. In his answer to this communication Czerny corrected its mistakes and sent Blahoslaw to Magdeburg so that he might give Flacius a complete account of the origin of the Unity.[34] But Flacius obstinately maintained his position, and nothing could induce him to acknowledge that he had fallen into a gross error. "He is," wrote Blahoslaw in his journal, "a zealous and learned man; he means to be upright; but his highmindedness, obstinacy, and determination never to yield, stand in his way. He might compete with Osiander in pride, quarrelsomeness and inaccessibility to argument. While disputing with me, he became so angry that his hands trembled."[35] The result of Blahoslaw's mission to Magdeburg was, on the one hand, the first History of the Unitas Fratrum,[36] and, on the other, the inveterate prejudice against the Brethren which Flacius thereafter manifested on all occasions.

After Augusta and Bilek had been brought back to Pürglitz, the former fell ill and remained in this state for three months, without a physician, without medicine, without a nurse. Bilek's entreaties to be allowed to minister to him were refused. That under such circumstances the Bishop eventually recovered, was almost a miracle. In the course of time the rigor of their imprisonment was relaxed; and with the permission of the Governor one of their original guards was hired to wait on them. In this way Augusta's correspondence with the Council was resumed. But this

[34] The letter of Flacius is found in Quellen, p. 273, that of Czerny in Quellen, p. 275.

[35] L. F., VIII. pp. 148–154, cited by Gindely.

[36] This is the brief Latin History by Blahoslaw which we have repeatedly quoted and which is found in L. F., VIII. It was written in 1556 and has been published by Goll in his Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Böhm.-Brüder.

body did not follow an open and upright course. The appointment of new bishops was carefully concealed from him, and a series of sermons on the Apostles' Creed, which he had written in prison as a manual for daily worship, was published only in part and in a greatly altered form. The Council did not tell him that this work failed to meet with its approbation; and when he heard of the mutilated edition and reproved Czerny for taking such an unwarranted liberty, a truthful explanation of the case was still withheld. Czerny merely begged his pardon and asked him to allow the abbreviated manual to be used.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Synod of Slezan and the History of the Church in Bohemia and Moravia, to Augusta's liberation. *A. D.* 1557–1564.

The Jesuits in Bohemia.—Centennial Synod at Slezan.—Bishops elected.—Three ecclesiastical Provinces constituted.—Fourth Mission to Vienna.—Ferdinand proclaimed Emperor of Germany.—Meeting of the Executive Council at Jungbunzlau.—Bodenstein applies to be admitted to the Ministry of the Brethren.—Augusta's and Bilek's Condition ameliorated.—Feud of the Bishop with the Council.—Philippine Welser at Pürglitz.—The memorable Easter Festival.—Measures to bring about the Liberation of the two Prisoners.—Removed to the Jesuit College at Prague.—They deny their Faith.—Augusta remanded to Purglitz.—Bilek free.—Excluded by the Council.—Vergerius desires to join the Unity.—Augusta liberated.—Death of the Emperor Ferdinand.

THE concessions which his brother, the Emperor, was obliged to grant the Protestants in Germany, roused Ferdinand to withstand them the more resolutely in Bohemia. In the former country, through the Religious Peace of Augsburg, they were put upon the same footing as the Roman Catholics (September, 1555); in the latter country, a few months prior to the conclusion of this peace, appeared, at the King's own invitation, the Jesuits, in the establishment of whose order he recognized "the finger of God." They came to begin a new crusade against evangelical liberty; and although they encountered great opposition and were exceedingly unpopular even among the Catholics, so that they could, at first, accomplish but little, their patience proved to be inexhaustible and in due time had its reward. For when the Anti-reformation

was inaugurated, they swept Protestantism out of sight and laid afresh upon Bohemia and Moravia the yoke of Rome in all its heaviness.[1]

Antipathy to the Brethren in particular continued to fill Ferdinand's heart. Scarcely a year passed by in which he did not issue a new edict against them. But these edicts failed to revive a general persecution; while in Moravia the Unity prospered.

Amidst such circumstances there convened at Slezan, on the twenty-fourth of August, 1557, the centennial Synod of the Unitas Fratrum.[2] A century had been numbered since its founding at Kunwald. The little seed had grown to be a great tree. This tree had been bruised, its trunk scarred, and some of its boughs broken; but it had always revived and flourished with new vigor. The larger part of Bohemia and Moravia, and many portions of Poland and East Prussia, rejoiced in its refreshing shade. Fervent gratitude to God pervaded the Synod, and its members failed not to realize the obligations which rested upon them to foster the branch of His planting, that to it might come, in ever larger numbers, sinners seeking rest and peace for their souls.

All the members of the Executive Council, more than two hundred priests, and many deacons, acolytes and nobles, attended this Synod.[3] First of all a resolution was adopted

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[1] On the eighteenth of April, 1555, twelve Jesuits, with the famous Peter Canisius at their head, arrived in Prague and took possession of the Dominican monastery, near the bridge, in the *Altstadt*, which edifice Ferdinand had given them. Upon its site, and upon the site of various neighboring churches and other buildings, a new Jesuit college was erected in 1653 and called the Clementinum. It is still standing, and forms a vast pile with a splendid library and other appointments.

[2] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 183, etc., cited by Czerwenka. Slezan was in Moravia, and several other synods were held there; but the name of this town was subsequently changed, so that we cannot, at the present day, determine where it was situated.

[3] Regenvolscius, p. 61. The following nobles were present: Barons Frederick von Zerotin, Frederick von Nachod, Benedict von Bilkow, from Moravia and Bohemia, and Counts Jacob Ostrorog, Raphael Lescinski, John Tomitzki, Albert Marszewski and John Krotoski, from Poland.

to elect two more bishops and thus re-establish the rule according to which four bishops were to stand at the head of the Unity. George Israel and John Blahoslaw were chosen and ordained by Czerny and Cerwenka.[4] Wenzel Cech having obtained a large number of votes, ranked, in the Council, next after the bishops.

In the second place, the position of the Churches in Poland and East Prussia was discussed. They were, as yet, missionary Churches. But the Polish had increased in number and influence, so that they counted between thirty and forty, which were modeled after the Bohemian and Moravian type of the Unity.[5] Its faith had, moreover, been accepted by a majority of the magnates of Great Poland; and Posen, Lissa, Lobsens, Schocken, Ostrorog, Chocz, Barcin, Stawiszyn, Lutomirz, together with other towns, were full of its adherents. In view of such an expansion of the work a change in its character became desirable. With this object in view the Polish representatives petitioned the Synod to set the newly appointed Bishop, George Israel, over the parishes in their country and in East Prussia. This petition was granted; and thus the Polish and Prussian Churches became an integral part of the Unitas Fratrum. At the same time Blahoslaw was commissioned to superintend the Moravian parishes, and Czerny and Cerwenka, the Bohemian. In this way three ecclesiastical Provinces—the Bohemian, the Moravian, and the Polish-Prussian—each with one or more bishops of its own, were formed within the Unity. It was a measure which the Synod did not formally decree, but which resulted from

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[4] This was again an irregular ordination by which, strictly speaking, Israel and Blahoslaw were constituted assistant bishops, in as much as Czerny and Cerwenka, in reality were not bishops, but assistant bishops.

[5] Lukaszewicz, p. 36, says there were thirty parishes in Poland, in 1557; Vergerius, in his Introduction to his new edition of the Confession of the Brethren, says that he found about forty. The number increased, at a later time, to seventy-nine (Lukaszewicz's List). Regenvolscius, pp. 111–113, counts up sixty in Great Poland, more than seven in Little Poland, five in Silesia, and eight in Prussia.

its action, and, by common consent, was thereafter recognized as a part of the constitution of the Church.[6]

In the third place the mutual relations of the Polish Protestants were considered. The decisions given by the Synod, in answer to questions put by the delegates from Poland with regard to this point, tended to foster a union, without impairing the integrity of the Brethren's Church.

Finally the vacancies in the Council were filled, so that this body again numbered twelve members.

In September Blahoslaw undertook a fourth mission to Vienna.[7] He again had frequent interviews with Pfauser, who told him that Maximilian, on reading the letter of the Duke of Würtemberg, had said: "I will remember the Bohemians and would willingly help these good people, if I could accomplish anything with my father. But even if this were possible, my opponents in Bohemia, upon whose influence depends everything which is to be done for that country, stand in the way. Nevertheless if God gives me the government—although I well know that these opponents do not desire this—the Bohemians shall find a happy change. My hope is in God that a change will come to pass." Vague promises like this continued to be the only result of all the efforts the Brethren made to win Maximilian's support. It was a mistaken policy which they were pursuing.

On the third of August, 1556, Ferdinand, as Roman King, assumed the imperial government which, together with the Netherlands, Spain, Naples and the New World, had been resigned by his brother, Charles the Fifth, who thus gave the most notable instance on record of a disappointed life, of a reign blind to its glorious opportunities, and of the frailty of human greatness. Nearly two years elapsed, however, before Ferdinand was acknowledged by the Electors. They met,

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[6] The three Provinces of the ancient Unitas Fratrum correspond to the three Provinces of the Renewed Church—the German or Continental, the British, and the American—which are synodically acknowledged. "Provinces" is the official term by which these parts are known.

[7] Quellen, pp. 182–184.

after protracted negotiations, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, in 1558, and on the twenty-fourth of March proclaimed him Emperor of Germany. He returned to Prague in November, where he was received with grand ceremonies and every demonstration of loyalty.

In the same year the Executive Council of the Unity met at Jungbunzlau. Bishop Augusta being unable to fulfill the duties of Chief Judge, Czerny and Israel were invested with this office. The jurisdiction of the former extended over Bohemia and Moravia; that of the latter, over Poland. Blahoslaw was constituted Cerwenka's assistant as archivist; and various rules were adopted relating to the discipline.[8] At a subsequent meeting this body had to decide an unexpected question. Anton Bodenstein, the distinguished Lutheran divine of East Prussia, who has been mentioned in another connection, applied for admission to the ministry of the Brethren's Church (June the twenty-eighth, 1558). As the enthusiasm with which he had lauded their evangelical character and holy life, when he first became acquainted with them, had subsequently, through the influence of Flacius, changed into violent animosity and active opposition, the Council suspected his sincerity and declined his overture. Unabashed by this rebuff, he made two more attempts to gain his object. But the Council remained firm.[9]

Meantime the Archduke Ferdinand had been frequently coming to Pürglitz in order to hunt in its forests. His presence at the Castle, according to royal usage, brought about an amelioration in the condition of the two prisoners. By far the greatest benefaction which it conferred upon them, was the removal of the shutters from their cellar-windows, so that they could see the light of day.

Through the death of the man by whose aid Augusta had carried on his correspondence, it was, about this time, interrupted for a season. In 1559, however, two noble ladies, members of the Unity, visited Pürglitz, brought a number of

[8] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 185, etc., cited by Czerwenka.

[9] Quellen, pp. 240–255, contains the entire correspondence.

letters, and were permitted to have several interviews, at meal-times, with both the prisoners. Before leaving these ladies engaged another servant to further the correspondence.

It was on the occasion of their visit, and either through them or through the letters which they brought, that Augusta, for the first time, heard of the election and ordination of new bishops. Disappointed ambition, wounded pride and intense anger inflamed his heart. Without stopping to weigh the circumstances of the case, without giving it a moment's reflection, he seized his pen and wrote to the Council, declaring the acts of the Synod of 1553 illegal and fulminating an anathema against its leaders. This first letter he followed up with a number of others, all conceived in the same dictatorial spirit and bristling with similar harsh words.

The Council met at Zerawic in order to consider these communications; and resolved to maintain its ground. A reply was framed setting forth: that the Unity was to be governed not by one bishop, but by four bishops, in accordance with the testament of Luke; that no bishop could undertake anything without the consent of his colleagues, and that all the bishops, as a body, were bound to consult the Council; that these were fundamental principles of the constitution, which principles must be maintained, at all hazards.[10]

By this reply the Council practically cut itself loose from the authority of its President. And this Augusta well understood. Hence his anger rose to such a pitch that he thought of disowning the Brethren and forsaking the Unity. It was a desperate idea, born of his passion, and rejected as soon as he had grown calm again. Nevertheless the position which he now assumed formed the second step in his downward career. It is true that he had been deceived, by having, for six years, been allowed to believe that he was the only bishop. It is true that such a course evinced, on the part of the Council, not only a want of common integrity but also a consciousness of guilt, and in itself considered was unbrotherly and

[10] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 202, cited by Czerwenka.

unmanly. It is true that he had a right to expect more consideration and reverence at the hands of those over whom he was set and to whom he had given an example of endurance for the Gospel's sake almost unparalleled in history. But none of these things justified his anger, his ambitious preference of himself above the interests of the Church, his unworthy fear of being superseded, his painful lack of that dignified humility and blameless deportment which are the fairest characteristics of a bishop.

In the following year (1560), the Archduke brought to the Castle, Philippine Welser, his beautiful wife, whom he had secretly married in 1550; and appointed Ladislaus von Sternberg its Governor.[11] The Baroness von Sternberg was to be Philippine's companion. For Augusta and Bilek the coming of these ladies, and of the new Governor, proved to be the beginning of a better time. Both Sternberg and his wife manifested a deep interest in their welfare; visited the Bishop and advised him to draw up a petition asking to be set free. Sternberg presented this paper to the Archduke, who received it graciously and forwarded it to his father. Ferdinand, since the Diet of 1552, had taken no further notice of the request which the Bishop of Olmütz at that time had made, and had persistently declined to entertain any other of the same character. Now, however, he wrote to his son that Augusta and Bilek should be liberated provided they were willing to recant unconditionally and join the Catholic Church. He added that no further steps should be taken in the case without the sanction of the Jesuits at Prague.

Six articles, in all probability formulated by these Fathers, were accordingly laid before Augusta, who rejected them at once. By the advice of Sternberg he however drew up a

[11] Philippine Welser was the daughter of a rich patrician of Augsburg and celebrated for her beauty and extraordinary talents. The Archduke's father was greatly displeased with the marriage which, for eight years, he refused to recognize. In 1558, however, he became reconciled to it, and created Philippine, Margravine of Burgau. She died in 1580. The marriage proved to be one of uninterrupted happiness.

paper of his own, setting forth his doctrinal position. This paper could be understood in two ways and was pronounced insufficient both by the Catholic and Utraquist Consistories. The theological discussions which Augusta had with the Arch-duke's chaplain John, led to no better results.

But now, through the Baroness Sternberg, Philippine Welser's sympathy was aroused. In April of the year 1561, on the day prior to her departure for Prague, where she intended to spend the Passion Week and Easter Festival with her husband who had preceded her to that city, she came, accompanied by her retinue, into Augusta's dungeon and told him to ask for a boon which, if within her power, she promised to fulfill. In response to this gracious offer the Bishop begged that he and Bilek might be permitted to spend the approaching Easter festival in fellowship and freedom; reminding her that, in the days of Christ, the Roman governor was wont, at the Passover Feast, to release a prisoner unto the people. Having assured Augusta that his wish should be granted, she entered Bilek's dungeon and inquired what favor she should secure for him. Great was her astonishment and deeply was she moved, when he asked for the very same boon and almost in the same words as Augusta. On reaching Prague she informed her husband of what she had done, and besought him to comply with the request of the prisoners. His chaplain, whose sympathy had been enlisted by a Catholic noble—a friend of the Brethren—came to her aid. In the confessional, on Maundy Thursday, he urged the Regent to consent. Against such persuasions the Archduke could not hold out. He wrote to Sternberg and directed him to accord to the two prisoners, during the three days of the Easter Festival, the freedom of the Castle. This letter reached Pürglitz on Good Friday. The Baroness Sternberg ran to the dungeons to tell the good news. While conversing with Bilek, her husband came and communicated the Regent's letter. Then he asked Bilek: "How long is it since you have seen Augusta?" "It is eight years," was the reply, "since we have seen each other." On hearing this the Baron told Bilek

to come into the court-yard, sending, at the same time, for Augusta. In great but joyful agitation Bilek obeyed, and sat down on one of the chairs which had been brought by order of the Governor. "Will you recognize Augusta?" said he. Before Bilek could answer, Augusta appeared. With a gush of tears the two men fell into each other's arms. The Baron and his wife wept with them. And now, sitting in the courtyard, under the open canopy of heaven, which had for so long a time been hidden from their eyes, they spent two hours in happy converse. Then each returned to his dungeon.

One of the most spacious and beautiful rooms in the Castle was the Knights' Hall, constructed in the Gothic style, with eight grand windows and a splendidly decorated ceiling. In this apartment, on the next day, Augusta and Bilek, in the presence of all the inmates of Pürglitz, gave their parole to the Governor. "See, dear son," said the Bishop to his Deacon, "now we can rejoice; now men have faith again in our honor!" Easter-Day, together with Monday and Tuesday of Easter Week, constituted the brief period of their liberty. They bore themselves with dignified prqpriety, manifested the utmost cheerfulness, and thanked God for His mercy. On Easter Day, of their own accord, they came to the chapel and were present both at the service of the mass and during the preaching of the sermon.[12] Baron Sternberg was completely won by their conduct, invited them to dine with him every day, and failed not to give the Regent, on his return, a most favorable report of all that had occurred. Indeed the Governor openly said, that he believed that God had sent him to Purglitz in order to bring about Augusta's and Bilek's liberation.

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[12] The castle-chapel is situated next to the large round keep, and constitutes one of the most interesting parts of Pürglitz. It is Gothic in style, with light, bold arches; its walls are decorated with carvings in wood; the door leading into the sacristy is a master-piece of such carving; and the altar, whose exterior is adorned with pictures, can be opened and displays in the interior a magnificent group, carved in wood and representing the crowning of the Virgin Mary. At the present day divine worship is generally held in the Knights' Hall, the chapel being considered unsafe.

Hence he urged the Regent to set them free. Philippine did the same, with loving words and tender caresses.

The Archduke interposed no further objections; but, believing that his father would never consent unless the two prisoners recanted, suggested that they should be sent to Prague and receive instruction at the hands of the Jesuits. To this proposal Augusta strenuously objected. On receiving a promise that no coercion should be used, he at last gave way. This was another and a fatal step in the downward course of the Bishop.

On the third of May he and Bilek were taken to Prague by William von Hradesin, who hired lodgings for them in a private house and put no restraint upon their movements; but so many people came to visit them, and whenever they showed themselves in the streets such a sensation ensued, that they were removed to the Jesuit College (May the sixth). There they spent fifty-one days. They were well treated but not allowed to receive their friends.[13] Their religious instruction was undertaken by the Rector, Doctor Henry Blissem. He met with no success. A report of the discussions—which had been carried on with Augusta alone and in the Latin language—was sent to the Utraquist Consistory. But this body declined to express an opinion, and instead, transmitted fifteen articles recently agreed upon by the Utraquist states. These articles Augusta accepted, and wrote to the Regent for permission to leave the Jesuit College and confer with the Utraquist Consistory. At this request the Regent took offence and replied, in very sharp words: that Augusta, having been born among the Utraquists, was well acquainted with their doctrines and needed no instruction in them; that the time had now come for him simply to declare which faith, the Utraquist or the Catholic, he would in future confess. Augusta's unhappy rejoinder was given on the twenty-fourth

[13] Augusta and Bilek daily came out on the balcony of the College to breathe the fresh air. At such times their friends and many other people assembled in the street below; conversation was, however, strictly forbidden.

of June. He said that he and Bilek would hold to the Utraquist Church. As soon as the Jesuits heard of this they refused to have any further dealings with them. On the twenty-sixth they were removed to Sternberg's house, and informed that Bilek was to remain at Prague but Augusta to return to Pürglitz. In vain were Bilek's entreaties to be allowed to share the Bishop's fate. The Jesuits had advised this separation. On the twenty-seventh, Augusta was carried back to his dungeon.

This was a hard blow for the fallen Bishop. He had taken the last step in his downward career. He had denied the faith, brought shame upon the Brethren, and given his adhesion to that Church whose gross corruptions no hand had more unsparingly laid bare than his own. All this he had done that he might be free; but alas, instead of liberty came the dreariness, the dismal solitude, the now doubly irksome durance of his old prison!

While the course which Bishop Augusta pursued was wrong, it may be explained, if not extenuated. For thirteen years he had been a staunch confessor of the truth. It was not his intention to deny it even now. He persuaded himself that with it could be reconciled the step which he was taking.[14] That he quieted his conscience with such quibbles was the rock on which he stranded. But even this rock he would have avoided, had it not been for his estrangement from the Council. Through this unfortunate rupture feelings were engendered which, intensified by his pride, his haughty spirit, his inordinate desire to rule, carried him away headlong.

[14] This is evident from a passage in the letter sent to by him the Council, in 1561—of which letter more hereafter. "When it was left to your choice," says this document, "to join either the Romish or the Utraquist Church, you gave your adhesion to the latter, because, as you say in your communication to Baron Sternberg, you were born in this Church. Further on in your letter you turn about, and add that you cannot forsake the Unity. In saying this you shift from side to side in a most remarkable manner, and set forth the position of the Utraquist party in a very different way from the well-known one, in order to keep a back door open through which you can go." Gindely, I. pp. 456, 457.

Augusta's fall presents an illustration, as sad as it is notable, of the words of the Lord: "If thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness." [15]

Bilek spent a month in the White Tower at Prague. On the twenty-fifth of July he was examined by several members of the Utraquist Consistory, and answered their questions satisfactorily. Thereupon — much to his dismay — he was required to accept the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the hands of a Utraquist priest, and to sign a bond denying the Brethren and promising to adhere to the Utraquist Church.[16] On the fourth of August, 1561, after an imprisonment of thirteen years, fourteen weeks and two days, he was set at liberty. He hurried to Pürglitz, entered the service of Sternberg and, in this way, gained opportunities to minister to his Bishop, to whom he continued to cling with touching faithfulness. He was eventually reinstated in the ministry, and died on the first Sunday in Advent, 1581, as the priest of the parish at Napagedl.[17]

In spite of his breach with Czerny and the other Bishops, Augusta did not cease to write to them; and while he was staying at the Jesuit College sent them a very severe letter, demanding a renewal of their allegiance to him as the head of the Unity. On the other hand, these Bishops had been fully informed of all that had occurred at Prague, and had even received, probably through Augusta himself, a copy of the paper in which he declared his adhesion to the Utraquist Church. Under such circumstances they convened the Executive Council at Prerau and laid before this body the facts and documents of the case. A resolution was unanimously adopted, to send Augusta a final and decisive answer. This

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[15] Matthew 6: 23.

[16] The questions put to him by his examiners were such as he could conscientiously answer; the priest whom he selected to administer the sacrament belonged to the Lutheran wing of the Utraquists and did not require him to recant any of the doctrines of the Unity; but no excuse can be found for his signing the bond.

[17] Todtenbuch, p. 69.

paper has been preserved.[18] It is dignified but severe; rejects his claims; denounces his overture to the Utraquists as a base act; declares that, as long as he remains obdurate and manifests the implacable spirit by which he is animated, he is to have no further part in the government and guidance of the Unity; and appeals to the Lord to judge between him and the Council.

At this same meeting a very different question came up for decision. Toward the end of 1560 Vergerius had addressed a letter to the Bishops, begging to be received into the fellowship of their Church. He reminded them of what he had done to further its cause, and asked that the Brethren should provide for him during the remainder of his life, as also for a servant, two secretaries, a coachman and a pair of horses. He said that he would give an equivalent by laboring for the Unity still more zealously, and assured them that he made this overture not because he was in need, but because their discipline, their life, their Church in every other respect had captivated his heart. This lettter the Bishops had not answered. In March, 1561, he wrote again, to Rokita by name, and begged for a speedy reply. And now the Council was asked for its opinion. The service which Vergerius had rendered was fully acknowledged; his admission to the Unity did not appear desirable, yet could not well be avoided. A reply was accordingly framed, informing him that the Brethren would receive and care for him; but asking whether he had fully considered the step he proposed to take and realized all that it involved. This hint Vergerius understood, and dropped the negotiations. "After receiving our answer," write the Brethren, "he left us in peace."[19]

The liberation of Bilek led the Bishops and Council to believe that Augusta would soon be set free. They still feared his influence; in any case it was desirable to define his

[18] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 203, etc. Gindely, I. pp. 454–458 gives it in full, in a German translation.

[19] L. F., IX. pp. 297–300, cited by Gindely; Quellen, pp. 255–258, giving the letters of Vergerius in full; Comenii Hist., §§ 96, 97.

relation to the Unity. On the thirteenth of April, 1562, the Synod met at Prerau. First of all a statute was framed and signed, committing the government of the Church anew to its four Bishops, in conjunction with the Council; and defining explicitly the duties both of the former and of the latter. In the next place it was determined, that if Augusta and Bilek should come among the Brethren, their temporal wants should be cared for, but they should not be allowed to perform ministerial functions; in case they demanded a hearing, they should be referred to the Council. At the same time, in guarded language, an act of exclusion was adopted.[20] Such was the reception which awaited the fallen Bishop.

The paper sent by the Council in 1561 had plunged him into a pitiful state. That extraordinary energy of character which had upheld him amidst former trials, seemed to be gone. He murmured hopelessly and ceased not to complain that, after all his sufferings, the Unity had cast him off. One end, however, he steadily kept in view. He would be free. At the intercession of Sternberg, the Regent sent for the Utraquist priest who had given Bilek the Communion. This priest came to Pürglitz, had an interview with the Bishop, and reported to the Consistory that he was willing to receive the sacrament. Mistopol, however, raised objections, and drew up a formula of recantation. This Augusta refused to sign.

But now Maximilian—who had been crowned King of Bohemia on the twentieth of September, 1562, at Prague, by Anton Brus, its new Archbishop—interested himself in the case, begging his father to set Augusta free. With this end in view he was once more removed to Prague (April the ninth, 1563) and confined in the White Tower. There Mistopol visited him, and promised him liberty if he would recant. Augusta declined, saying that he had taught no

[20] "We have not condemned Augusta and Bilek; their acts have excluded them from our communion and deprived them of the priestly office in the Unity." Dekrete d. B. U., p. 213, cited by Czerwenka, and in full by Gindely, I. pp. 462, 463.

errors. Other attempts to elicit a formal recantation were equally fruitless. The Regent became angry, not only on this account but also because Augusta, in accordance with the truth, denied having recently written letters, and on the twenty-fourth of May, ordered him to be taken back to Pürglitz. Again therefore the unfortunate Bishop entered his dismal cellar and resumed its weary life. In the beginning of the next year (1564), however, once more through the intervention of Maximilian, he was, for the third time, sent to Prague, where lodgings were provided for him at the house of John von Waldstein. Neither the Utraquist nor the Catholic clergy took any notice of him; but his friends were instant in appealing both to the Emperor and to Maximilian for his release. In spring Ferdinand fell ill. Deeming his end at hand, he gave orders to liberate Augusta unconditionally, except that he was forbidden to preach. The day on which he regained his liberty is not known; his imprisonment lasted a few weeks less than sixteen years. Accompanied by Bilek he immediately betook himself to Jungbunzlau, where they spent Easter in fellowship with the Brethren.

In the following summer, on the twenty-fifth of July, 1564, the Emperor Ferdinand died. He had failed to reach the goal of his long reign. Protestantism was not suppressed; the Unitas Fratrum was not destroyed; every victory that he gained in his life-long conflict with evangelical truth, eventually resulted to its advantage. Whether he deserves the praise which even many Protestant writers give him, let that history tell which these pages have set forth!

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Polish Branch of the Unitas Fratrum; its Relation to the Reformed and Lutherans; and renewed Correspondence with the Swiss Divines.
A. D. 1557–1564.

A Delegation to Goluchow.—John Lorenz.—Conference at Leipnik.—Lismanin sends the Confession of the Brethren to the Swiss Reformers.—Their unfavorable Opinion.—Mission to Switzerland of Rokita and Herbert.—Interference of Vergerius and Duke Christopher of Würtemberg.—Herbert and the Swiss Theologians.—Synods of Xionz, Posen and Buzenin.—Polish Confession of the Brethren.—Colloquy with the Antitrinitarians.—Edict against foreign Heretics.—The Polish Confession presented to the King.

THE invitation which the Executive Council received from Laski and his coadjutors, to send representatives to a convocation of the Reformed at Goluchow, was laid before the General Synod of Slezan and accepted. George Israel, John Rokita, Gallus Drewinek and John Lorenz were appointed delegates (October, 1557).[1]

Of these men John Lorenz deserves special notice. He fills one of the most prominent places in the history of the Polish branch of the Church. Born at Kijow, in Moravia, in 1519, he studied under Trotzendorf at Goldberg, under

[1] Sources for this chapter are: Lukaszewicz, p. 36, etc.; Dekrete d. B. U., pp. 188–201, cited by Czerwenka; and L. F., X. cited by Gindely. Gallus Drewinek, or Drzewjnek, was born at Pilgram. He was a Bachelor of the University of Prague and originally a Utraquist priest. After having joined the Brethren, in 1543, he had charge of various parishes, was elected to the Council in 1553, and died at Prostegow, in October, 1563. He was a learned, diligent and pious man. Todtenbuch, p. 36.

Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and at the University of Königsberg. Having declined a brilliant offer to enter the service of the Bishop of Olmütz as his chancellor, he devoted himself to the ministry of the Brethren, was ordained a priest in 1555, took charge of the parish of Kozminek, and subsequently of that of Tumaszow, in his native country. There he labored until his appointment as Israel's assistant at Ostrorog. While yet a student he fell into the hands of robbers who would have killed him, if he had not escaped through the aid of one of their own number whose heart relented; on another occasion God himself delivered him, in a wonderful way, as he was passing through a forest, from the jaws of a hungry wolf.[2]

There was not a single Reformed minister at Goluchow when the delegates arrived. After some days a tardy messenger brought a letter informing them that the Synod had been postponed on account of the illness of Laski. Justly displeased that they had not been notified, before leaving home, of this postponement, they proceeded to visit several of the churches of Great Poland. At Tomice they met Lismanin, with whom they had a protracted doctrinal discussion.

In the following year Laski, after having failed, through the interference of the Königsberg divines, in inducing Duke Albert to co-operate with him in preparing, upon the basis of the Augustana, a Confession for Poland, turned once more to the Brethren, and proposed a conference at any place which the Council might designate in Bohemia or Moravia. Always ready to promote unity among Christ's followers, the Council, in spite of what had occurred at Goluchow, accepted this new overture. At Leipnik, in Moravia, on the twentieth of October, 1558, the Bishops gave a fraternal welcome to distinguished representatives of the Reformed Church, and discussed with them private confession, justification, the Lord's Supper, fast days and other similar subjects. In no

[2] Fischer, I. p. 246; Croeger, II. pp. 17, 18.

particular did the Bishops recede from their position; and when the Calvinists brought out a Polish version of the Unity's Confession of 1535, with fifteen emendations by Laski, and urged that this document should be mutually accepted and conjointly published, Cerwenka, in the name of his colleagues, rejected the proposal. He promised, however, to send Laski, who was not present, a paper setting forth, more at length than in their Confession, the views of the Brethren with regard to the Lord's Supper. On the twenty-seventh of October the delegates returned to Poland.[3]

In due time such an exposition was furnished. Lismanin forwarded it, together with the Confession of 1535, to Calvin, Musculus, Viret and Bullinger, asking these divines for their opinion (1560). The letters which they wrote in reply and to which Lismanin failed not to give the greatest possible publicity, confounded the Brethren like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. The Swiss theologians who, in 1540, had put into their hands glowing testimonials, now disapproved of their doctrinal standards. Their good name and influence were at stake in Poland. Something must be done, and done at once, to counteract the bad impression which had been made. Accordingly in May, 1560, the Council commissioned John Rokita and Peter Herbert to go to Switzerland and ask for an explanation of the singular change in the sentiments of its Reformers.[4]

The two deputies stopped at Göppingen, in Würtemberg, and delivered to Vergerius a letter from the Bishops, asking his advice. This was an unfortunate step. Vergerius tried to prevent the mission to Switzerland; introduced the deputies to Duke Christopher and his guest, Wolfgang the Palatine of the Rhine; and persuaded them to present to

[3] After the holding of this conference Laski no longer opposed the Brethren. He died two years later (1560).

[4] Peter Herbert was ordained to the priesthood in 1562, two years after this mission to Switzerland. He was a distinguished man, faithful and learned. In course of time he was elected to the Council, and died at Eibenschütz, October the first, 1571. Todtenbuch p. 47.

the former an unauthorized paper appealing to him for aid and protection in case the Brethren should be driven from their homes.[5] In reply the Duke advised the deputies to relinquish their mission, but expressed his satisfaction that the Brethren held to the true faith. "Cautious and wise man that he was," says Blahoslaw, "he put them off in a way characteristic of the Suabian." Rokita yielded and instead of going to Switzerland, returned to Bohemia with the Duke's letter. The interference of Vergerius and Rokita's unfaithfulness to his commission, excited in a high degree the displeasure of the Council.[6]

Meanwhile Herbert proceeded to Switzerland. The first divine with whom he had an interview was Bullinger, at Zurich, who said that he could not remember having expressed sentiments unfavorable to the Brethren, and gave Herbert a very fraternal letter addressed to the Council. On the twenty-fourth of June Hebert arrived at Bern, where he had a protracted conference with Musculus. He told him that the Council hoped he would retract the unfavorable opinion which he had sent to Bohemia. This Musculus declined doing, but cheerfully consented to explain, in writing, what he had meant by his criticisms. They related, he said, merely to those points in the Confession which seemed to him to be defective, without intending to call in question the many other excellent points that had, on a former occasion, elicited his praise. "As regards myself," he added, "I entertain toward you and your Churches those feelings which ought to be cherished toward faithful Christians and brethren greatly beloved." His concluding words were the following:

"I commend myself to your intercessions. Pray to the Lord, that He may, through the power of His Spirit, keep me, in my old age, faithful unto the end, and supply what I lack of strength

[5] This paper was composed by Vergerius but signed by Rokita and Herbert.

[6] Letters and documents relating to the negotiations with Vergerius and the Duke, are found in L. F., IX. and reproduced in Quellen, pp. 185–193.

of body and mind, not permitting me, who am an unprofitable servant, to fall away from His grace. Salute your Churches most heartily, and admonish them that with prayers to God our Father rather than with a war of words, they may contend with the adversaries." [7]

On the twenty-eighth of June Herbert reached Geneva, delivered to Calvin the letter of the Bishops, and begged him to convene the Reformed theologians of the city. When they had assembled, Herbert addressed them, setting forth the injury that they had done to the Brethren in Poland. "Is it therefore your opinion," said Calvin in reply, "that we have been deceived by lies and in consequence have written falsely against you and given rise to evil prejudices against your Church?" Herbert rejoined, that this was presenting the case from an extreme point of view; explained, once more, what the Brethren complained of; and added that Calvin, if he objected to their Confession, ought to have written to them and not to their enemies. As reasons for not having done this, Calvin assigned the want of letter-carriers and the great distance at which he lived from the Brethren. To the Reformed of Poland he had written, because they had asked him to do so. Of the polemical tone which pervaded the Apology of the Brethren and especially of its obscurity, he could not approve. Herbert answered: that the polemical tone of the Apology, particularly in the article of the Lord's Supper, was occasioned by disputes with the Habrowanites, whose assertion that this sacrament is a bare sign the Brethren rejected, because the words of Christ, when instituting the Lord's Supper, ought to be strictly upheld, otherwise they would become vain words, and believers would be deluded by empty signs and spectacles; that the religious disputes which were agitating Poland could certainly not be laid at the door of the Brethren; that Bohemia was nearer than Poland, and that it would have been easier for Calvin to write to the former than to the latter country.

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[7] Letter of Musculus, Quellen, pp. 206, 207.

After this conference had come to an end, Viret and Beza both excused themselves for the letters which they had sent to Poland, telling Herbert that they had been misled.

On the following day he was invited to a dinner given by the entire body of Reformed theologians. It took place at the house of Beza; and at its close Calvin told Herbert that they wished to assure him of the love they bore to the Brethren and begged him to accept a paper which he had written in the name of his colleagues.

This paper was addressed "To the faithful servants of Christ, who proclaim the pure Gospel in Bohemia, our beloved fellow-ministers and brethren in the Lord;" and after a few introductory remarks, gave expression to the following fraternal sentiments:

"We return to you our sincere thanks that you have sent to us a brother as a witness to our love and Christian communion, and rejoice the more because you have done this out of pure and pious hearts. Therefore we beg you not to doubt that we earnestly desire to abide in a close fellowship with you. Such a fellowship is to us a source of comfort, in view of the distance by which we are separated and the enemies that surround us. Hence, with one accord, we testify, that we have one Father in heaven and are one body of which Christ is the Head. That such are our sentiments, we are prepared to show by our deeds."

The letter then proceeds to discuss the points at issue. It encourages the Brethren to extend the hand to the Polish Reformed, in order that the pure doctrine of the Gospel may have free course; it tells them that the article on the Lord's Supper, in their Confession, is too brief and obscure, and their Apology too polemical: it denounces those who under the shadow of the Augustana seek peace and rest, although not entertaining its views, and thus escape tribulations, odium and crosses; and closes, as it began, with words of friendship and of love. This letter was signed by Calvin and all his colleagues, thirteen in number.[8]

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[8] The letter of the Geneva divines is found in full in Quellen, pp. 203–206, which work contains a complete account of Herbert's mission, pp. 193–207, taken from L. F., IX.

Thus was renewed the bond of union between the Swiss Reformers and the Brethren; but to suppose that they had now come, or ever after came, to a full doctrinal understanding with one another, would be wide of the mark.

Some time after Herbert's return to Poland, where his recent mission had served to increase the influence of the Unitas Fratrum, a Synod was held at Xionz (September, 1560). The deliberations, which were loud, vehement and more like those of a Polish diet than of an ecclesiastical body, related almost exclusively to the government of the Reformed Church.[9] In the interests of union nothing was done; and Rokita and Lorenz, the delegates of the Brethren, had no occasion to take an active part in the proceedings. Otherwise, however, their relations to the Reformed members were of a friendly character and they mutually agreed to propose to the Lutherans a conference of the three churches.[10]

It took place at Posen, on the first of November, of the same year, but led to no understanding and did not further the cause of union. Influenced by Flacius Illyricus, the Lutherans manifested an open antagonism to the Brethren; while the Reformed, on the contrary, continually drew closer to them. At a subsequent convocation, held at Buzenin, on the sixth of January, 1561, the compact of Kozminek was renewed; both parties agreed to attend each others synods without invitation; and the Brethren promised to submit to the Reformed, before publishing it, the Polish version of their

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[9] An executive committee, or consistory, numbering three ministers and three nobles, was, on this occasion, appointed to govern the Reformed Church. These nobles received the title of *Seniores politici*. It was this arrangement which led Zinzendorf to introduce in the Renewed Brethren's Church the office of *Seniores civiles*, who were to assist the Bishops in all matters not of a spiritual character and especially to negotiate with civil governments. Men of noble birth were generally appointed and received a special ordination. This office no longer exists.

[10] Comenius in his Hist., §§ 99–102, disapproves of this Synod and speaks in very severe terms of the political and carnal wisdom which, in his judgment, guided its deliberations.

Confession. This promise was fulfilled in 1562; in the following year the Confession appeared in print.[11]

The spread of Antitrinitarian views within the Reformed Church, gave to its fellowship with the Unitas Fratrum a new and urgent importance. Laelius Socinus had planted the germ of this heretical system in Poland, in 1551; and now it had grown to alarming proportions. The Antitrinitarians began to constitute an influential party, with Gregory Pauli at its head, and many Reformed ministers in its ranks. Sarnicki, a zealous Calvinist, pointed out to the Diet the growing danger. A Colloquy was agreed on, with the hope of winning Pauli back to the true faith. It took place at Cracow, but failed to accomplish this end (1563). In his opening address George Israel said, that the Protestants of Poland would not present so lamentable a spectacle of divisions and feuds, if the compact of Kozminek had not been so utterly neglected.

The Roman Catholics, too, were alarmed by the rapid increase of Antitrinitarianism, and induced Sigismund Augustus to issue an edict banishing all foreign heretics (August the seventh, 1564). Its execution was intrusted to John Koscielecki, Governor of Great Poland. Being one of the most implacable enemies of the Brethren, he enforced it against all such among them also as had been born in Bohemia and Moravia. But the magnates of the Church came to their rescue. A deputation, consisting of Jacob Ostrorog—a favorite of the King—Raphael Leszcynski, John Krotowski, Albert Marszewski, and accompanied by John Lorenz, appeared before Sigismund, presented the Polish version of the Confession of the Unitas Fratrum, and persuaded him to issue a second decree (November the second, 1564), addressed specially to Koscielecki, exempting the Brethren from the

[11] It was a translation of the Confession of 1535, presented to Ferdinand. Gindely asserts that the title which sets this forth is incorrect and that it was a version of the Confession of 1564, presented to Maximilian. But this latter document constituted merely a revised edition of the Confession of 1535.

penalty of the first. This measure affected Koscielecki in such a way that he fell sick and died.[12] A year later the governorship of Great Poland, through the resignation of his successor, Luke Gorka, passed into the hands of Jacob Ostrorog. Under his administration the Brethren prospered, and the only mode of attack remaining to the Catholics was the pen. In this warfare Benedict Herbst, Prebendary at Posen, was their champion; while James Niemojewski, an influential noble of the Reformed faith, entered the lists on behalf of the Brethren.

[12] The hatred which Koscielecki bore to the Brethren was so great that when he was on his death-bed he sent, so it is said, for his court-fool and ordered him to make sport of their religious ceremonies. Lukaszewicz, p. 47.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Augusta reconciled to the Council. The Synod of Sendomir in Poland. A. D. 1564–1570.

Meeting of the Bishops at Leipnik.—Reconciliation with Augusta.—Death of Vergerius.—Increasing hostility of the Lutherans in Poland.—Benedict Morgenstern.—A Lutheran Synod against the Brethren.—Joint Synod at Posen.—Twelve reputed Errors.—Decision of the Synod of Prerau.—Lorenz at Wittenberg.—Favorable Opinion of the Theological Faculty.—Controversies wane.—Synod of Sendomir.—Alliance between the Brethren and Reformed and Lutherans.—Consensus Sendomiriensis.—Further Union, at Posen, of the Brethren and the Lutherans.

After spending the festival of Easter at Jungbunzlau, Bishop Augusta proceeded to Leipnik, in Moravia, where he met, on the Day of St. Mark (April the twenty-fifth), 1564, Cerwenka, Czerny and Blahoslaw. The details of this conference are not known, but its result was auspicious. A complete reconciliation took place between Augusta and his colleagues, and he was reinstated in his episcopal seat. At the same time the constitutional provision, that not less than four bishops should stand at the head of the Church and eight or nine priests constitute the other members of the Council, was anew ratified.[1]

[1] L. F., X. cited by Gindely; Jaffet's Sword of Goliath. This latter authority says, I. p. 21, etc. "Im Jahr 1564, kam Br. Joh. Augusta aus dem Gefängniss und begab sich noch in demselben Jahr zu den Aeltesten

In the following year (1565) Vergerius died at Tübingen, on the fourth of October. The Brethren, and Blahoslaw in particular, prized the friendship which he manifested toward their Church; among the Swiss Reformers he enjoyed but little confidence. His sincerity and the service which he rendered Protestantism, can not be doubted; but he was fond of claiming authority and often interfered in matters which concerned him not.

Meanwhile the relations of the evangelical churches in Poland remained unchanged, except that the Lutherans grew more and more hostile to the Brethren. Of this hostility Benedict Morgenstern, an ecclesiastical demagogue, restless, bigoted and unscrupulous, was the chief instigator.

He had charge of the Lutheran parish at Thorn, where, in 1563, he gave a notable example of his chicanery. Although the Brethren had established themselves in that city on their first arrival in Poland, he forced upon their minister and his assistants, what he called, a Colloquy, and by his vehement denunciations and unparalleled impudence, constrained them to relinquish their church and withdraw from the town. Elated by this victory he published twenty-two doctrinal

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nach Leipnik, am Tage des H. Marcus, berieth sich dort mit allen und setzte sich wieder auf jenen ersten Platz. Die Bischöfe standen nun für kurze Zeit folgendermassen: 1. Johann Augusta, 2. Johann Czerny, 3. Matthias Cerwenka, 4. Georg Israel, 5. Johann Blahoslaw." In the same work, II. p. 37, etc., we read: Augusta "versöhnte sich dort (Leipnik) mit ihnen. Er wurde wieder auf seinen bischöflichen Platz gesetzt, und man willigte ein, dass fortan stets die Ordnung beachtet werde, dass vier Bischöfe in der Fronte sässen, und acht oder neun Personen im Rath." Gindely says that Augusta did not again receive the rank of first Bishop but only co-ordinate authority with the other Bishops. It is clear that he was no longer Chief Judge (Vide p. 320 of this Hist.), and it is certain that he did not exercise the same overweening authority as formerly; but that he continued to be President of the Council, Jaffet's words plainly show, and Gindely himself, in his list of Bishops (Quellen, p. 451), assigns to him this place even after his liberation from prison. His influence, however, undoubtedly waned, the older he grew, and in the last years of his life his presidency may have become nominal.

errors which, he falsely asserted, they had acknowledged at the Colloquy.[2]

And now, in 1565, he issued another work reducing these errors to sixteen. The cry which he raised was taken up by a Lutheran Synod at Gostyn. This body adopted a formal resolution declaring, that the Brethren oppressed the Lutherans and refused the hand of friendship which these held out. In itself considered no charge could be more absurd; understood from the point of view of the Lutherans, however, it had a grave meaning. Not all the priests of the Unity were as submissive as those at Thorn. The Lutherans came to many places where they found the Brethren established, and the Brethren would not yield the ground. This was the oppression from which the Lutherans suffered! For the followers of the Unity to point to the friendship that Luther had shown them, to acknowledge the Augustana and yet to uphold a Confession of their own and maintain churches of their own, instead of meekly allowing themselves to be engulfed in the maw of Lutheranism, was schism![3] That under such circumstances, heated disputes took place and "the royal law" was frequently broken on both sides, may well be supposed. There were those who so entirely forgot it, as to maintain, that Luther's Preface to the Confession of 1535 had not been written by him but forged by the Brethren.[4]

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[2] The Brethren withdrew from Thorn chiefly because the magistrates sided with Morgenstern, and when these magistrates invited them to re-establish their Church, declined this overture. Morgenstern's headstrong course, ere long, alienated his own people. In 1567 he was dismissed from Thorn. Both the works which he wrote are preserved, in MS., in the Herrnhut Archives. The first is entitled De Valdensium schismate, etc.; the second, Errores fraterculorum Bohemicorum, etc.

[3] The mild sarcasm with which Gindely expresses himself on this point provokes an appreciative smile. He says: "Es ist sehr schwer, eine gerechte Definition des Wortes Druck zu geben, wofern es von religiösen Parteien gebraucht wird. Mir leuchtet so viel ein, dass die Lutheraner sich überall da gedrückt glaubten, wo ihnen die Brüder beim ersten Erscheinen das Genomene nicht abtraten und sich nicht willig darein ergaben, sie als ihre Erben und Rechtsnachfolger anzusehen." II. p. 78.

[4] Quellen, p. 294.

In order to put an end to such unhappy controversies, Erasmus Gliczner, the newly appointed Superintendent of the Lutheran Churches in Great Poland, in conjunction with prominent nobles of his faith, proposed to the Brethren a joint Synod at Posen. It took place on the twenty-eighth of January, 1567, and was attended, on the part of the Unity, by Israel, Lorenz, and a number of magnates. A more friendly feeling prevailed and, as Lukaszewicz says, "many obstacles in the way of peace were removed;" but the doctrinal differences were not settled. In the name of his associates, Morgenstern set forth twelve points of difference between the Confession of the Brethren and the Augustana —hence, in the estimation of the Lutherans, twelve errors. This paper was subsequently sent to Bishop Israel and he was asked to furnish a reply.[5]

Instead of at once complying with this request, Israel appealed to the Executive Council which laid the case before the Synod convened at Prerau (June the twenty-fourth, 1567). This body, while rejecting an absorption such as the Lutherans aimed at, declared that the Brethren were willing to unite with them and with the Reformed in an alliance which would leave their own peculiarities, their own ministry, discipline and doctrine intact.[6] After this resolution had been made known, Lorenz published a reply to Morgenstern's paper.[7]

While deliberating upon a rejoinder, the Lutherans, by the advice of Stephan Bilow, a bitter foe of the Unity, determined to have it condemned through the University of Wittenberg.

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[5] The paper bore the following title: Amica at fraterna adnotatis naevorum et verborum minus recta positorum in Confessione fratrum, quos Valdenses vocant, proposita in synodo Poznaniae 28 Januarii, 1567, celebrata, a Ministris Confessionis Augustanae iisdem fratribus Valdensibus in duodecim partes distincta.

[6] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 228, cited by Czerwenka.

[7] Lorenz's reply was revised by Israel and Rokita. It bore the following title: Responsio brevis et sincera fratrum, quos Valdenses vocant, ad naevos ex Apologia ipsorum excerptos a Ministris, Confessioni Augustanae addictis, in Polonia.

Inasmuch as the Polish Lutherans were violent adherents of Flacius Illyricus and the theologians of Wittenberg Philippists, the success of this scheme could not but be doubtful. Its actual failure was, however, owing to another cause. Before the Lutherans could send a deputation, Bishop George Israel, who was ignorant of their intentions, commissioned Lorenz to go to Wittenberg and appeal to the University (February the tenth, 1568).[8] Lorenz arrived on the sixteenth, delivered letters from Israel to prominent theologians, gave an account of the controversies in Poland, presented Morgenstern's work and his own reply, and begged the Theological Faculty for a decision with regard to the entire case. Such a decision was given, in writing, on the twenty-second of February. It acknowledged the orthodoxy of the Brethren, attributed the attacks of the Polish Lutherans to the poison instilled by Flacius, and sided fully with the Unity, except on two unimportant points. The document was signed by Paul Eber, as Dean of the Faculty, George Major and Paul Crell.[9]

This step of the Polish Brethren led to important results. On both sides the magnates began to discountenance controversies and to urge upon all Protestants the necessity of presenting an undivided front both to the Romanists and the Antitrinitarians;[10] while the idea gained ground, that an inter-denominational Synod of the Lutherans and Reformed and Brethren ought to be convened, in order to determine the basis for an ecclesiastical alliance. These three Churches were not to be organically united, but, in harmony with the enactment of the Brethren at their Synod of Prerau, to be brought into such a relationship that a member of one body would practically be a member of all the three bodies. A Synod of

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[8] Lorenz was accompanied by a young man named John Polycarp. A full account of this mission is found in L. F., X. and reproduced in Quellen, pp. 294–318.

[9] Document in full in Quellen, pp. 311, etc.

[10] The Antitrinitarians had, by this time, secured firm seats at Rakau and on the domains of Prince Ragotzi, in Transylvania.

this kind was agreed on. It was to meet at Sendomir, in Little Poland.[11] Preparatory Synods were held by the Brethren and Lutherans at Posen, and by the Lutherans and Reformed at Wilna.

As the Diet of Lublin, in 1569, constituted an epoch in the civil history of Poland, so the Synod of Sendomir, in 1570, became an era in its ecclesiastical history.[12] That Diet brought about the union of Lithuania with Poland; this Synod effected, what had never before been accomplished since the birth of Protestantism, a religious confederation among the evangelical churches of the kingdom. On all sides the utmost interest was manifested; from all parts there flocked together theologians and ministers and magnates. The majority of the representatives belonged to the Reformed Church. Prominent among them were Paul Gilovius, Jacob Sylvius and Stanislaus Sarnicki, clerical delegates; and Stanislaus Mysskowski, the Palatine of Cracow, Peter Zborowski, the Palatine of Sendomir, and Stanislaus Iwan Karminski, a councilor of Cracow, lay delegates. The Lutheran Church was represented by Erasmus Gliczner, its Superintendent in Great Poland, Nicholas Gliczner, his brother, Superintendent of the Posen district, and Stanislaus Bninski, a magistrate of Posen and the proxy of Luke Gorka, its Palatine. On the part of the Unitas Fratrum, commissioned by its Executive Council, appeared Andrew Prazmowski, Superintendent of the Reformed Churches in Kujavia, with whom was associated Simon Theophilus Turnovius, a deacon of the Brethren.[13]

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[11] Sendomir or Sandomir, is now the capital of the Polish circuit or government of Radom, and lies on the left bank of the Vistula. Its inhabitants number about five thousand.

[12] Sources for the history of this Synod are: Jablonski's Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis; Lukaszewicz, Chap. VII. p. 55, etc.; Fischer, I. pp. 157, etc.; and especially Itinerarium Sendomiriense, being a most interesting MS. journal by Turnovius, in classical Polish, rendered into German by Fischer and given in his German translation of Lukaszewicz, pp. 51–81, also in his own work, I. pp. 257–286.

[13] Prazmowski was therefore not a minister of the Brethren, as Croeger

Turnovius, who became one of the most influential leaders of the Polish branch of their Church, taking his place by the side of Israel and Lorenz, was born at Turnau, on the fifteenth of September, 1544. In his fourth year, because of the fierce persecution raging throughout Bohemia, his parents fled with him to Marienwerder, in East Prussia. Not long after this flight his father died, and he was adopted by George Israel, who put him, in 1555, to the school at Kozminek. At a later time he visited the University of Wittenberg. When he had completed his studies, in 1568, he came to Ostrorog, was ordained a Deacon, and subsequently, although only twenty-six years of age, sent to Sendomir as Prazmowski's associate.[14]

In that town, on Sunday, the ninth of April, a solemn service was held, Jacob Sylvius preaching a sermon on the twentieth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John. In the afternoon, "at the nineteenth hour," the Synod was opened by the Palatines of Cracow and of Sendomir. The former welcomed the members; the latter set forth the object of the convocation. Four presidents were then chosen: two laymen, Zborowski and Karminski; and two ministers, Gilovius and Prazmowski. Sokolowski was appointed secretary. This organization having been completed, the Synod adjourned.

On the next day, Monday, October the tenth, at eleven o'clock, after a religious service at which Valentin preached on the first chapter of St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians, the second session began. First of all, the delegates presented the salutations of their constituents. In expressing the good wishes of the Brethren, Andrew Prazmowski spoke of them "with great reverence;" said that they were a body of Christians that, for one hundred and fifty years, since the time

implies, but a Reformed minister formally commissioned to represent the Unity. Why Israel and other of its leaders were not present is not known; its influence however was, on that account, not lost, since Turnovius, in spite of his youth, took a very prominent part in the Synod.

[14] Fischer, II. p. 181. In Poland Turnovius was often called Bogomil.

of Hus, had defended the Confession of their Faith not only with the pen and in books, but also with their own blood; and earnestly commended this Confession to the favorable notice of the Synod. In conclusion he delivered two letters from the Bishops excusing their unavoidable absence and giving utterance to the hope, that the Polish Confession of their Church would be accepted as the common doctrinal ground.

The next step which was taken showed that the men assembled at Sendomir were determined, whatever their decision with regard to formulated creeds might eventually be, to fling out, at the very beginning of their deliberations, an unspotted banner of scriptural faith. The members were called on to confess their belief in the Holy Trinity, in order that, if any Tritheists,[15] or Socinians, or followers of Stancarus should prove to be present, they might be excluded from the Synod. Such an exclusion was actually carried out in the case of several ministers who were found to be tainted with these heresies.

And now was broached that delicate question upon which hinged either the success or the failure of the entire undertaking. What basis should be given to the projected alliance? Gilovius urged the Helvetic Confession. It had, he said, been recently translated into Polish.[16] Let this version, together with the Preface specially prepared for it, be adopted, published and presented to the king, as the common symbol of his Protestant subjects. This proposal called forth an animated debate. Nicholas Gliczner avowed his intention

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[15] The name by which the followers of Gregory Pauli were known.

[16] Lukaszewicz, p. 61, says that this was the *Confessio Tigurina*, but he undoubtedly means the *Confessio Helvetica posterior*, (The Second Helvetic Confession), published at *Tiguri*, that is, Zurich, in 1566, and written by Bullinger. There is technically no *Confessio Tigurina* but a *Consensus Tigurinus*, which relates only to the Lord's Supper and predestination. It is not likely that this was translated into Polish, and less likely that it should be adopted by the Polish Reformed. The *Conf. Hel. posterior* is found in Niemeyer's Collectio Confessionum, p. 462, etc.; comp. Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, I. p. 390, and III. p. 233, etc.

of standing by the Augustana "until death;" and took occasion to inveigh against the Brethren, because they were Waldenses, had many Confessions, and in matters of doctrine were altogether unstable. Erasmus Gliczner endorsed what his brother had said, adding that there existed no Confession which the Reformed of Poland could claim. This roused Mysskowski, who warmly maintained the contrary and, at the the same time, defended the Brethren. Other members also spoke in their favor. Luther himself, it was said, had approved of their Confession. At last Turnovius, who had made several ineffectual attempts to speak, obtained the floor. He delivered a long address, showing that the Brethren were not Waldenses; that, in Poland, they acknowledged but one Confession; that this Confession had been presented to the King and ably defended against the attacks of the Roman Catholics; and that, for these reasons, it ought to take, in so far as the Polish Churches were concerned, the precedence over all other creeds.[17] He spoke modestly but with much spirit, and his speech won general approbation, except from Erasmus and Nicholas Gliczner. These two honest but head-strong brothers reiterated their assertions, and began to manifest a tendency so directly in opposition to the end for which the Synod had been called, that the Presidents became alarmed, and—an attempt to bring it to a vote resulting in a new and acrimonius discussion—peremptorily ordered an adjournment after Zborowski and Karminski had appealed to the Lutheran delegates not to cast obstacles in the way of a union.

At the opening of the third session, Tuesday, April the eleventh, Sylvius preached on the words of the Psalmist 133: 1: "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." Neither this theme nor the appeals of the previous day seemed to have conciliated Erasmus and Nicholas Gliczner. When the Helvetic Confession was again taken up they refused to vote, which so

[17] The address of Turnovius is found in full in his journal.

exasperated the other members and betrayed them into such sharp words, that the Presidents ordered a recess until the afternoon. On reassembling, there took place, as previously agreed upon, a public disputation with Alexander Vitrelius, a leading Antitrinitarian, who succumbed to the arguments of Turnovius in particular.[18]

The next morning, Wednesday, April the twelfth, Prazmowski having preached the introductory sermon, the fourth session began and led to an important measure. At the instance of the Palatine of Cracow, the Helvetic Confession was taken out of the hands of the Synod and referred to a committee for further examination.

This committee, consisting of the two representatives of the Brethren's Church, the three Lutheran delegates, and six Reformed members, among whom were Mysskowski, Zborowski, Gilovius and Sylvius, met in Zborowski's palace. Two points were to be decided: first, does the Helvetic Confession harmonize with the Holy Scriptures? second, if it does, will the Brethren and the Lutherans unite with the Reformed in accepting it as the basis of that confederate union which these three Churches desire to establish? Prazmowski and Turnovius were first asked for their opinion. After having consulted in private, the former, while once more expressing his strong convictions that the Confession of the Brethren would prove to be a better common ground, declared, in their name, that he was nevertheless willing to accept the Helvetic Confession. Thereupon Turnovius, urged by all present to give his views, spoke as follows:

"Gracious lords and beloved brethren: The Bohemian Brethren are moved by grave and weighty reasons in proposing that their Confession, which has been presented to the King, should be accepted by you all. Some of these reasons have been set forth in the letters which they sent you; still other reasons have been made known to me. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the

[18] Trecius and Tenaudus, two divines, had been appointed to speak for the Synod; but their arguments were so weak that Turnovious, who happened to sit between them, could not resist prompting them. Instead of resenting this, Trecius asked that he be permitted to take part in the disputation.

Bohemian Brethren, at the same time, earnestly desire that the Church of God may be built up and strengthened, and inasmuch as they do what they can to bring about this end,—I believe that when they will have been informed of your reasons for advocating the Helvetic Confession as a common ground on which thus to unite the Church and increase its power, they will interpose no further objections. As regards myself, having, long ago, read this Confession and convinced myself that its doctrines are pure; that they harmonize with our Confession; that it is drawn up according to the same plan as ours, but perhaps in a more complete and intelligible way;—I find no fault with it, but accept it as correct and as our own."

These words awakened the liveliest satisfaction among the Reformed members of the committee, and moved Myssowski even to tears. But Turnovius, in order that he might not be misunderstood, hastened to add: "Gracious lords, be pleased to take notice, that I have accepted the Helvetic Confession as our own upon this condition only, that you will not expect the Brethren to relinquish the Confession which they already have, but that they will be free to adhere to that also, as they have ever done." "God forbid," replied Myssowski, "that we should ask the Brethren to reject their own Confession!" "Verily," added Zborowski, "we will rather strive to imitate them by introducing among ourselves a better church-government and discipline."

Every eye was now fixed upon the Lutherans. What would they do? The Palatine of Cracow begged them to yield their preferences for the Augustana and thus promote the glory of God and further the prosperity of His Church. The Palatine of Sendomir delivered a lengthy address appealing to them to weigh well the incalculable importance of the undertaking in which the Synod was engaged, and intimating that Sigismund Augustus would become a Protestant if a union would be brought about among the Protestant churches of his kingdom. "For God's sake," he continued, "remember what depends upon the result of our deliberations, and incline your hearts to that harmony and that love which the Lord has commanded us to follow above everything else." He spoke with deep feeling, and broke off

suddenly, choked with tears. The Palatine of Cracow sobbed aloud. All present were profoundly moved. A sudden outpouring of the spirit of love took place. Their hearts flowed together and, in a moment, every obstacle vanished. They themselves scarcely knew what was transpiring, except that God had revealed to them the beauty and glory of a union in His Son.[19] When they had grown calmer it was agreed, at the instance of the brothers Gliczner, that none of the existing Confessions should be adopted, but that a new Confession should be prepared to which the three Protestant churches of Poland, without relinquishing their own creeds, should hold in common.[20] Meanwhile a *Consensus* should be drawn up, making known that a confederate union had been established among them and setting forth the conditions of this alliance.

In the afternoon the committee reported to the Synod; the report was accepted with joyful unanimity; and Trecius and Tenaudus were appointed to draft the *Consensus*. A resolution which was now adopted, that no heterodox ministers should be admitted to the union, unless they recanted, induced seven divines to come forward and publicly renounce the heresy of Stancarus. Immediately after the adjournment a committee, composed of Karminski, Prazmowski, Turnovius, Erasmus and Nicholas Gliczner, revised the draft of the *Consensus*.

The fifth session, Thursday, April the thirteenth, was opened with an address by Jacob Sylvius, congratulating the Synod that its work had not been in vain, but that an alliance had been formed to the glory of God and the prosperity of His Church. Thereupon the *Consensus*, as adopted by the committee, was read. The Lutheran delegates having

[19] Turnovius says in his journal, Lukaszewicz, p. 78: "Weiter weiss ich hier nichts zu sagen, denn zuweilen wussten wir selber nicht was vorgehe. Mit einem Worte, jene Vereinigung überraschte uns, mit wunderbarer Schnelligkeit die Hindernisse uns dem Wege räumend."

[20] This Confession was to be prepared at Warsaw, about Whitsuntide, at a meeting of the theologians of all the three churches; but such a meeting never took place, and the proposed Confession did not appear. This was probably owing to the fact, that, in time, the Consensus was deemed to be a sufficient doctrinal symbol.

obtained permission to retire and examine this document privately, returned it with several emendations touching the Lord's Supper. A warm debate instantly sprang up which, for a time, threatened to mar the new-born harmony. At last, however, it was agreed to adopt, in the definition of the Lord's Supper, the words, "the real presence of Christ," and to incorporate the entire article of the *Confessio Saxonica* with regard to this sacrament.[21] This vexed question having been finally settled, four copies of the *Consensus* were prepared and signed.

On the next day, Friday, April the fourteenth, the Synod met for the last time. The *Consensus* was read again and unanimously adopted; the members pledging themselves to a faithful observance of all its articles. And now were heard, on every side, hearty congratulations, earnest prayers, fervent thanksgiving and praise. Erasmus Gliczner, remembering his recent factiousness, spoke words that had the true ring. The fellowship of the Lutherans with the Brethren and the Reformed should be close, firm, enduring: the Brethren had "always sought the welfare of the Church of God and the glory of the Lord:" they and the Lutherans ought to meet, ere long, in a special Synod, in order to publicly set a seal to the alliance which had been formed. Other divines expressed similar sentiments; the faces of the two Palatines were radiant with joy; this last session grew into a jubilee of love and peace. Before the final adjournment was ordered the members solemnly pledged each other their right hands; and thus, amidst renewed thanksgiving to God, the Synod of Sendomir was brought to a close.

A few days after Whitsuntide the Synod proposed by Gliczner took place at Posen (May the twentieth). There were present several magnates and a large number of divines, including Bishop Israel, John Lorenz, Turnovius, Erasmus and Nicholas Gliczner. Twenty articles, supplementary to

[21] The *Confessio Saxonica* was presented, by the Lutherans, to the Council of Trent, in 1551.

the *Consensus Sendomirensis*, were reported. While this report was under discussion, the people gathered in front of the hall where the Synod was sitting, anxious to learn the issue; and as soon as the articles had been adopted and signed, Erasmus Gliczner opened the door and announced this result.[22] Then raising, by a common impulse, the Ambrosian Te Deum, the members of the Synod stood up, the Lutherans advancing to meet the Brethren, the Brethren advancing to meet the Lutherans, and both grasping each others' hands with fervent love. The people without looked on, deeply affected, and joined in the hymn.

But a still more memorable and solemn evidence of this fellowship was given. In the morning of the first Sunday after Trinity (May the twenty-eighth), the Brethren moved, in procession, from their church, in the suburbs of St. Adalbert, to the Lutheran church, in the Gorka palace, on Water Street. At the portal they were welcomed by the Lutherans, and then the two congregations united in a common worship of God; John Lorenz preaching in Polish, and Balthasar Eichner in German, and both wearing the gown. In the afternoon the Lutherans formed a procession and proceeded from their church to that of the Brethren, where a second union service took place, Nicholas Gliczner preaching in Polish, and Abraham Abdel in German, both without the gown. At the close the Te Deum was once more sung.

The *Consensus Sendomiriensis*, to which a seal was thus publicly set, reads as follows:[23]

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[22] These articles were very important, inasmuch as they carried the alliance into practice, especially at such places where both the Brethren and the Lutherans had established themselves; providing rules for the mutual relations of the members and ministers, for communing in each others' churches, for the exercise of discipline by one Church, without any interference on the part of the others, etc. The document containing these articles is found in Jablonski's Hist. Send., pp. 195–200, bearing the title: Consignatio observationum necessarium ad confirmandum mutuum Consensum, etc. For a German version compare Lukaszewicz, pp. 84–86.

[23] The *Consensus* was originally written in Latin and translated into Polish. It was frequently published. In 1586 Erasmus Gliczner, John

Consensus in the chief Articles of the Christian Religion between the Churches of Great and Little Poland, Russia, Lithuania and Samogitia, which, in view of the Augsburg Confession, the Confession of the Bohemian Brethren and the Helvetic Confession, have in some measure appeared to differ from each other. Adopted at the Synod of Sendomir, in the year of our Lord 1570, *on the fourteenth of April.*

After long and frequent disputes with the sectarian Tritheists, Ebionites and Anabaptists,[24] and after having at last been delivered, by the grace of God, from such great and lamentable controversies, the Polish reformed and orthodox churches, which, according to the assertions of the enemies of the Truth and of the Gospel, seemed not to agree in some points and formulas of doctrine, have thought proper, induced by love of peace and concord, to convene a Synod and to testify to a complete and mutual agreement. We have, therefore, held a friendly and Christian conference and have established, with united hearts, the following points:

First, Not only we who have presented our Confession of Faith to this Synod,[25] but also the Bohemian Brethren have always believed, that the adherents of the Augsburg Confession teach nothing but pious and orthodox doctrines with regard to God, the Holy Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, justification and other fundamental articles of faith. In the same way the followers of the Augsburg Confession have honestly testified, that they do not find in the Confession of our churches, or in that of the Bohemian Brethren, whom some ignorant men call Waldenses, any doctrines with regard to God, the Holy Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, justification and other fundamental articles of faith, at variance with orthodox truth and the pure Word of God. We have, therefore, mutually and solemnly promised each other, that we will, with united strength and according to the dictates of the Divine Word, defend this our *Consensus*, embracing as it does the pure and true Christian faith, against Papists, Sectaries and all other enemies of the Gospel and of the Truth.

Lorenz and Paul Gilovius conjointly edited the document; in 1592 Turnovius issued a new edition with the Polish version appended. The original is found in the Appendix to Camerarii Hist. Narratio de Frat. Ecc., pp. 9–16; Jablonski's Hist. Con. Send. p. 189, etc.; Niemeyer's Conf., p. 553, etc.; German translations are given in Fischer's Lukaszewicz, p. 75, etc.; Fisher's Ref. in Polen, I. pp. 164, etc.; Croeger, II. p. 45, etc.; and an English version appears in Krasinski, I. p. 383, etc. This English version is, however, so faulty as to be often almost unintelligible.

[24] A name for the Antitrinitarians.

[25] The Reformed are meant.

Next, in so far as the unhappy controversy about the Lord's Supper is concerned, we have agreed to hold fast to the meaning of the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, as these have been properly interpreted by the Church Fathers, and by Irenaeus in particular, who says that this mystery consists of two things, the one earthly and the other heavenly. We do not assert that the elements only, therefore mere empty symbols, are present, but teach that these elements, at the same time and in fact, give to the believer and impart to him through faith that which they signify. To speak more plainly, we have agreed to believe and confess, that they do not only signify the substantial presence of Christ, but that to those who partake of the Communion the body and blood of the Lord are in it represented, distributed and given, inasmuch as the symbols come to be the thing itself, and consequently, according to the nature of the sacraments, are not mere symbols. In order, however, that different modes of expressing this truth may not lead to new controversies, we have thought proper to accept, besides the article contained in our own Confession, that article with regard to the Lord's Supper which is found in the Confession of the Saxon Churches as laid, in 1551, before the Council of Trent. To this article we mutually consent. Its words are the following:

"Baptism and the Lord's Supper are pledges and testimonials of grace, which remind us of the promises and of the entire work of redemption, showing that the benefits of the Gospel belong to all those who make use of these rites," etc.

Further: "No one is admitted to the Lord's Supper who has not been examined and absolved by his pastor, or his pastor's assistant. At such examinations the ignorant are questioned with regard to and instructed in Christian faith generally, whereupon the forgiveness of sins is announced to them. We likewise teach men that the sacraments are rites instituted by God, and that, unless used as instituted by Him, they do not in themselves constitute sacraments; but that in the use of the Communion as instituted by the Lord, Christ is really and substantially (vere et substantialiter) present, and Christ's body and blood are distributed to the communicants; and further, that Christ testifies that He is in them and makes them His members and has washed them with His blood." In short all the words of this article.

We have also thought that it would serve to establish this our mutual and holy *Consensus*, if, even as the (Lutheran brethren) have pronounced us and our churches and our Confession, communicated at this Synod, as also the Confession of the Bohemian Brethren, orthodox, we, on our part, show their (Lutheran) churches the same Christian love and pronounce them orthodox. We will put an end to and bury in perpetual silence all those controversies, strifes and differences by which the progress of the

Gospel has been hindered, grave offence given to many pious souls, and an opportunity to our enemies grievously to malign us and oppose our true and Christian faith. We rather pledge ourselves to promote peace and public tranquility, to show love one to another, and with united hearts, agreeably to our fraternal union, to strive to build up the Church.

At the same time we further pledge ourselves zealously to persuade and invite our brethren, to accept and sustain and further and strengthen this our Christian and unanimous *Consensus*, especially through the hearing of the Divine Word and the use of the sacraments in each other's churches, but in such a way that the rules of discipline and the ritual of each church be observed. For our present agreement and union leave the ritual and ceremonies of each church free. It is not essential what ritual is used, if only the doctrine and the foundation of our faith and of salvation remain pure and orthodox. This the Augsburg and Saxon Confessions teach, and we have said the same thing in our Confession, presented at this Synod. We therefore promise to assist each other mutually with good advice and the works of love, and to do our utmost, as members of one body, to preserve and promote the growth of the pious, orthodox, reformed (Protestant) Church throughout the whole kingdom as also in Lithuania and Samogitia. If these (the churches in Lithuania and Samogitia) resolve to convene General Synods, they are to inform us, and are not to decline appearing at our Synods, if they are invited and their presence seems necessary. In order to give to this our *Consensus* and union the proper stability, we believe that it will tend to the maintenance of our brotherly fellowship, if we meet somewhere and deduce from our several Confessions of Faith a short compendium of doctrine—the wickedness of the enemies of the Truth constrains us to this—so that, to the comfort of the godly, we may silence men that are inimically disposed. This we will do in the name of all the reformed (Protestant) churches of Poland, Lithuania and Samogitia which are in harmony with our Confession of Faith.

We have mutually pledged each other the right hand of fellowship and solemnly promised to live at peace, to further peace more and more, to avoid all occasions for strife. And now, finally, we covenant together not to seek our own interests, but as becometh true servants of God, to promote the glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ alone, and both by precept and by works, to spread the truth of the Gospel.

And in order that all this may be auspiciously kept and remain firm and unalterable, we fervently pray God, the Father, the author and rich source of all comfort and peace, who has snatched us and our churches from the thick darkness of the papacy and given them the pure and holy light of His truth, to bless the peace, the *Consensus* and the union which we have

established, to the glory of His name and the building up of His Church. *Amen.*

There are appended twenty-two signatures, to which those of Bishop George Israel and John Lorenz were added, on the occasion of the Synod at Posen; then follows a passage of Scripture, thus:

Psalm 133.

"*Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!*"

This document and the confederate union of which it was the pledge, excited universal attention but by no means common approval. While the Polish Protestants rejoiced and the Brethren of Bohemia shared their joy and the Reformed of Switzerland were satisfied, the German Lutherans expressed indignation and the Roman Catholics gave full scope to their ridicule.[26]

It is true that the results of the alliance were not, in all respects, those which had been anticipated. The King of Poland did not join the Protestants; the power of the Catholics was not broken; it rather increased through the Jesuits who were called to the rescue and who, in course of time, subjected the evangelical party to oppressions so constant and severe that they were equivalent to a counter-reformation. It is true, too, that political motives, at least on the part of the magnates, had much to do with the union; that it was not permanent; that it saved the Polish nation neither from internal nor from external ruin. But in spite of all this, the Sendomirian alliance will ever be memorable and excite the admiration of Christians in so far as they reach forth beyond the narrow bounds of denominational exclusivism and pray and labor for "the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace." It formed a green spot in that desert of the religious world which the hot winds of controversy had produced. It

[26] There were exceptions among the Lutherans. Major, in a letter to John Lorenz, written on the sixth of May, 1571, speaks in the highest terms of the *Consensus*.

exercised an influence even after the most of its supporters had fallen off, and continued to operate indirectly even when it had ceased to exist.[27] It showed, especially by its *Consignatio* adopted at Posen, in what way Protestants may retain their several creeds and peculiarities, and yet be practically united. It was far more than the Evangelical Alliance of our day. It constituted, we venture to hope, a presage of what is yet to come.

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[27] "Unsern Theils," says Fischer, "sind wir der Ansicht, diese polnische Confession sei ein herrliches Denkmal des ächten, christlichen heiligen Geistes, und würde sicher reichen Segen gebracht haben, wenn man sie eine lebendige Wahrheit hätte werden lassen." (I. p. 180.) Schaff says: "The spirit of union which produced it (the *Consensus*) passed into the three Brandenburg Confessions of the seventeenth century, and revived in the Evangelical Union of Prussia." Creeds of Christendom, I. p. 588.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Bohemian and Moravian Branch of the Unitas Fratrum in the Reign of Maximilian the Second. *A. D.* 1564–1576.

The political and religious condition of Bohemia and Moravia.—Maximilian's Course.—Doctor Crato.—Petitions presented to Maximilian.—His vacillating Course.—Abrogation of the Compactata.—Relation of the Unity to the Augustana.—Change in the Executive Council.—Edict against the Brethren.—Augusta's Dispute with the Council.—His Plan of a Union with the Lutheran Utraquists.—Petition for the Recognition of the Augustana.—Crato and the Confession of the Brethren.—Bishops appointed.—Death of Blahoslaw and Augusta.—A new Confession of Faith.—Discipline urged by the Synod.—The Bohemian Confession of 1575.—Death of Maximilian.

THE sceptre as inherited by Maximilian the Second was the badge of a more real authority than at the time when it was put into the hands of his father. Ferdinand's life-long purpose to rescue it from that insignificance into which the House of Jagellon had allowed it to shrink, was in part successful. The power of the nobles, except in comparatively unimportant respects, continued the same; but the cities were shorn of their independence and their wealth enriched the royal coffers. Moreover the right to convene the Diet now belonged exclusively to the King, upon whose good will the Lower House depended, aud thus became a means in his hands to counteract the influence of the Upper.[1] Legislation,

[1] There were three estates in the Diet—the barons, the knights and the cities. The barons and knights formed the Upper House, which held its sittings in the Castle; the representatives of the cities the Lower House, which convened in the Council-House of the *Altstadt*.

too, was in the main confined to such business as the Government brought forward; but no act could become a law until it had been accepted by a majority of the three estates. At joint meetings of the Houses, each estate voted separately. The condition of the peasants remained unchanged. They groaned helplessly under the increasing burdens of their serfdom and the tyranny practiced by their overseers.

In a religious aspect Bohemia and Moravia reaped no benefits from the reign of Ferdinand. He left his own church in a state of confusion. Its membership, at the time of his death, embraced but one-third of the population. The new Archbishop of Prague, who had been appointed through his agency, soon found that a hard task had been given him.[2] He was to rebuild that structure whose walls had, for years, been crumbling; and yet his priests were insubordinate, their number was insufficient, they were driven from their parishes by unfriendly lords, and wandered through the country idle and homeless. Nor could he expect aid from the monasteries. These were rapidly declining. Some of them numbered only two or three monks. Here and there a convent could be found in which lingered but a single recluse. Nor did the freedom of the cup, granted by Pius the Fourth, shortly prior to Ferdinand's decease, strengthen the hands of the Archbishop. He was dismayed to see that this concession but increased the number of Catholics who became unfaithful to their Church.[3] The only hopeful sign to which he could point was the work of the Jesuits.

The National Church, embracing another third of the population, had not changed its character. It was Utraquist in name only. The Compactata had become an antiquarian

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[2] Anton Bruss von Müglitz, appointed January the twelfth, 1562, after the archiepiscopal see had been vacant for one hundred and forty years.

[3] Ferdinand imagining that the freedom of the cup would help to restore the power of the Roman Catholic Church, strenuously urged the Council of Trent to make this concession. The Council left the decision to the Pope who granted the cup to Bohemia and Moravia and to several other dioceses (1564).

relic. For every genuine Utraquist priest there were twenty who, openly or in secret, professed what they called Lutheranism. Many of them were married; no longer celebrated mass; refused to institute religious processions; and dropped other ceremonies. But there existed no common basis of doctrine or practice among those who had thus broken with the past. They were unfit to administer their holy office. They lived as they pleased, taught what they pleased, and emancipated themselves from all authority except that of their patrons.[4] The relations of the Utraquist Consistory to the Archbishop increased the prevailing disorder.

The Anabaptists, in spite of frequent persecutions, were prospering. Their industrial pursuits, for which they became celebrated, won the good will of powerful families among the nobility; and when Maximilian, expressing his surprise that they had not been extirpated in his father's time and casting his tolerance to the winds, proposed to drive them out of the country, the Upper House of the Diet protested against such a measure as destructive to the interests of the kingdom. Hence they were allowed to remain, but loaded with taxes.[5]

The only Church that brought Bohemia and Moravia the Gospel in the fullness of its promises, was the Brethren's Unity which Ferdinand had persistently endeavored to sup-

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[4] In L. F., IX. p. 108, cited by Gindely, Blahoslaw gives the following account of such priests: "They lay hold of Luther's books and boast of the Gospel which they preach, but they are wholly godless men and do all possible things for the sake of gain. There is no order among them, they lead unworthy lives, and resemble the genuine Lutherans only in this, that they take unto themselves wives." In a letter to Hubert Lanquetus, Saxon ambassador at the court of Vienna, written in 1570, he expresses himself in a similar way, adding that it is hard to find only a small number holding the same doctrines, and that criminals sometimes have themselves ordained to escape punishment. Letter in Quellen, pp. 292 and 293.

[5] This sect, which numbered seventy communities in Moravia, was divided into three factions; the Communists, who kept up a community of goods, the Gabrielites, and the Sabbatarians. It is said of the Anabaptists, that they were the best farmers, raised the best cattle, had the best vineyards, brewed the best beer, owned the best flour mills, and engaged, on a large scale, in almost every kind of trade known in their day.

press. But it had again outlived in Bohemia every blow aimed at its existence; while in Moravia its peace and prosperity had remained unbroken. The complete organization of the Brethren, their scriptural discipline, the close fellowship which existed among them, their simple doctrines, and especially their independent government, gave them power and a peculiar influence. In no wise was their Church connected with the state. Its government was wholly ecclesiastical. Nobles took no official part in the direction of its affairs, and did not, in the capacity of patrons, appoint priests to parishes on their domains, as was the case both among the Catholics and Utraquists. Such an absolute separation of the church from the state was unknown even among other Protestants. It constituted the first exemplification of that polity which has been crowned with the greatest success in our own country, producing a religious development almost unparalleled.[6]

The accession of Maximilian to the throne awakened the liveliest interest both among Protestants and Catholics. Would he fulfill the hopes which many entertained and come out openly on the side of the former? The Elector Frederick the Third of the Palatinate wrote to him and urged him to take this step; a codicil in his father's will solemnly warned him against it. Maximilian adopted a course of his own. He remained a Catholic, but tolerated the Protestants. It was his aim to stand above both these religious parties. To rule over the consciences of men, he said, was attempting to ascend the throne of God.[7] At the same time he soon found that it was

[6] How clearly enlightened theologians recognized the prerogative which the Unitas Fratrum, in this respect, enjoyed, is evident from a letter written, in 1574, by Caspar Olevianus to Bishop Stephan. Quellen, pp. 398 and 399, taken from L. F., XII. It is a remarkable fact that in its Bohemian missionary work the Unitas Fratrum still enjoys this prerogative. It has recently been acknowledged by the Austrian Government, but is wholly independent; whereas the two other recognized Protestant Churches, the Lutheran and Reformed, stand under a Church Council appointed by the Emperor and receive assistance from the state.

[7] Schlesinger, p. 453. Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XXXIX. 2.

easier for a Roman Catholic monarch to be tolerant in theory than in practice. He could not disregard the Pope or set aside his connection with the Spanish court.[8] Hence his policy vacillated and he exposed himself to the charge of gross inconsistencies. Such was especially the case in his treatment of the Brethren. During the life-time of his father he had made them fair promises; whether these would now be fulfilled, time would show.

The Brethren were not slow in giving him an opportunity to redeem his word. A petition, praying for protection, was drawn up, together with a revised German version of the Confession of 1535. This latter work was prepared by Peter Herbert and corrected by Doctor Crato.[9]

John Crato von Crafftheim, born at Breslau, on the twentieth of November, 1519, belonged to the celebrities of his age. While a student at the University of Wittenberg he lodged in Luther's house and daily sat at his table.[10] Luther esteemed him very highly and tried to induce him to study theology; but he preferred the medical profession for which he prepared at Leipzig and Padua. In this profession he became so distinguished that he was appointed physician to the Emperor Ferdinand and, after his death, continued to serve Maximilian in the same capacity. Crato took a deep and active interest in the affairs of the Protestant Church. For the Brethren he conceived a high regard.[11]

Barons Wenzel Slusky von Chlum and Joachim Prostiborsky were appointed to present to Maximilian the papers which had been prepared. Accompanied by Peter Herbert these noblemen proceeded to Vienna and were granted an audience

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[8] Maximilian's wife was the sister of Philip the Second, of Spain, and Philip's wife, Maximilian's daughter.

[9] L. F., p. 217, and XII. p. 272, cited by Gindely, II. p. 465, Note 37.

[10] Crato committed to writing the conversations which Luther carried on at table, and this MS. became the basis of John Goldschmidt's, or Aurifaber's, well-known work entitled "Luther's Tischreden."

[11] Of his connection with the Brethren numerous letters in the L. F., reproduced in Quellen, pp. 388, etc., give ample evidence.

(1564). Prostiborsky after having briefly recited its contents, delivered the petition. The Emperor expressed his regret that not all the nobles of the Unity had signed the document; Prostiborsky replied, that they would present themselves, in a body, whenever his Majesty would come to the Diet at Prague. Thereupon he delivered the Confession. Maximilian accepted both these papers and promised to answer the petition in due time. For the fulfillment of this promise the Brethren anxiously waited, but waited in vain. No answer was given. That their effort to gain the goodwill of the new monarch had thus failed, they ascribed to the timidity of those nobles who had excused themselves from signing the petition. The Church, it was said, had not confessed the Lord; therefore the Lord had not confessed the Church.[12]

In the following year (1565), when Vienna was full of prominent dignitaries in church and state, who had come to grace the removal of Ferdinand's remains to Bohemia, and many of whom were enemies of the Brethren, another deputation, contrary to the earnest advice of Blahoslaw, appeared before Maximilian, reminded him of his promise, and presented a new petition, asking that that status of the Unity which had existed prior to 1547, might be restored. Four days after the presentation of this paper, the deputies received, through the Chancellor, a reply pointing them to the decrees which were on record against their Church, which the late Emperor had issued and which the Diet had sanctioned. This reply was as ominous as it was unexpected. But no persecution followed, and the alarm of the Brethren soon subsided.

Maximilian's course, however, continued to be inexplicable. In 1566, in response to the appeal of seventy Brethren of Pardubitz, exiled by the Archduke Ferdinand for reintroducing public worship in their chapel, he annulled the decree of banishment and permitted them to return to their homes. But in the following September, when Bishop Augusta, in conjunction with several nobles, sent him a new petition,

[12] Czerwenka, on the strength of a Bohemian MS., in L. F., IX, cited by Gindely in his Notes.

praying that all enactments against the Unity might be revoked, he caused the decision issued by the Chancellor, in the previous year, to be affirmed. And yet, only two months later, in November, he accepted with great good-will a copy of the new German Hymnal which, by the advice of Crato, had been dedicated to him; assuring the barons who presented it, that if the Brethren would continue in their allegiance, he would be their gracious king.[13] And it seemed indeed as if his policy with regard both to them and his Protestant subjects generally were settled. For at the Diet which convened at Prague, on the third of March, 1567, he sanctioned the abrogation of the Compactata, which had so long been an obstacle in the way of a legal recognition of the evangelical faith, and interposed no objections when the states resolved that, while heretical sects should be suppressed, religious liberty should be granted to all Christians whose belief centered in the Bible.

One of the Moravian parishes of the Brethren was on the domain of Letowic, recently purchased by the Counts Hardegg. These Counts were Lutherans and unwilling to tolerate any confession except their own. Serious difficulties thus arose, in consequence of which the Executive Council, in 1565, defined the relation of the Unity to the Augustana. There are, it was said, differences between the Augustana and the Confession of the Brethren; the Brethren will therefore hold to their own doctrinal standards, but at the same time acknowledge the many truly evangelical points which the Lutheran Confession sets forth.[14] And now, on the occasion

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[13] In the dedication the Brethren expressed their hope and the hope of all the godly, that Maximilian would bring about a general reformation of the Church; that he would take courage from the example set by David, Jehoshaphat, Josiah, Constantine, and Theodosius; and that he would apply to such an end the talents given him of God.

[14] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 217, etc., cited by Czerwenka. The Brethren were eventually forced to relinquish their parish at Letowic to the Lutherans. The Counts appealed to the University of Wittenberg and caused the Brethren no little trouble. It was the old cry: if they acknowledge the Augustana, why do they keep up a separate organization?

of the Synod which, as we have said in another connection, regulated the course of the Unity in regard to the Protestants of Poland, it was resolved to render the form of government among the Brethren more intelligible to other churches. These misunderstood the character of the Executive Council: inimically disposed persons even said that the Brethren were ruled by "a many-headed monster." Hence, instead of the official signature—"The Seniors, or Bishops, in conjunction with the Executive Council"—appended to the canons and other documents, the following new signature was agreed on: "The Seniors (Bishops) of the Unity," (June, 1567). In consequence of this change the members of the Council received the title of Conseniors, that is, Assistant Bishops, and their ordination as such was, in all probability, now introduced.[15]

In the Spring of 1568 Nikodem brought from Vienna news which strengthened the Brethren in the hope that they had permanently won the Emperor's favor; for he had said to Crato, who was advocating their cause: "The Waldensian Brethren may enjoy their faith in peace; let them be patient; all will be well."[16] But on the twenty-ninth of October, of the same year, they were confounded by the publication of an imperial decree—which, however, remained a dead letter—ordering their chapels to be closed in accordance with the edict of St. James.[17]

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[15] That the members of the Council were formally ordained Assistant Bishops, we have shown in Chap. XXIII, p. 214, in accordance with that section of the Ratio Disciplinæ which treats of their ordination (R. D. p. 28); and that all priests who were elected to this body subsequent to the Synod of 1567, received such ordination is implied by Jaffet, S. G., II. p. 21, etc. It does not appear, however, that any were actually ordained at that Synod; we rather suppose that the Synod merely resolved to introduce such an ordination.

[16] Nikodem went to Vienna in order to consult Doctor Crato with regard to Blahoslaw's failing health.

[17] The Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XXXIX, 4, relates that, in 1565, Maximilian, much against his will, was persuaded by Joachim von Neuhaus, the Chancellor of Bohemia, to renew the edict of St. James in all its parts, but that this nobleman, together with the greater part of his

No less mysterious was the Emperor's course toward the Catholics. When the Archbishop, agreeably to an enactment of the Council of Trent, was about calling together a Bohemian Synod, Maximilian interfered and forbade the convocation.[18]

After his reconciliation with his colleagues Bishop Augusta devoted himself to official visits in the Moravian and Bohemian parishes, and on one occasion proceeded as far as Poland. About the year 1569 he was again involved in differences with the Executive Council. He proposed to give up the old pericopes and to substitute the articles of the Apostles' Creed, as the basis of the Sunday sermons. With such an end in view he rewrote the work which he had composed in prison, and produced a series of discourses for the whole ecclesiastical year. This book, which he called *Sumovnik*, or *Summarium*, was to serve the parish priests as a manual. Instead of accepting it, the Synod of 1567 resolved to retain the pericopes. Augusta was greatly disappointed; and when the Council, to which his work had been referred, took no further notice of it, he determined to publish it on his own responsibility. Such an undertaking was contrary to the rules of the Unity. On the first of September, 1570, the Council held a special meeting at Jungbunzlau and adopted a paper formally remonstrating with the aged Bishop. This paper, while assuring him that his colleagues regarded him as children regard a father, besought him to relinquish his purpose and come to an understanding with them; warned him that, if he

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retinue, was drowned in the Danube, by the breaking of the bridge at Vienna, as he was about returning to Bohemia, and the decree of renewal lost. This narrative lacks authority. Comp. Czerwenka, II, p. 401, Note.

[18] Maximilian did not prevent the meeting of such a Synod in Moravia. It was convened by the Bishop of Olmütz, on the tenth of May, 1568, in spite of the opposition of many Moravian nobles, and held its sittings, which were public, in the cathedral of that town. Nikodem was present and refused to kneel at the elevation of the host. He was commended for his fearlessness by some of the Bishop's own retinue. We agree with Gindely in saying, that he did not deserve commendation. He should have left the church when the celebration of the mass began.

persisted in his course of action, he alone would have to bear the consequences; and entreated him to be more careful in his conduct over against the Government.[19] Although the result is not known, it is more than probable that he listened to these expostulations; for no such work as the *Summarium* is extant, and no further complaints were made by the Council.

In the same year Augusta wrote another treatise, called "The Reformation." It set forth the idea which he had conceived of a union between the Brethren and the Lutheran Utraquists, under a common church-government. For reasons of his own, Martin von Melnik, the Administrator of the Consistory,[20] entered upon this project in so far as to begin negotiations with Augusta. The Bishop ardently responded to this overture and, in imagination, saw himself occupying a seat in the body which was to govern the united Church. But no sooner did Martin recognize the impossibility of carrying out his own plans than he dropped all further connection with Augusta. That the Bishop's inborn ambition, which even old age could not quench, was again aroused, is no doubt correct; but that he was also incited by higher motives, can scarcely be questioned. His project grew out of the Sendomirian union, which was awakening general interest in Bohemia. He beheld the religious confusion of that country, and believed that it, as well as Poland, would reap rich benefits from a religious confederation. The other Bishops did not share his views. Blahoslaw, as on many previous occasions, was his chief opponent. After Augusta's death, when discussions with regard to a common evangelical Confession were going on in the Diet, his work on "The Reformation" was much spoken of, and its plan of union found supporters.[21]

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[19] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 226, etc., cited by Czerwenka.

[20] Mistopol, who had filled this office for many years, died in 1568.

[21] Gindely, II, p. 133. We disagree with Gindely's, but especially with Czerwenka's extreme views regarding Augusta. Czerwenka seems almost to take pleasure in presenting him in as unfavorable a light as possible, and makes him out to have been, after his liberation from Pürglitz, a mere

On the occasion of the Diet which opened at Prague on the thirtieth of April, 1571, the Lutheran Utraquist states petitioned Maximilian to recognize in Bohemia the Augsburg Confession, as he had recognized it in Austria, and allow the institution of a Lutheran Consistory. Both the Utraquist Consistory and the Archbishop protested against such a concession, and it was refused. Nor did a second and very urgent appeal induce the Emperor to change his mind. From these negotiations the Brethren stood aloof; but now they were drawn into an unexpected controversy.

Soon after the adjournment of the Diet, Crato, who seems not to have been in communion with any church, although he inclined to the Reformed,[22] published an open letter recommending the Augustana as a common Confession for Protestants, and advising the Brethren to adopt it in place of their own, but to retain their discipline.[23] This letter caused great excitement. Blahoslaw was indignant. He wrote a sharp reply, drew up an opinion which he sent to his priests, and visited Kromau, where Crato was staying, in order to consult with him in person. The nobles of the Unity were no less wrought up, and the Council issued an official answer. There exists no reason whatever, so said

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troubler in Israel, selfish, headstrong and overbearing. A careful study of the sources, which are, moreover, insufficient, does not, it appears to us, warrant such conclusions, particularly when the fact is taken into consideration that these sources, for the most part, proceed from Blahoslaw who, in the very nature of the case, could not be an impartial witness. For the way in which Czerwenka, II. p. 412, represents Augusta's plan of union with the Lutheran Utraquists—as though he meant individually to forsake the Unity and go over to the Utraquists in order to revenge himself on the Council—there is no excuse. It is hard to understand how so careful a historian as Czerwenka could allow so gross an error to stand, especially when we find that, on page 447, he speaks of Augusta's project as "a union of the Utraquists with the Brethren under a common church-government," and therefore contradicts himself.

[22] Blahoslaw says of him: "He asserts that he belongs to the old Church, which means, I suppose, that he holds with those who are no longer living. He stands like a solitary tree in the wilderness." Gindely, II, p. 67.

[23] Letter in Quellen, p. 374, taken from L. F., p. 63, etc.

this paper, why the Brethren should depart from the faith of their fathers; their Confession is older than any other and its importance has been generally acknowledged; in point of doctrine and discipline it contains what can be found in no other Confession.[24] Crato did not allow these differences to interfere with his friendship for the Unity.

It now became necessary to fill up the ranks of its episcopate. John Czerny was asleep in death. "Worthy of being perpetually remembered," he finished his course on the fifth of February, 1565.[25] Four years later Matthias Cerwenka, distinguished for his learning and eloquence, "a diadem in the hand of the Unity," was summoned, on the thirteenth of December, 1569, from the midst of active work to his eternal reward.[26] The only Bishops that remained, were John Augusta, George Israel and John Blahoslaw. On the eleventh of October, 1571, the Synod, which had convened at Eibenschütz, proceeded to an election. Andrew Stephan, John Kalef, and John Lorenz were chosen.[27] They received consecration at the hands of Augusta, Israel and Blahoslaw. Thus the true succession was renewed.[28]

Stephan, born about the year 1528 at Prossnitz, ordained to the priesthood in 1557, elected to the Council in 1564, was a man of extraordinary piety, well versed in theology and eloquent as a preacher. He took up his residence at Eibenschütz and directed the Moravian Province.[29] Kalef, ordained to the priesthood in 1555 and elected to the Council in 1567,

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[24] Blahoslaw's papers are given in L. F. XII, pp. 67–97; the paper of the Council in the Dekreten, p. 234, and a free Latin version in Quellen, p. 377, with a heading by a later hand.

[25] Todtenbuch, p. 38. Czerny was very active in collecting the historical documents which form the Lissa Folios.

[26] Todtenbuch, p. 42.

[27] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 235, cited by Czerwenka.

[28] Jaffet's Sword of Goliath, I, p. 21, R's. Z., pp. 367, 368.

[29] Todtenbuch, p. 64. Stephan assumed the duties of Archivist in 1567, when Blahoslaw's health began to fail. Blahoslow had been constituted Cerwenka's assistant as Archivist in 1558.

JOHN AUGUSTA.

had his seat at Jungbunzlau and superintended the Bohemian Province. He was "a staunch defender of the Truth of God," uncompromising in the maintenance of the discipline, zealous in founding chapels, and though often severely tried, a hero of faith.[30] Israel and Lorenz stood at the head of the Polish Province. Their seat was at Ostrorog.

A few weeks subsequent to the consecration of these new bishops, Blahoslaw died at Kromau, on the twenty-fourth of November. Although only forty-eight years old, ill health had prematurely aged him. In the galaxy of the worthies of the Church he shines as a star of the first magnitude. His sound judgment was a safe-guard for his brethren; his energy led them forward, however great the obtacles by which they were surrounded; his reputation as a scholar and author enhanced their fame. Of his numerous writings twenty-two are known to exist. His style was pure, beautiful and classic. He completed that development of the Bohemian language which Hus began. "It pleased the Lord," says the *Todtenbuch*, "to remove him far too soon, according to our judgment."[31]

In the following year, on the thirteenth of January, 1572, Bishop Augusta died at Jungbunzlau, aged seventy-one years. A cloud obscured the setting of his sun. The hero of the Church had become a burden to his brethren. And yet in all their subsequent history his equal is not to be found. We mourn over his faults; we bring a tribute to the greatness of his works, to his heroism as a confessor, to the zeal, the endurance and the high aims which he infused into the Unity. His appearance was striking. He had a lofty brow, a brilliant eye, a noble countenance revealing the force of his character, and was graced with extraordinary dignity.[32]

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[30] Todtenbuch, p. 83.

[31] Todtenbuch, p. 48. Gindely, II, p. 471, Note 105, gives a list of his writings.

[32] Gindely, II, p. 73, says: "We do not remember to have seen in any Bohemian portrait a more noble expression." There exist two portraits of Augusta. The one is in the Archives at Herrnhut; the other, we presume, at Prague. We have engravings of both. Augusta was the author of some

Prior to the decease of these two leaders, the Bishops had determined to issue a Latin version of the Confession presented to Maximilian. Various reasons, but particularly the importance of making the doctrinal standards of the Unity more accessible to the theological world, rendered such a work desirable. It was to take the place of the Latin Confession of 1535 and set forth the faith of the Brethren in its maturity. Esrom Rüdinger, Professor of Greek and Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg,[33] having been engaged as the translator, the permission of the Theological Faculty to have the work printed in that city,[34] as also a testimonial acknowledging the Confession to be in harmony with the Holy Scriptures and the Lutheran symbols, was secured. These negotiations were carried on, in 1571 and 1572, by Isaiah Cepolla.[35] It was with the utmost difficulty that he persuaded the Faculty to accede to the wishes of the Council. The Professors, afraid of offending the Saxon court and the extreme party in their own Church, at first declined all his overtures. It was only after he had sent them a protest, in which, with a master's hand, he interwove flattery and menaces, that they reluctantly yielded. But the publication of their testimonial they refused to permit even now.[36]

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twenty devotional and polemical works, and composed many hymns. The charges mentioned by Gindely against his moral character are notoriously false, as this historian fully acknowledges (II, p. 72).

[33] Rüdinger, the son-in-law of Joachim Camerarius, was born at Bamberg, March the nineteenth, 1523. Prior to his connection with the University he was Rector of the school at Zwickau.

[34] In accordance with the privileges conferred by the Elector of Saxony upon the University, no theological work could be issued from a Wittenberg press without the sanction of the Theological Faculty.

[35] Peter Herbert was appointed translator, but could not at once begin the work and died in 1571; thereupon John Aeneas, a student at Wittenberg, was intrusted with it; at his suggestion the services of Rüdinger were secured. Isaiah Cepolla, or Cybulka, a former student at Wittenberg, was born at Bystrice, near Pernstein, ordained to the priesthood in 1572, elected to the Council in 1577, and died, in his best years, at Kralic, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1582. Todtenbuch, p. 70.

[36] The negotiations are given at great length in Quellen, pp. 319–372, taken from L. F., XII.

Rüdinger having finished his translation, superintended its printing. The work appeared in March, 1573. Under his direction the German version was republished in the same year, and also at Wittenberg.[37] In the way of introduction are given: Luther's preface to the Confession of 1535; a long historical preface, dated December the tenth, 1572, and composed by Rüdinger, but signed, "The Seniors and Ministers of the Church of the Brethren, who teach the pure doctrine of the Gospel in Bohemia, Moravia and Poland;"[38] and the preface of the nobles to the Confession of 1535. The doctrinal part is divided into the following twenty articles:

1. *The Holy Scriptures.* They are true, infallible and worthy of all belief, having been inspired by the Holy Ghost. 2. *The Catechism.* It is the kernel of, and the key to, the entire Bible. 3. *The Holy Trinity.* God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are three distinct persons, but according to their being, the one, true, eternal and unsearchable God. 4. *Self-knowledge; Sin; and the Promises.* The entire human race is depraved:

[37] Of this German version the Malin Library contains two original copies No. 810, which must have been printed at different times, although both in 1573, inasmuch as the type is different and the one does not give the name of the printer, which was Johan. Schwertel, while the other omits a part of the title. The latter copy is remarkable because of the chain with which it is still furnished and by which it was, no doubt, fastened to a reading desk in the vestibule of one of the chapels of the Brethren; subsequently it must have fallen into the hands of an enemy, for its margins are filled with remarks, written with a pen and, as far as we can decipher them, severely criticising the Unity and its Confessions. Of the Latin Confession we have seen no original copy and do not know whether any exists; it is, however, found in Lydius, Tom. II. pp. 95–256, and bears the following title: Confessio Fidei et Religionis Christianae, quam sereniss et potentiss· Romanorvm, Vngariae et Bohemiae, etc. Regi Ferdinando, obtulerunt Viennae in Austria XIV. Die IX bris, Anno Jesv Christi MDXXXV. Barones, et ex nobilitate in regno Bohemia ij. qui puriori doctrinae in pijs Ecclesijs, quas communitatem Fratrum Bohemicorum nominant, dediti sunt et conjuncti: Quae eadem et Imperatori Maximiliano II. Avg. et Sereniss. Regi Poloniae Sigismundo, etc. oblata est: Recognita, et conversa in linguam Latinam nova interpretatione, Anno Christi MDLXXIII. Psal. CXIX. Loquebar de testimonijs tuis coram Regibus, at non confundebar.

[38] This historical Preface is found also in Camerarius, p. 263, etc., where it is entitled: De origine Ecclesiarum Bohemiae, etc., et Confessionibus ab iis editis.

man must learn to know his depravity: redemption comes through Christ alone, according to the promises. 5. *Repentance.* Having recognized his depravity man must repent: repentance is fear of God and His judgment, sorrow for sin, a broken and a contrite heart. 6. *Christ and Justification.* No one can be delivered from the bondage of sin and enter the liberty of the children of God except through living faith in Jesus Christ, who is the Only Begotten Son of the Father but became a man and took upon himself human nature: such faith, without any work or merit of his own, justifies a man in the sight of God: justification is the forgiveness of sin, deliverance from everlasting punishment, an imputing to the believer of the righteousness of Christ, acceptance through grace, and the inheritance of eternal life: in this doctrine is found the sum of the Gospel. 7. *Good Works and Christian Life.* Such as are justified must, constrained by the Holy Ghost, show their faith by good and pious works. 8. *The Church.* The church militant is the communion of all Christians: this communion consists of righteous and unrighteous, of living and dead members: wherever doctrine is preached in all purity, and the sacraments are administered according to the institution of Christ, and the members, in the unity of the faith and of love, grow up into Christ,—there is the true Church: the Brethren do not claim to be exclusively the true Church, but they are a part of the true Church. 9. *The Teachers of the Church.* Those that preach the Gospel are ambassadors for Christ; they must be properly ordained: they must not be lords over God's heritage, yet the people must obey them as having the rule over them: they shall, if possible, earn their bread by the labor of their hands. 10. *The Word of God.* The preaching of the Gospel is the true office of grace, instituted by Christ himself. 11. *The Sacraments.* They have been instituted by Christ and form the means through which the believer is united with Him, so that a spiritual body is produced: the mere administration of a sacrament, as an *opus operatum*, is worthless. 12. *Holy Baptism.* The outward washing with water is a sign and a testimony of the spiritual washing and inner cleansing, through the Holy Ghost, from innate depravity and other sin to the obtaining of the new birth (ad consequendum novum ortum nascendi seu regenerationem): God "washes away sin, regenerates man (hominem regenerare), and confers upon him salvation." Children also are to be baptized. 13. *The Lord's Supper.* "The bread of the Lord's Supper is the body of the Lord Jesus Christ, given for us: in the same manner, the cup, or the wine in it, is His blood shed for us for the forgiveness of sin: this we believe according to the clear words of Christ, when He says; 'This is my body; this is my blood:' to these certain words, spoken by the Lord Christ, by which He proclaims, testifies and institutes, that the bread is His body, and

the wine His blood, no one shall add anything, and from them no one shall take anything, but every one is bound to believe what they say: in order, however, to explain the meaning of such faith we teach further, that although the bread is the body of Christ, according to His institution, and the wine His blood, neither the bread nor the wine changes or loses its nature and substance; but the bread is and remains real bread, and the wine real wine: hence this *locutio*, or manner of speaking—namely, the bread is the body, and the wine is the blood of Christ—must be understood as a sacramental *locutio*, signifying that these two different things remain what, according to their nature, they are, and yet, in view of their sacramental union, also are that which they signify and testify; not by nature and in a natural manner, but through the institution and declaration (de institutione atque pronunciatione) of Him who instituted this sacrament." 14. *The Keys of Christ.* The power of the keys is based upon the words of Christ and has been received by the Church from Him, through the Holy Ghost: it is the power to bind and to loose. 15. *Usages; Ceremonies; and Christian Liberty.* Usages and ceremonies, although of subordinate importance, are proper for the furtherance of the service of the Church: Christian liberty is that which proceeds from the forgiveness of sins: therefore all such usages and ceremonies as militate against the honor, glory and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, are to be avoided. 16. *The Civil Power.* Government has been instituted by God: it must abide by His commandments: and the people must obey it in all things which are not contrary to the divine law. 17. *The Saints and their Adoration.* No one shall adore the saints or their pictures: adoration belongs to God alone: but it is proper to hold up their lives as an example to the people. 18. *Fasting.* This is an outward act of faith, by which the believer is exercised in abstinence. 19. *Celibacy; Virginity; and Marriage.* It is left to the free will of men or women to choose a life of celibacy, or of virginity: and no one shall be forced to adopt it: the marriage state is holy and well-pleasing to God: yet the Church of the Brethren recommends celibacy to its priests, without binding them to accept it: any priest may marry, with the consent of the Bishops. 20. *The Time of Grace.* This present life includes the time of grace: repentance must not be delayed until old age or a sick or dying bed: nevertheless if any one is converted in his last hour, he shall receive the consolations of the Gospel.

The Confession, of which the above is a brief summary, was the last and most complete of all the Confessions officially issued by the Brethren. It shows the progress which they had made in the knowledge of evangelical truth and the influence which the Reformation had exercised upon their

theological system. The Synod, that met on the twentieth of September, at Holleschau, while satisfied with Rüdinger's translation, for which he was liberally paid, expressed its deep regret that the testimonial of the Wittenberg Faculty had remained in manuscript. Soon afterward the Faculty permitted its publication.[39]

The Confession was widely circulated in Bohemia, Germany and Switzerland. With regard to its merits, opinions differed. Peter Codicillus, the Rector of the University of Prague, took great offense at the historical Preface; Beza found fault with the article on the Lord's Supper and with many other points; Crato severely criticised the celibacy of the clergy and certain modes of expression relating to the work of Christ; but Jerome Zanchi, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, Olevianus, Jacob Mylius and Ursinus, expressed their unqualified approbation.[40]

In their relations to other Protestants, the Brethren were beginning to manifest an unfortunate tendency. That they continued to fraternize both with the Lutherans and the Reformed, was right and in accord with a fundamental principle of the Unity. But they went beyond a mere fraternization. They sought, perhaps unconsciously, what was tantamount to patronage. How eager were they not to obtain a testimonial from the Wittenberg Faculty, although its glory had departed! In order to secure such an indorsement they were willing even to reconstruct their doctrinal articles.[41] It is true that the same thing had been done in Luther's day. But at that time their theology was still

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[39] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 240. This testimonial appears in the original German edition of the Confession published at Wittenberg in 1573, and referred to in Note 37; hence the Faculty must, prior to the end of that year, have given its permission.

[40] The many letters that passed between Bishop Stephan and the above divines, together with other cognate documents, are given in Quellen, pp. 382–341, taken from L. F., XII.

[41] The article on baptism, and especially that part which related to the baptism of children, was changed to suit the views of the Wittenberg divines.

forming. Now they had reached, both in doctrine and life, a maturity which gave them the right to take their own course independently of Wittenberg, of Geneva, or of any other theological centre. Amidst the disgraceful controversies which were in progress, begetting a carnal spirit and a low standard of life, they ought to have stretched their wings and soared like the eagle. Their true mission was to press forward among the Slavonian nations, and shaking off every trammel, to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of their Unity. The course which they did pursue, diminished its influence and eventually helped to bring about its extinction. Zinzendorf forcibly says: "The Bohemian Brethren's Church began to decay, not when it grew to be great, but when it sought outside unions."[42]

There was another evil which resulted from such a tendency. In attempting to gain the good will both of the Lutherans and of the Reformed, the Brethren, at times, exposed themselves to the charge of insincerity.

The practical outcome of their recent negotiations with Wittenberg, was—strange to say!—a growing sympathy not with the Lutherans, but with the Reformed. After the catastrophe which overtook the University in 1574, such sympathy became a marked feature in their history.[43]

That the Brethren failed to recognize the evil results of the policy which has been indicated, was owing, in no small degree, to the want of leaders like Luke, Augusta and Blahoslaw. True and faithful and superior in learning though the later bishops were, they did not guide the helm with the skill, the authority, the farsightedness of those masters; whose intercourse with other Protestants, moreover, had been of a different character. For what they had received, they had given a full equivalent. Of this Augusta's

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[42] Croeger, II. p. 90, Note.

[43] In 1574 the Elector of Saxony forcibly suppressed, at the University of Wittenberg, the system of Melanchthon, or Crypto-Calvinism as it was called, and treated some of its upholders with great cruelty; especially Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, who was imprisoned for twelve years.

admonitions to Luther with regard to the discipline, are a notable instance.

It was the discipline which chiefly engaged the attention of that Synod at Holleschau to which we have referred. The same subject had been discussed in the previous year, at a meeting at Austerlitz (February the twenty-eighth, 1572). Cases of immorality had occurred among the nobility and too much license had been permitted at weddings. Resolutions of the strictest kind were therefore adopted, to exercise the discipline without fear or favor.[44]

Meantime the Brethren were quietly regaining their former status in Bohemia. They prospered even in the capital, under the eyes of the Archbishop. In the spring of 1573 this prelate lodged formal complaint with the government, that their chapel, on Brennten Street, was frequented by "many more people than some of the principal churches of the city."[45]

Since the accession of the House of Hapsburg to the Bohemian throne no Diet was equal in importance to that which convened on the twenty-first of February, 1575; and, with an occasional recess, continued its labors until the twenty-seventh of September, of the same year. Under the leadership of Bohuslaw Felix Lobkowitz von Hassenstein, a movement was set on foot to unite the Lutheran elements of Utraquism into an independent evangelical church. Although the Brethren, at first, held themselves aloof from this movement, it gradually drew them into its current. The Lutheran states desired their co-operation. To define their relation to the new Church proved, however, a difficult thing. It was finally agreed by both parties to insert in the Preface of the Confession, prepared by a committee for presentation to the Emperor, a passage to the following effect: The Lutheran states will not interfere with the religion of their "dear lords and friends who call themselves the Brethren's Unity," seeing

[44] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 240, cited by Czerwenka.
[45] Gindely, II. p. 102.

that its Confession "in all its chief articles agrees with the Confession of Christian faith herewith presented."[46]

This "Bohemian Confession," as it is generally denominated, was presented to Maximilian on the eighteenth of May, 1575. It was written in Bohemian and consisted of twenty-five articles, based both upon the Augustana and the Confession of the Brethren. Its brevity and concise definitions of doctrine constituted its chief merit. A plan for the government of the Bohemian Lutheran Church accompanied the document.[47]

It was not until the twenty-second of August that the Emperor returned an answer. He could, so he said, neither accept the Confession nor allow the institution of a new ecclesiastical government; he had sworn to be true to the Bohemian constitution; the proposed novelties were not in keeping with that constitution. That he assumed such a position because the Kings of Spain and France had remonstrated with him, and the Pope had threatened to excommunicate him, Maximilian privately confessed. But he was ill at ease. On the second of September he summoned to an audience representatives of the evangelical states, and of his own accord declared: that these states had his permission to

[46] "Dass wir sie (dieweil sich ihre Confession in allen vornemsten Hauptartickeln, mit dieser unserer übergebenen Christlichen Glaubensbekäntnus vergleicht) in ihrer Religion nicht zu bedrängen gedenken." Bekantnuss, d. h. Christl. Glaubens, aller dreyer Ständ dess Koenigreichs Böhmen, etc., 1609. Vorrede, fol. 5. Malin Library, No. 747. In the course of the negotiations between the Brethren and the Lutherans the former drew up an independent petition to the Emperor, but were persuaded not to present it. From this document, which was signed by all the Bohemian nobles belonging to the Unity and present at the Diet, we obtain an idea of the strength and influence of the Brethren about this time. The signatures of not less than one hundred and fifty-eight heads of noble houses are appended. Seventeen of the signers were barons and one hundred and forty-one knights. Gindely, II. pp. 154–158, who gives the names in full.

[47] The Bohemian Confession was translated into German in the same year in which it was presented to the Emperor. Besides the German edition cited in Note 46, the Malin Library contains copies of the editions of 1611 and 1621. A Latin version appeared at Frankfurt, in 1614. (Malin Library, No. 302.) This version is found also in Niemeyer's Conf., pp. 819–846.

elect "Defenders;" that "he herewith granted them the free exercise of their religion;" that his word was equivalent to a written edict; that he would rather suffer death than be unfaithful to that word.[48] Several days later, his son, Rudolph, was elected King of Bohemia (September the eleventh). On the twenty-second of the same month, after having promised to respect the pledge of religious liberty given by his father, he was solemnly crowned.

And now was seen a great change throughout the kingdom. Ten Defenders were appointed who began to arrange a system of ecclesiastical government; the Protestant nobles, without exception, called to their domains ministers of their own faith; the cities which had Protestant lords did the same; even the royal cities re-organized their parishes; and in Prague several churches passed out of the hands of the Utraquists. On a sudden, however, the Emperor issued a decree forbidding the publication of the Bohemian Confession, the appointment of evangelical ministers in royal cities, and, in accordance with the edicts of Uladislaus and Ferdinand, the religious services of the Brethren. In vain were the expostulations of Hassenstein and other nobles; the Emperor remained firm, saying that his edict was directed against the Picards, and that in the royal cities he was lord. The sky began to darken. Distant mutterings were heard of a coming storm. It drew nearer at the Diet of the following year. But before it burst, the Emperor was overtaken by death. He breathed his last at Regensburg, on the twelfth of October, 1576. In February, of 1577, his body was conveyed to Prague for burial. The obsequies were interrupted by a panic, as unaccountable as it was fearful, which dispersed the funeral procession and made the city wild with terror. It was said that the Jesuits had planned a massacre which was to be the counterpart of that of St. Bartholomew. For this report there existed no foundation.[49]

[48] Czerwenka, II. p. 472.

[49] A very full and quaint account of this panic is given in the Todtenbuch, pp. 55, etc.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Beginning of Rudolph's Reign. A. D. 1576 *to* 1580; *and the Polish Branch of the Unitas Fratrum in the first Decade after the Synod of Sendomir.* *A. D.* 1570–1580.

Religious Liberty and the Jesuits.—Rudolph the Second.—His first Diet.—Decline of the Utraquist Consistory.—Rudolph and the Moravian States.—Baron Zerotin.—Correspondence with John Casimir of the Palatinate.—Death of Bishop Stephan.—Feeling against the Brethren.—Krajek excommunicated.—Correspondence with Casimir renewed.—Rokita and the Russian Czar.—Death of Sigismund Augustus.—The Pacta Conventa.—Union Synod at Cracow.—Synod of the Brethren at Posen.—Coronation of Henry of Valois.—Stephen Bathori King.—The Jesuits.—Correspondence of Polish Magnates and Divines with Germany respecting a general Convention of all the Protestants of Europe.—Synod at Petrikau.—End of the Brethren's Church in East Prussia.—New Bishops.

At various times, in its past history, Bohemia had beheld fleeting visions of religious liberty; but it was not until the Diet of 1575 that such liberty assumed a real existence. It is true that this existence depended upon a verbal promise and was not formally guaranteed. Nevertheless the events of 1575 were the sign of an approaching crisis. A crisis was inevitable in a kingdom whose sovereign was a Romanist, while the majority of his subjects were Protestants. It came in 1609, and resulted in the Bohemian charter. Under the broad wing of this charter Protestants and Catholics enjoyed equal rights, and prosperity would have blessed the realm, if it had not harbored the Jesuits. These satraps of Rome steadily kept in view her supremacy and the destruction, no matter by what means, of everything that she called heresy.

Hence as soon as Bohemian Protestantism lifted up its head, they silently declared war against it; and never rested until by slow but sure degrees they brought on a catastrophe which crushed evangelical religion and produced a conflict of arms that extended far beyond the bounds of Bohemia, convulsing the half of Europe and raging fearfully for thirty years.

When these commotions burst forth Rudolph the Second, Maximilian's son and successor, was no longer living, but his reign constituted their seed-time. It was a dark day that saw him ascend the throne. Educated at the Spanish court, under the eye of Philip the Second and the sinister influences of the Jesuits, he grew to be a gloomy, suspicious, irresolute and yet selfwilled man.[1] With no strength of mind and no force of purpose he undertook to rule a kingdom and an empire, and instead of devoting himself to the duties of his high mission, manifested in the affairs of state an indolence that is almost incredible, dabbled in astrology and alchemy, collected pictures, gems and statues, spent hours in his stables where stood the finest horses that money could procure, eschewed matrimony for a dissolute life, and became a mere tool in the hands of unworthy favorites.

That he bore such a character was not known when he assumed the government. His Protestant subjects trembled with apprehension. To what extremes might not his antecedents lead him? Reared in an atmosphere thick with Philip's cruel bigotry, might he not carry out in Bohemia what he had learned in Spain? But the very first Diet which he convened (February, 1577), gave unmistakable evidence of the weakness of his character. The Protestants took heart; their nobles grew bold; in a short time the power of the aristocracy in general was as overweening as it had ever been.

At the Diet bitter complaints, especially against the Brethren, were brought forward by the Utraquist Consistory. The

[1] Rudolph was born at Vienna, on the eighteenth of July, 1552; in his eleventh year he was sent to Spain; in 1575, soon after he had been elected King of Bohemia, he was chosen and crowned Roman King at Regensburg, and hence became Emperor on the death of his father.

position of this body had become pitiful. Its authority was acknowledged by but fifteen domains and a few royal cities.[2] The lame efforts which Rudolph made to come to its assistance proved fruitless.

And now he proceeded to Olmütz in order to assume the sovereignty of his Moravian margraviate.[3] Its nobles failed not to provide for a continuance of its religious liberty. They exacted pledges before acknowledging him as Margrave. They humbled the Bishop of Olmütz who refused to join with them in their demands. They interfered when Rudolph, on the strength of a decree which he had issued, attempted to oppress the Brethren at Gaja, one of the royal towns.

In these proceedings, John von Zerotin took a prominent part. He was a rich and influential baron and a leading member of the Brethren's Church. Blahoslaw had been his teacher and had made of him a far-sighted statesman and an enlightened Christian. His seat was at Namiest, but he owned a number of other Moravian and Bohemian domains, among the latter Brandeis on the Adler, which continued to be one of the centres of the Unity.

While the Brethren were not affected by the complaints of the Utraquist Consistory, they gained notoriety and earned ill-will in another way. The attention of the Elector Frederick the Third, who had introduced the Reformed system into the Palatinate, having been drawn to them, he expressed a desire to become acquainted with their standards. Bishop Stephan sent him the German and the Bohemian Hymnals (1576). But as the Elector died before receiving these books, Stephan wrote to the Palatine John Casimir and begged him to accept them. In acknowledging this gift Casimir suggested to Stephan, that the Brethren should appoint delegates to a Reformed Synod at Frankfurt-on-the-

[2] Gindely, II. p. 236.

[3] As an instance of Rudolph's unwillingness to attend to the affairs of state, it is related, that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could be persuaded to go to Olmütz in order to receive the homage of the Moravian nobles.

Main (1577).[4] This Synod was to be an offset to that Lutheran convocation near Magdeburg which had produced the "Form of Concord," and representatives were expected from all the Reformed countries of Europe. The Bishops were perplexed. They sympathized with the Reformed, but foresaw the odium which the Unity would reap if they accepted the invitation. While still undecided as to what course they should pursue, Stephan died suddenly at Jarmeritz, on the twenty-first of July, 1577.[5] This unexpected stroke was reported to Casimir and assigned as a reason for declining his request. A second letter, written in the same month, set forth the relation of the Brethren to the Augustana and the very serious entanglements which their presence at a Reformed Synod would bring about.[6] In spite of the secrecy with which this correspondence had been conducted, it became known and produced so great a sensation that the Council, at a meeting held at Prerau, resolved to consult the nobles of the Church in all future negotiations with foreign princes.

The feeling against the Brethren was intensified through a notable exercise of discipline at Jungbunzlau. Baron Adam von Krajek took part in a dance and became intoxicated; and Kreszentia, a young Baroness of the same family, fell into gross sin with one of her own servants. Both these offenders were publicly excommunicated by Bishop Kalef. A cry of wrath rang through the ranks of the Lutheran and Catholic nobility. Excommunicate members of a family as exalted as the House of Krajek! The thing was not to be

[4] Both the Letters are found in Quellen, pp. 434 and 435, taken from L. F. XII.

[5] On the following day his remains were conveyed to Prossnitz and buried in the presence of thirty-four priests and deacons of the Unity. Several nobles of Rudolph's retinue came from Olmütz and attended the funeral, taking occasion to converse with the Brethren on their faith and public worship. Todtenbuch, p. 64.

[6] Both these letters are given in Quellen, pp. 437, etc. They are dated at Eibenschütz, the first on the thirteenth of July; the second simply in July.

tolerated! Kalef ought to be beheaded! Such were the expressions heard on many sides. The excitement had not yet subsided, when a certain Lorenz, an apothecary of Jungbunzlau and a member of the Unity, walled his wife in a cave, on suspicion of her having committed adultery. She was rescued by his neighbors; but the inhuman act of which he had been guilty was charged upon the discipline of the Brethren and added fresh fuel to the prevailing indignation.[7] This was as unjust as the fearless course of Bishop Kalef was illustrious. The lord of the domain embracing the principal seat of the Brethren was dealt with in the same way in which one of his serfs would have been treated.[8] Such rigid impartiality can not but excite our admiration.

Different is the impression made by the renewal of the correspondence with the Palatine. In this respect the position assumed by the Bishops deserves anything but praise.

Casimir sent them, through Peter Duthenus, his court-preacher, a report, drawn up by Christopher Threcius, of the Synod at Frankfurt and urgently invited them to a second Synod which he proposed convening.[9] This overture was considered at a special meeting of the Bishops and Council. They realized that there were serious obstacles in the way; that they might be accused of forming an alliance with a foreign power, nay of treason; that the Palatine was actuated rather by political than by religious motives. On the other hand they were impressed with the idea that they ought not to allow this opportunity to gain the good-will of a Reformed prince to pass by; that a time might come when they would be forced to sever their connection with the Lutherans and make common cause with the Calvinists. In any event the

[7] L. F. XII. pp. 429 and 432, cited by Gindely.

[8] Krajek confessed that his conduct was censurable, but for a long time obstinately refused to apply for re-admission to the Church, although he as obstinately rejected the efforts of the Lutherans to win him to their side. Eventually he became penitent, was re-admitted to the Unity and resumed his former influential position.

[9] Letters of the Palatine and Duthenus in Quellen, pp. 441, etc.

controversies of the former were abhorrent to them; while in the experiences of the latter they saw, to some extent, their own reflected. Hence they finally resolved to accept the Palatine's invitation and send a delegate, but with the utmost secrecy.[10] A preliminary letter was addressed to Casimir. It was written by Esrom Rüdinger, and made humiliating advances and unprecedented concessions.

The Brethren reject ubiquitism;[11] their views with regard to the sacraments must be understood accordingly; these views correspond fully with those of the Frankfurt Synod; but the Unity has thus far been under the protection of the adherents of the Augustana; to give up this connection would jeopard its existence in Bohemia and Moravia. Would the Palatine be willing to acknowledge the Confession of the Brethren in his own dominions? Does he insist on a public separation from the Lutherans and a public union with the Reformed? What does he advise the Brethren to do? They will follow his advice.

The sentiments which this letter expressed, in the name of the leaders of the Unity, as well as the extravagant humility and lamentable want of self-assertion shown in their previous communications to Casimir, constitute a further and striking proof of that tendency which we have pointed out in the foregoing chapter.[12] It must not be forgotten, however, that, in spite of the resolution adopted at Prerau, the nobles and the membership generally knew nothing of such overtures, but pursued, with singleness of heart, the way of their fathers. The responsibility rested with the Bishops and the Council. Their deliberations were guided by a questionable

[10] So says Gindely in the Introduction to the Eleventh Part of his Quellen, p. 433.

[11] That is, the corporeal omnipresence of Christ, which dogma was creating virulent disputes at the time.

[12] Rüdinger's letter is given in Quellen, p. 443, etc., and taken from L. F. XII. Rüdinger had been obliged to leave Wittenberg and had taken charge of one of the Brethren's schools. Even Bishop Croeger, with all his gentleness and respect for the divine right of sovereigns, grows indignant and sarcastic, when speaking of the communication to Casimir.

expediency which brought them to slippery ground. It was therefore a fortunate circumstance that the proposed Synod did not take place and that the correspondence with Casimir came to an end.

In the year of the Sendomirian Synod and soon after its adjournment (1570), Sigismund Augustus sent an embassy of four magnates to the Russian Czar, Ivan the Fourth, surnamed The Terrible.[13] Two of the ambassadors, John Krotowski and Raphael Leszcynski, were members of the Brethren's Church. At their suggestion John Rokita was invited to accompany the embassy as chaplain. The Bishops gladly gave their consent, in the hope that he might be the means of bringing to Russia the light of the pure Gospel. Their instructions were, that he should endeavor to induce the Czar to accept the evangelical faith.

It was at Moscow that the ambassadors were admitted to an interview with Ivan. His reception of them was as rude as his manners were savage. He snatched from them whatever happened to please his fancy; and had the horses, which they had brought as a gift from the King, hewn in pieces, in wanton contempt, before their very eyes. Undismayed by such barbarism Rokita sought and obtained an audience. It took place in public and was opened by the Czar with the curt question, harshly put: "Who are you?"

Rokita, to whom had been assigned a seat on a divan covered with rich tapestry, replied: "I am a minister and preacher of the Church of Christ."

"What do you teach your hearers?"

"The doctrines comprehended in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, and sealed with the testimony of miracles; of which doctrines the chief are found in the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, in the definitions of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and in what is set forth respecting the duties of each Christian."

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[13] Also known as Ivan Vasilievitch the Second, and called, in some of the sources, the Grand Duke John Basil. He was the first Russian ruler that assumed the title of Czar.

Continuing his questions Ivan successively asked:

"What do you believe concerning man's justification before God?"

"If divine grace alone saves men, why will Christ judge them according to their works?"

"What religion do you confess? It seems to me that it is the religion of Martin Luther, who fell away from the old faith."

"If you have fallen away from the old faith, tell me, who has called you to the priestly office?"

"What do you hold of Christian fasting?"

"In what way do your people pray?"

"Why do you not adore the pictures and images of the saints?"

"What is your opinion with regard to the marriage of priests, and celibacy?"

These questions Rokita answered with great boldness and power from on high. Of justification he said, that no man can free himself from the curse of sin or satisfy his Creator by good works. "But when," so he proceeded, "the conscience is overwhelmed by the multitude of the sins which it has recognized and is filled with sorrow because of the offence which these sins have given to the Divine Majesty, I point, as John the Baptist pointed, to the Lamb and Son of God, Jesus Christ, who taketh away the sin of the world, and Himself is the righteousness of all who believe." This truth he developed, with great force, according to the Scriptures.

As to good works he declared that faith is hidden in the heart, but that good works are its fruit which must be seen of men. "And indeed," he solemnly added, "I who stand here before God and the angels confess, yea, and testify to thee, that we believe and teach, that a Christian washed by the blood of Jesus and reconciled to God ought not any more to give a loose bridle to his depraved lusts, nor trusting in mercy, allow sin to reign in his mortal body; but that he ought rather to adjust the whole course of his life in such a way as will lead him to serve the Lord in all holiness, righteousness and truth."

When treating of the adoration of the saints he proclaimed, with the utmost freedom, that God, in the twenty-sixth chapter of Leviticus, had distinctly forbidden such adoration; that St. John had written, "Little children keep yourselves from idols;" that St. Peter had said to Cornelius, when he fell down at his feet and worshiped him: "Stand up, I myself also am a man;" that even the angel before whom St. John prostrated himself, had said: "See thou do it not!"

In speaking thus fearlessly Rokita did not forget the violent character of the monarch with whom he had to do; but he trusted in the promise of his divine and infinitely greater Master: "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles; it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak."[14] This promise was fulfilled. The testimony borne in the presence of Ivan The Terrible was a demonstration of divine power, even though his proud heart remained unimpressed.

That its chords had not been touched, soon became evident. The first Czar of Russia neither accepted Protestantism himself nor allowed it to have free course in his dominions. Rokita received in writing, what claimed to be, a complete refutation of all that he had said at the audience. This refutation abounded in coarse invectives against himself and his Church. It told him that he might depart in peace, but that he was nevertheless a heretic, a servant of Antichrist, inspired by the devil; and that to try and convince him and his brethren of their errors, was to give that which is holy to the dogs and to throw pearls before swine.

In spite of such vituperations, Ivan presented to Rokita, when he was about leaving Moscow, a royal gift. It consisted of an exposition, in manuscript, of the faith of the Greek Church. This manuscript was bound in plates of solid gold and richly ornamented with pearls.[15]

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[14] Matt. 10: 18 and 19.

[15] The authorities for the above narrative are the following: A Polish MS. written by Rokita and found at Lissa, by Gindely, who cites it in II.

Two years after the return of this embassy, on the seventh of July, 1572, Sigismund Augustus died without issue. The Diet of Convocation, as it was called, met on the sixth of January, in the following year, and adopted an act of confederation, known as the *Pacta Conventa*, which secured to Poland religious liberty, but at the same time gave the nobles unlimited power, even in spiritual things, over the peasants, who were thus—so Krasinski says—estranged from Protestantism. This act was constituted a fundamental law to which the Polish kings were obliged to swear fidelity; the monarchy became elective; and its prerogatives were circumscribed. In effecting these changes the magnates of the Unity took a prominent part. Three months later, Henry of Valois, Duke of Anjou and brother of Charles the Ninth of France, was chosen king.

On the twenty-ninth of September, of the same year (1573), at Cracow, the confederated Protestants held their first general Synod.[16] The Brethren were represented by Israel, Lorenz, Turnovius, and John Enoch. After the *Consensus Sendomiriensis* and the Articles of Posen had been anew ratified, various constitutional points and disciplinary principles were settled. The latter applied to the Reformed only; the Brethren having a well-established discipline and the Lutherans being allowed to take their own course. There followed at Posen, on the eighteenth of November, a Synod of the Brethren, at which Erasmus Gliczner was present.

p. 89 and p. 474, Note 128; Lukaszewicz, p. 53, etc.; Regenvolscius, p. 91; a letter in L. F., X. written by Rokita to Cerwenka and consulting him with regard to the proposed mission, Quellen, p. 123; Krasinski, II. p. 398, Note; Croeger, II. p. 90, etc.; and especially a work by Lasitius, entitled De Russorum Moscovitarum et Tartarorum Religione, etc., Spiræ, 1582 (Malin Library, No. 347). This work contains the Czar's ten questions, with Rokita's answers in full, and also, in fourteen chapters, the Czar's refutation, each chapter having a reply by Lasitius appended. Where Bishop Croeger found the answers which he ascribes to Rokita, we have no means of ascertaining. They differ materially from those given by Lasitius whom we follow.

[16] Sources for the History, in this chapter, of the Polish Brethren, are Lukaszewicz, pp. 87–98, and Krasinski, II. Chap. III.

The various compacts with their fellow Protestants were discussed and affirmed; and a suggestion that the Protestant magnates should assemble in full force in order to receive the new king, found great favor. In this way, it was said, he would get a proper idea of the strength of the evangelical party.

When Henry reached Poland, in January, 1574, this suggestion was carried out on so magnificent a scale that his French escort were filled with astonishment. His coronation took place on the twenty-first of February. It was a memorable occasion. At Paris he had sworn to uphold the *Pacta Conventa;* at Cracow the oath was to be repeated. But, influenced by the Catholic clergy, he sought to evade this obligation. The ceremony was almost at an end; he had already knelt at the altar in order to be crowned; it was evident that he meant to ignore the prescribed oath. In that moment the Palatines Firley and Dembrinski came forward and presented it written on a scroll. In great astonishment Henry rose from his knees and confronted them. But Firley seizing the crown exclaimed in a loud voice: "*Si non jurabis non regnabis!*"[17] The French Prince took the oath and was crowned.

He reigned four months and then, on receiving the news of his brother's decease, secretly left Poland, hurried to France and ascended its more congenial throne.

In his stead Stephen Bathori, Prince of Transylvania, was elected king and married Anna, the sister of Sigismund Augustus (1575). He was a zealous but conscientious Catholic. "Three things," he said, "God has reserved for himself: the creation of the world out of nothing; the knowledge of future events; and the power over the human conscience."[18] Nor could he be persuaded to interfere with religious liberty.

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[17] "If thou wilt not swear, thou shalt not reign." Krasinski, II, p. 41.

[18] Croeger, II, p. 94. Krasinski maintains that Bathori was a Protestant but was induced by the Roman Catholic clergy to become a pervert to Romanism.

During his reign the Jesuits made rapid progress in Poland. They had been introduced in the time of Sigismund Augustus, by Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, a bigoted but celebrated prelate, who established them at Braunsberg (1564). Six years later, in 1570, they gained access to Posen, which place soon grew to be their stronghold. They won the favor of the Princess Anna who upheld them, in every way, when she became Queen; they opened schools which gained a high repute and were patronized even by Protestants; they introduced public disputations that attracted great attention; they manifested unusual eloquence in the pulpit; and with the most insinuating arts they crept up to powerful magnates of the evangelical party, and tried to entice them back to Romanism.

Meanwhile some of these magnates were endeavoring to extend the blessings of the Sendomirian confederation. On the occasion of the Diet of Warsaw, in 1578, they wrote to the Palatine John Casimir, to the Elector of Saxony and to the Margrave of Brandenburg, deploring the discord which prevailed among the German churches, suggesting a union on the plan of that established in Poland, and urging that there should be held a convention in which all the Protestant churches of Europe should be represented. At the same time Gliczner, Turnovius, Gilovius, Prazmowski and other divines sent similar letters to the theologians of Germany. This laudable effort was not crowned with success.

It was followed by a second General Synod, held on the first of June, in the same year, at Petrikau. This body again ratified the *Consensus Sendomirensis;* forbade communicants to remain seated when receiving the elements of the Lord's Supper, but otherwise allowed each church to maintain its own ceremonies at this sacrament; resolved that any church connected with the Sendomirian union might, with the consent of the proper authorities, call to its service a minister of either of the other two churches; determined to establish a general Protestant school for Poland; and adopted a number of other regulations.

In 1574 the Prussian branch of the Unity came to an end. After the death of Duke Albert (1568), the restrictions imposed upon the Brethren grew more and more irksome, until at last their ritual was altogether forbidden. Thereupon the majority of them went to Poland; the rest returned to Bohemia.

The vacancy in the episcopate, caused by the death of Bishop Stephan, was filled on the thirtieth of August, 1577, when Zacharias and John Aeneas were elected. They received consecration at Holleschau, at the hands of Israel and Kalef.[19] Both the new Bishops were set over the Moravian Province. Zacharias took up his seat at Slezan and Aeneas at Eibenschütz. The latter was a very learned man.[20]

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[19] Jaffet's S. G., II, p. 38. Zacharias was born at Leitomischl; in 1552 he was ordained to the priesthood; in 1572 elected to the Council.

[20] In 1572 he was ordained a deacon on one day and a priest on the next, after which he took charge of the parish at Trebitz and remained there until his election to the episcopacy.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Hymnology of the Unitas Fratrum. *A. D.* 1517–1580.

The Bohemian Hymnal of 1505.—The German of 1531 and 1540.—The Polish of 1554.—New and enlarged Hymnals in Bohemian, German, and Polish.

One of the most attractive features in the history of the Bohemian Brethren is their hymnology. It beautifully illustrates the doctrinal system which they upheld, and affords an insight into the depths of their Christian life.

As their Hymn-books were destroyed, by thousands, in the Anti-Reformation and the copies which remain are extremely rare, we will, at some length, describe the principal editions.

Of the first Hymnal, edited in Bohemian, by Bishop Luke, in 1505, and containing versions of old Latin hymns, together with original compositions, we have spoken in a previous chapter.[1] It was republished in a revised form, in 1541, at Prague, Bishop Horn being its editor and Paul Severin its printer.

Out of it grew the German Hymnal, edited by Michael Weiss, published at Jungbunzlau in 1531, and republished at Ulm, in 1535.[2] It bears the following title: 1523.

[1] Vide p. 226.

[2] Michael Weiss was born at Neisse, in Silesia. He founded the churches at Landskron, where he died in 1554, and at Fulneck. Having learned the Bohemian language he translated many Bohemian hymns into German. Luther said of him that he was an excellent German poet. German Hymnal, ed. of 1639, p. 482, which work says that besides the edition of 1535, two others were published at Ulm. But these undoubtedly are editions of Horn's revised Hymnal.

Veritas Odium parit. Ein New Gesangbüchlen. MDXXXI. Venite exultemus Domino, jubilemus Deo salutari nostro. Psalm 95. *Veritas vincit.*

"1523. The Truth produces hatred. A new Hymn-book. 1531. O come, let us sing unto the Lord; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation. Psalm 95. The Truth conquers."

The colophon reads: *Gedruckt zum Jungen Buntzel in Behmen. Durch Georgen Wylenschwerer. Im Jar MCCCCCXXXI. Am zwelften Tag des Mertzen volendet.*

"Printed at Jungbunzlau in Bohemia, by George Wylenschwerer, in the year 1531. Finished on the twelfth day of March."[3]

This work contains one hundred and seventeen hymns, mostly translated from the Bohemian, and classified under seventeen heads. Along with the hymns are printed in full the notes of the tunes—an arrangement which is kept up in all the subsequent Hymnals. The dedication, signed by Michael Weiss, is addressed to "The Churches of the Christian Brotherhood at Fulneck and Landskron," and says:

"Your frequent requests have induced your Seniors and Pastors to supply you, our German brethren, as well as our Bohemian brethren, with spiritual songs. The compilation of this work was committed to me. I have undertaken it to the best of my ability, making use of your and the Bohemian brethren's old Hymnal, and bringing its meaning, according to the sure words of the Holy Scriptures, into German rhymes. The syllables, words and metre I have arranged in such a way that each hymn can be sung according to the notes by which it is accompanied. These hymns, after having been diligently revised, corrected and improved, have now been published by the Seniors. Therefore, dear brethren, make use of this little book and pray to God that He may lay upon it His benediction."

There follows, in rhymes, an "Exhortation" addressed to the reader, to praise God in the German tongue.

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[3] Of this Hymnal the Herrnhut Archives contain a copy, whose title has been transcribed for us. What the figures 1523, at the beginning of the title signify, we do not know; nor could our copyist tell us. Our description of the work is based upon Hist. Nachricht vom Brüder Gesangbuche, Gnadau, 1835, p. 16–18.

But not until this Hymnal had appeared in print did the Bishops discover that Weiss had tampered with it, setting forth, as he had done in the German version of the Confession of 1532, the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper. He was called to a severe account and directed to revise the objectionable hymns; but before this revision was completed, "God summoned him from hence."[4] Thereupon Bishop Horn undertook the work, assisted by two other Bishops; and in 1540 the Hymnal appeared in its new form.

Its title, printed partly in red and partly in black letters, is the following: *Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder in Behemen vnd Merherrn, Die man aus hass vnd neyd, Pickharden, Waldenses, etc., nennet. Von jnen auff ein newes (sonderlich vom Sacrament des Nachtmals) gebessert, und etliche schöne newe geseng hinzu gethan.*

"A Hymn-book of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, who through hatred and envy are called Picards, Waldenses, etc. Newly revised by them (especially in relation to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper), and several beautiful new hymns added."

There follow three passages from Scripture: Psalm 68: 5; Psalm 149: 1; Ephesians 5: 19 and 20. This work, as the colophon shows, was printed at Nuremberg by John vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber.

The Preface has this heading: "John Horn wishes the Christian reader grace and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord;" and explains how Weiss succeeded in interpolating his Zwinglian tendencies. Horn assumes part of the blame. He revised the hymns translated from the Bohemian, but allowed such as were original to go to the printer without revision or examination. This he did because Weiss' knowledge of the German was far superior to his own. Hence that representation of the Lord's Supper which is contrary to the long-established principles of the Brethren. Speaking of the new Hymnal Horn says:

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[4] Bishop Horn's words in the Preface to the revised Hymnal. His censure of Weiss is harsh.

"It has been our chief aim to let every one fully and clearly understand what our views are with regard to the articles of Christian faith; also how and in what way, in our assemblies, we praise, honor, and call upon God the Father, together with His beloved Son, Christ Jesus, and the Holy Ghost. And now, in all kindness, we would request such printers as will republish this Hymnal, not to change its sense; not to add syllables to, and not to take syllables from, the words, as was done in the former edition; not to mix strange hymns with these our hymns; but to let this Hymnal be and remain our Hymnal. As such we acknowledge it."

The table of contents embraces the following twenty-three heads:

1. Incarnation of Christ; 2. His Birth; 3. His Circumcision; 4. His Manifestation to the Gentiles; 5. His Presentation at the Temple; 6. His Walk on Earth; 7. His Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem; 8. His Sufferings and Death; 9. His Resurrection; 10. His Ascension; 11. The Holy Ghost; 12. The Holy Trinity; 13. The Holy Christian Church; 14. Didactic Hymns; 15. The Lord's Supper; 16. Hymns of Praise; 17. Hymns of Prayer; 18. Morning and Evening Hymns; 19. Hymns for the Fallen; 20. Hymns for Children; 21. The Saints; 22. Funeral Hymns; 23. The Judgment.

There are one hundred and eighty hymns—sixty-three more than in Weiss' edition, most of the new hymns being translations from the Bohemian. The book is a small octavo of five hundred and eight pages, and is illustrated with sixteen wood-cuts.[5]

In the year 1554 the Brethren published, at Ostrorog, their first Polish Hymnal. It was compiled and edited by George Israel.

Thus they had a complete hymnology, in the three languages of the Unity—the Bohemian, German, and Polish. The German Hymn-book, which was extensively used in Germany also, passed through several editions at Ulm and Nuremberg.

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[5] The copy which we have described above is No. 765 of the Malin Library. Although the year of its publication is not given, internal evidence shows that it is a copy of Horn's original edition of 1540. The same Library contains a Nuremberg reprint of 1611. Our own Library contains a copy printed, without the wood-cuts, at the same place, in 1585.

The year 1560 marks an era in the hymnology of the Brethren. They determined to publish new and larger Hymnals, "adapted to the spirit of the age," and yet not disconnected with the past. Their fathers, it was said, had exercised the greatest care in choosing hymns "which would cause the minds of the singers to flow together in the unity of the divine truth;" therefore of these hymns the best should be retained. But there existed also a large number of new ones; hence of these too a good selection should be made. Thus the old and the new would be brought into harmony; the churches would be edified; and God would have the praise. This important work was intrusted, by the Synod, to "several tried men of the Unity."[6]

Czerny and Blahoslaw were charged with the revision of the Bohemian Hymnal. In 1561 the new work appeared at Samter, in Poland. Its title is the following:

Pisne Duchownj Ewangelistke, opet znowu prehbdnute, zprawene a shromazdene: etc.

"Evangelical spiritual Hymns, revised, emended and collected: many new ones having been composed on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, to the glory and praise of the one eternal God and of the blessed Trinity. Also to be an Aid and a Comfort in the service of true Christian godliness; for all Believers who love the Bohemian Nation and Tongue."

The book is a small folio, contains three hundred and seventy-six pages, and seven hundred and forty-three hymns.[7] Its Preface was written by John Blahoslaw and is signed: "The Seniors of those Brethren of the Law of Christ whom some, through ignorance or hatred, call Picards or Waldenses." There were forty contributors to the hymns; the largest

[6] L. F., IX, pp. 318, etc., R.'s Z., p. 397, etc., gives the substance of the above; adduces the names of all the authors whose hymns found a place in the new Bohemian Hymnal; sets forth brief biographical notices with regard to these authors; and appends to their names the numbers of the hymns which they composed.

[7] There is a copy of an early edition, printed in 1564, in the Herrnhut Archives. The Malin Library contains a beautiful copy, folio, bound in parchment, with clasps, and printed in 1615. The Psalms in metre are added, translated by George Vetter, and each part of the Hymnal has a separate and highly ornamented title page.

number having been composed by Bishops Luke, Augusta, Michalek, and Blahoslaw. Other well-known names are: Hus, Ciklowsky, Krasonicky, John Taborsky, Czerny, Cerwenka, Adam Sturm, Rokita, and even Rokycana.

In the next place a new German Hymnal was compiled. This work was intrusted to Michael Tham, John Geletzky, and Peter Herbert, whom names are appended to the Preface. These three editors contributed together one hundred and fifty-three hymns; the rest were composed or translated by Weiss, Horn, John Giskius, Paul Klantendorffer, John Korytanski, Syrutschko, Valentine Schultz, Martin Zittaviensis, George Vetter, or Streic, Martin Polycarp of Hradek, and Luke Libaviensis.[8]

The work appeared in 1566 and bears the following title, which is highly ornamented with arabesques, the letters being partly red and partly black:

Kirchengeseng, Darinnen die Heuptartickel des Christlichen Glaubens kurtz gefasst vnd aussgeleget sind: Jetzt vom newen durchsehen, gemehret, vnd Der Röm. Key. Mai. in vnterthenigster demut zugeschrieben.

"Church Hymns, in which the chief Articles of the Christian Faith are briefly defined and explained: Now newly revised and enlarged, and dedicated, in deepest humility, to his Roman Imperial Majesty."

The colophon says: "Printed at Nuremberg, by Catharine Gerlach and the Heirs of John vom Berg."[9]

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[8] Verzeychniss derer Personen, welche die Böhmischen Gesänge in Deutsche Reymen übergesetzt, und also dieses Cantional verfertigt haben. Edition of 1639, pp. 482 and 483. Michael Tham was a German, an upright, pious, examplary and very diligent old priest, ordained in 1534. He had charge of the churches at Fulneck and Landskron, labored also at Jungbunzlau and in Poland, and died at Fulneck, August the twenty-seventh, 1571. Geletzky was a faithful priest who had charge of the churches at Fulneck and Grödlitz, in Bohemia. He died in 1568. The rest were all ministers or students of the Unity.

[9] The copy which we describe is No. 100, a, of the MalinLibrary and was printed in 1580, but it prestents the same appearance as the copies of 1564. The Malin Library copy is bound in a sheet of parchment, on which are written, in illuminated characters, the notes and words of an old chant.

This Hymnal consists of three parts. The first comprises, so says the Preface, "hymns in relation to Christ and His work, describing His life and our redemption; the second includes the chief points of Christian doctrine, according to the contents and order of that Christian Faith which is called the *Symbolum Apostolicum*;" the third is made up of "Spiritual Hymns, of which some were commonly used in the Church from of old, and others have been composed, in our time, by pious, enlightened Christians and by godly teachers." In the first part we find the following thirteen heads:

1. Christ's Incarnation; 2. His Birth; 2. His Circumcision; 4. His Manifestation to the Magi; 5. His Presentation at the Temple; 6. His Flight into Egypt; 7. His human Growth 8. His Conversation in His twelfth Year; 9. His Human Life and Ministry; 10. His Sufferings, Death and Burial; 11. His Resurrection; 12. His Ascension; 13. The Holy Ghost.

In the second part, which has an ornamented title page of its own, there are twenty-two heads:

1. The One Triune God; 2. Creation; 3. The Angels; 4. The Fall of Man; 5. The Law; 6. Christ the only Mediator; 7. The Church; 8. The Servants of the Church; 9. The Word of God; 10. Faith; 11. Repentance; 12. Prayer; 13. Justification; 14. The Sacraments; 15. Christian Life; 16. Marriage; 17. The Civil Power; 18. Mortality; 19. Funeral Hymns; 20. Resurrection of the Dead; 21. The Last Judgment; 22. Eternal Life.

These two parts together comprise three hundred and forty-five hymns; in the third part, which has both a title and paging of its own, are given one hundred and eight hymns, mostly by Luther; hence there are, in all, four hundred and fifty-three hymns. The volume is a quarto of six hundred and twenty pages, one hundred and thirty-two of which belong to the third part.

At the beginning of the Dedication stands the following greeting: "The Evangelical churches in Bohemia and Moravia (which by some are called Waldenses) invoke grace and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, upon the most serene, the most powerful and the invincible Prince and Lord, Maximilian of this name the Second, Roman Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke

of Austria," etc. The Dedication itself is a fervent protestation of loyalty and an earnest plea for protection, setting forth also the importance of hymnology in the Church of Christ.

In the Preface the editors, first, speak of the wonderful works of God in all ages of His Church. Then they go on to say: Of such works there has been given an example, "in these countries toward the north, in as much as God, prior to our time, raised up that beloved man, John Hus, the Bohemian Apostle, the steadfast confessor and martyr; and after him, in our time, that excellent teacher and prophet of the German country, Martin Luther, through both of whom He has renewed the Church;" in as much as these two distinguished men were closely allied in the character of their undertakings, their descendants ought to live in loving fellowship; Hus introduced church-hymns in the vernacular as a means to carry on his reformation; his descendants developed both hymnology and singing in a way never before known; this new collection of their spiritual songs is to set forth clearly the doctrines of the Evangelical Bohemian Church; the old songs of praise, which the Church used in ancient days, have been gathered as precious crumbs; modern hymns, by distinguished writers, have been added, but in a separate part, so that the Brethren may not be accused of appropriating to themselves the work done by others; this new Hymnal is offered not only to their own German churches, but also to the evangelical churches of Germany itself.

Last of all the Polish Hymn-book was revised and enlarged. It appeared, in its new form, in 1569.

The works which we have now described were frequently republished, always in small folio or quarto form, and remained in use as long as the Bohemian Brethren continued to exist.[10] A large number of their German hymns passed

[10] In 1604 and 1605 a revision of the German Hymnal was again undertaken by Martin Polycarp, of Hradeck, who added thirty-two hymns of his own. This work appeared in 1606. Malin Library, No. 100, b. The

into the Hymnals published by their descendants of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum.[11]

What the Hymnals say with regard to the general character of the songs of the Brethren, is still more clearly set forth by Bishop Stephan, who adds important information touching the tunes. In that letter to the Elector Frederick the Third of the Palatinate, which we have mentioned in another connection, he writes:

"Our fathers have taught us not only to preach the doctrines of religion from the pulpit, but also to frame them in hymns. In this way our songs become homilies. Experience having shown us that this principle bears good fruits among the Bohemians, we have introduced it among the Germans also. Some of our hymns date back to the time of Hus and the Taborites; others are new, and among these several have been composed by noblemen.[12] Our tunes are, in part, the old Grego-

arabesques of the title page are different from those of the former edition at the top of the page stands the name *Jehovah*, in Hebrew characters; at the bottom is an *Agnus Dei*, surrounded by crowned saints singing and playing the harps of God; the Preface is not signed by the three editors, but by "The Seniors and Ministers of the churches of the Brethren in Bohemia, Moravia and Poland;" and the first part, as well as the second and third, has an ornamented title page of its own, in addition to the general title. A second copy of the same edition, with the Psalms in metre appended, is preserved in the Bethlehem Archives. This copy has an interesting history. It was carried by Paul Münster, strapped to his back from Moravia to Herrnhut, in Saxony, in 1729, when he fled for the Gospel's sake. He deemed it his greatest treasure; all his other possessions he left behind. In the Library of the Moravian Historical Society, at Nazareth, there is a copy printed at Lissa, in 1639. This edition was revised by Daniel Vetter.

[11] Croeger, I, p. 235, etc., and II, p. 111, etc., gives fifty-nine hymns of the Bohemian Brethren found in the various German Hymnals of the Renewed Brethren's Church. There are many more. The American edition of the English Hymnal contains the following seven: Nos. 2, 37, 54, 174, 228, 828, and 922. The following additional hymns are given in the Second Series of Catharine Winkworth's Lyra Germanica: "Once more the day-light shines abroad," p. 69; "Now lay we calmly in the grave," p. 117; "Faith is a living power from heaven," p. 160.

[12] An interesting example is the Hymn *We gmeno Krysta daufame*, ("We hope in the name of Christ,") Boh. Hymnal, 1615, p. 378, composed by Barons Krajek, Prostiborsky, Tym, and Bishop Augusta conjointly, in 1535, when they were about to go to Vienna to present the Confession to Ferdinand.

rian, which Hus used, and in part borrowed from foreign nations, especially the Germans. Among these latter tunes are popular airs according to which worldly songs are sung. At this strangers, coming from countries where they have heard them used in this way, take offence. But our hymnologists have purposely adopted them, in order through these popular notes to draw the people to the truth which saves. We find no fault with intentions which are so good." [13]

To a musically uncultured ear the tunes are not euphonious; and the versification of the German hymns, on account of their literal rendering from the Bohemian, is often hard and rough. Nevertheless both tunes and hymns have excited, even in modern times, profound admiration. Herder, than whom no writer of the last century had a more thorough knowledge of sacred poetry, says:

"The hymns of the Bohemian Brethren are instinct with a simplicity and devotion, with a fervor and spirit of brotherly love, which we must not hope to imitate, because these characteristics no longer exist among us." [14]

Döring, another authority, says:

"It is the duty of the conscientious hymnologist to point to the old songs of the Brethren, which constitute a precious treasury of tunes that can not be sufficiently extolled. * * * Few composers have been able to strike, with the same correctness and effect as was done in the songs of these little churches, the tone of a piety strong in its faith, of an earnestness which ever reproved sin, of prayers that were most fervent, and of a joy that was godly. * * * To render these songs, or even a mere selection of them, more accessible, would be a meritorious work." [15]

In response to this suggestion John Zahn has published such a selection, both of hymns and tunes. The latter are, to some extent, modernized. In his Preface he says: [16]

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[13] Epistola Fr., etc., de cantionibus, Camerarius, p. 286.

[14] Croeger, II, p. 110.

[15] Döring's Choralkunde, p. 61., cited by Zahn.

[16] Zahn's Geistliche Lieder d. Brüder. Nuremberg, 1875. Two of the old tunes are retained in the German Moravian Tune Book of the present day, namely 69 and 520.

"No other songs express, in so touching and childlike a way, a consciousness of the necessity of redemption, joy in the Gospel of the Incarnation of the Son of God, earnestness in the conflicts for holiness, and trust in the aid of God amidst all the trials of earth. As to the tunes, many of them bear a character peculiarly their own. When heard for the first time, they sound strange; but the oftener they are sung the deeper they penetrate the heart. Hence they are classed, by all connoisseurs of evangelical psalmody, among the noblest productions of music."

If we turn to the time in which the hymns of the Brethren were still in use, we will hear from various sides, but with one voice, testimony of the same kind.

Joachim Camerarius, the distinguished Leipzig Professor, writes to Cepolla, that he uses the new Hymnal with which he has been presented almost daily, and that he and his family often unite in its songs.[17]

Lasitius describes the impression which the singing of the Brethren made upon him, by applying to himself the words of St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians (14 : 25): "And so, falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth."

In dedicating his exposition of the Psalms to Baron John von Zerotin, Esrom Rüdinger gives expression to the following sentiments:

"Your churches surpass all others in singing. For where else are songs of praise, of thanksgiving, of prayer and instruction so often heard? Where is there better singing? The newest edition of the Bohemian Hymn Book, with its seven hundred and forty-three hymns, is an evidence of the multitude of your songs; and yet double that number have never been printed. Three hundred and forty-six have been rendered into German; I wish that all the rest might be translated. If I understood Bohemian, I would not wish or ask it, but do it. There is no doubt with regard to the character of the hymns and the singing. Your churches sing what you teach, and many of the hymns are real homilies. And since the people can be best taught by hymns, why should these not contain all the essential doctrines? Another advantage which your churches enjoy, is, that the whole congregation sings and thus takes part in the

[17] Hist. Nachricht, pp. 22 and 23.

worship of God. That which, in the Hebrew Psalms, seems to be beyond imitation, has been best imitated in the hymns of the Brethren. Therefore I was deeply moved when as a stranger, I, for the first time, heard your hymns and found that they were used not only in public assemblies, but also in the family-circle —in your own house and in other noble houses—at morning and evening worship, before and after meals, with a devotion which, in your own case in particular, was most exemplary."[18]

Peter von Chlumecky, a Moravian writer of the present day, adds:

"The wonderful songs in the Hymnals of the Brethren set forth the ideal picture of the Slavonian's inner life. The deep religious spirit of the people was poured out in these lays, which lifted the soul of the singer up to God. Like the old epics these Hymnals were not the work of a single mind; the people helped to edit them. Therefore it may, with great propriety, be asserted that in these Hymnals was contained the history of the religious development and of the *poesia sacra* of the Slavonians of Moravia. They were a blossom of the national life; when this ceased to pulsate, those songs grew silent.[19]

Chlumecky's words, when compared with Rüdinger's description, show how great must have been the influence which the hymns of the Brethren exercised upon the popular mind. They used that gift of song with which the Czechs, in all periods of their history, have been endowed, to the edification of the Church, to the awakening of the religious consciousness of the nation, to the glory of God. In the cottage of the peasant, in the home of the burgher, in the ancient castle of the baron, were heard the songs of Zion, strengthening faith, enlivening hope, inspiring love, giving tone to daily life.

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[18] Hist. Nachricht, p. 23, etc.; Croeger, II, p. 109, etc. In the chapels the singing was led by a precentor. There was no instrumental accompaniment.

[19] Chlumecky's Carl v. Zerotin u. s. Zeit, p. 266.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Catechisms, Other Literary Works, and the Schools of the Unitas Fratrum. A. D. 1517–1580.

Catechisms of 1522, 1554, and 1616.—Blahoslaw's New Testament and other Works.—Sermons.—Metrical Psalms.—Histories.—Publication Offices.—Schools.—College at Eibenschütz.—Schools in Poland.

In point of importance the Catechisms of the Unitas Fratrum rank next to its Hymnals. Of the first Catechism, which was published in 1505, but is now lost, we have spoken in another connection. The second was written, in Bohemian, by Bishop Luke in 1521, and in the same year translated into German, probably by John Horn. Both versions appeared in 1522. This was the Catechism which led to the controversy between Luke and Luther.[1] It was published in octavo form and bears the following title: *Ein christliche vnterweysung Der klaynen Kinder jm Gelauben, durch ein weyss einer Frag. M.D.XXIJ.*

"Christian Instruction in the Faith, in the Form of Questions, for little Children. 1522."

This Catechism originally had seventy-six questions and answers. The first five are the following:

1. *What art thou?* A rational creature of God and a mortal. 2. *Why did God create thee?* That I should know and love Him, and having the love of God, that I should be saved. 3. *Upon what does thy salvation depend?* Upon three divine graces. 4. *Name these graces.* Faith, love, and hope. 5. *Prove this.* St. Paul says: "And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, but the greatest of these is charity."

[1] Vide pp. 226 and 234 of this History.

The remaining questions and answers treat of faith; of the commandments; of love; of salvation and eternal life; of the Trinity; of honoring God; of prayer; of the Virgin and the Saints; of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; of the service of God; of false and true hope; of mortal affections; and of the unity of believers. In the course of the work are introduced the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes, and the Lord's Prayer.[2]

The next Catechism of which we have any knowledge was originally written in Bohemian and translated into German in 1554, by John George, who dedicated it to Duke Albert of East Prussia. Its title is the following: *Catechismus Der Rechtgleubigen Behemischen Brüder, Welche der Antichrist mit seinem Gotlosen anhang verfolget, vnd auss Teuffelschem eingeben, Hass, Neid, vnd vnwarheit für Verführer, Piccarden, vnd Waldenser, etc., schilt vnd lestert, Allen rechtschaffenen gleubigen zum trost vnd warem Bericht, Verdeutscht Durch Johannem Gyrck, Strelnensem, Pfarherrn zu Neidenburgk, in Preussen, M.D.LIIII.*

[2] The oldest copy known to exist belongs to the Royal Library of Dresden, and is reproduced by Zezschwitz in his Katechismen d. Waldenser u. Böh. Brüder, pp. 39–57. This copy has seventy-five questions and answers; but it omits the sixty-first, to which Luther took exception and which treats of honoring Christ in the Lord's Supper. In the edition of 1531, found in Ehwalt, pp. 353–377, No. 61 is reinserted, and the title says that this edition is a faithful reprint of the original, whereas other reprints have been tampered with. Ehwalt's numbers, however, are wrong and Nos. 63 and 64 have been omitted, evidently through an inadvertence. Zezschwitz devotes his work to a comparison of this Catechism with that of the Waldenses, to which he assigns the year 1498 as its date. He asserts that the latter is the source from which the former was taken; and intimates that the visit of Bishop Luke to the Waldenses, in 1497 and 1498, led him to write a new Catechism. Such a position, according to Palacky's Waldenser, pp. 34 and 36, is untenable ("ganz u. gar ohne Begründung"). Indeed the latest researches in the field of Waldensian literature render it far more probable that the Waldenses based their Catechism upon that of the Brethren. Many parts of the two Catechisms are identical. It is not unlikely that the foundation of that of the Brethren is a Catechism discovered by Palacky and supposed to have been written by John Hus. (Documenta Hus, pp. 708–712.) Compare The Catechism of the Boh. Brethren, by E. de Schweinitz. Bethlehem. 1869.

"Catechism of the orthodox Bohemian Brethren, whom Antichrist with his wicked followers persecutes, and inspired by the devil, by hatred, envy, and lies, reviles and slanders as Seducers, Picards, and Waldenses, etc. In order that all upright believers may receive comfort and a true report, trans lated into German by John George, of Strehlen, Minister at Neidenburg, in Prussia. 1554."[3]

On the reverse of the title-page are printed the twenty-second and twenty-third verses of the sixth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel: there follow the Dedication to Duke Albert, signed by John George; extracts from the thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel, from the third chapter of St. Peter's first epistle, from the fifteenth chapter of Jeremiah; and the "Preface of the Seniors of the Brethren." In this Preface they say, that that pure and true Christian doctrine, without any hurtful human additions, which the Catechism sets forth, they hold to be the doctrine of God to which the Holy Scriptures bear testimony. The work contains one hundred and eighty-seven questions and answers. In 1560 appeared a second part with the following title:

Das ander theil des Heyligen Catechismi, Das ist: Lehre und Bericht von der Heyligen Tauff, Beicht, Vergebung (oder Aufflösung) der Sünden, vnd dem Abentmal des Herren, Dessgleichen von der ewigen Seligkeit, etc. Gezogen aus gemeiner Lehr der Rechtgleubigen Behemischen Brüder, für die Jungen Christen, Durch Johannem Gyrck von Strelen, etc. Psalm 116: Ich gleube, Darub rede ich, Ich werde aber sehr geplagt. Gedruckt zu Königsperg in Preussen, Durch Johann Daubman. M.D.LX.

"The other part of the Holy Catechism. That is: The Doctrine and Exposition of Holy Baptism, of Confession, of Forgiveness of Sins, and of the Supper of the Lord, also of eternal Salvation, etc. Drawn from the doctrines of the orthodox Bohemian Brethren, for young Christians. By John George, of Strehlen, etc. Psalm 116: I believed, therefore have I spoken: I was greatly afflicted. Printed at Königsberg in Prussia, by John Daubman. 1560."

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[3] Given by Ehwalt, pp. 1–290, who adds, page for page, a Latin version which he found, in manuscript, in the Library of Dantzic.

This work embraces sixty-five questions and answers relating to the subjects set forth in the title. There are appended instructions as to the use of the Lord's Prayer, as also "Passages from the Holy Gospels" for the comfort of all Christians.[4]

Finally, although it belongs to a later period, we adduce the Latin Catechism. It bears the following title:

Catechesis Christiana, ad Iustituendam piam Juventutem conscripta; in qua summa doctrinæ Dei proponitur et explicatur. Ex Boëmico idiomate in latinum translata. Anno Domini: M.DC.XVI. The colophon says: *Hradeci cis Albim. In Officina typographica Martini Kleinwechteri.*

"Christian Catechism, written for the Instruction of pious Youth; in which the substance of the Doctrines of God are set forth and explained. Translated from the Bohemian vernacular into Latin. A. D. 1616."

This work, which was probably adopted at Zerawic, in 1616, by the same Synod that issued the *Ratio Disciplinæ*, embraces two hundred and three questions and answers, and in many particulars resembles the Catechism of 1554.[5] It is known as the "Greater Catechism," in contradistinction to the "Shorter Catechism," which existed both in German and Polish. When and by whom the original Bohemian was written, we can not tell.

Thus it appears that the Brethren introduced into their churches Catechisms in the Bohemian, German, Polish, and Latin languages. The importance which they attached to these manuals and to a systematic use of them, is evident from

[4] Given by Ehwalt, pp. 291–352.

[5] It is found in the form of foot-notes, in Ehwalt, pp. 20–289, reprinted from the original which appeared in duodecimo form and a copy of which was lent to him by Bishop Cassius, of Lissa. Besides the Catechism of Amos Comenius, of which we will speak in a later chapter, four others are mentioned by Koecher, pp. 20–28: one of 1591, another of 1607; a third of 1615, published at Bremen, in Greek, Latin, Bohemian, and German, in parallel columns; and a fourth, without date, being a threefold mode of catechising. These are of minor importance and not farther known. They were probably published by individuals and not by the Church.

the second article in their Confession of 1573. This article says:

"Our preachers recognize the Catechism as a sure guide in, an established standard for, and an index to, all their instructions, sermons and writings. Hence, with faithful care, they give all diligence to inculcate in the hearts of Christians, and engraft in the minds and lives of their hearers, the entire body of Truth contained in these first and fundamental principles of religion. * * * * In the same way they instruct little children, that from their youth upward they may be practised in the chief articles of the divine covenant, and learn to understand the true service of God. Therefore, too, special services for the children are instituted. * * * * In particular, however, is the Catechism, with its first principles of true religion, diligently taught to young people who begin a Christian life, before they are admitted to the Lord's Table, which sort of instruction serves to lead them to true repentance, as well as to the enjoyment of the grace of faith in all its power."[6]

Turning to the general literature of the Unitas Fratrum we notice, first of all, a distinguished work by Blahoslaw. It was a Bohemian version of the New Testament. At the time in which it appeared there existed sixteen different editions of the Testament; two—those of 1518 and 1525—having been issued by the Unity. But all these editions were translated from the Vulgate. Blahoslaw's version, was the first rendered from the original Greek, and constituted a model of pure, flowing, idiomatic Bohemian. The volume was published in 1565, in a beautiful style, with small but clear type, and in the form of a pocket edition. Gindely thinks it was printed at Eibenschütz, where the Brethren had established their fourth press. In 1568 a second edition, in large octavo form, was issued.[7]

Other works by the same author were: a Bohemian Grammar, republished at Vienna in 1857, and containing a valuable list of all the Bohemian writers from Hus to

[6] Confessio, Das ist Bekenntnis, etc., Art. II, pp. 9–12.

[7] The publication of this New Testament led to an interesting correspondence with Doctor Peucer, Malanchthon's son-in-law, who encouraged Blahoslaw to translate the Old Testament also. Quellen, p. 287, etc., taken from the L. F.

Augusta; a Treatise on Music, which appeared in 1558 and a second edition in 1560; a Biography of Bishop Augusta; an Apology of the Bohemian Hymnal; a Treatise on Election through Grace; etc.

Augusta's works, both of a devotional and polemical character, were numerous; Bishop Stephan issued a series of Sermons on the Gospels and Epistles of the Ecclesiastical Year; John Capito was the author of another series of Sermons; George Vetter translated the "Institutes of Calvin" into Bohemian, and produced a metrical version of the Psalms.[8] This version was arranged according to the tunes introduced by the Calvinists of France, and added to the Bohemian Hymnal, constituting its last part. Rüdinger prepared a German version, which Ambrose Lobwasser adapted to the French tunes. This work having been revised by Martin Opitz, was appended to later editions of the German Hymnal. A Polish version was produced by Rybinius.

In addition to the brief Latin History of the Unitas Fratrum by Blahoslaw, of which work we have spoken in another connection, and the more voluminous History in Bohemian, which we have repeatedly cited and whose authorship is doubtful, three other Historical Treatises claim attention.

John Lasitius, a Polish nobleman, visited some of the Bohemian churches of the Brethren and was so impressed with their apostolic character that he determined to write a History of the Unitas Fratrum. He says:

"When I beheld with mine own eyes what Ignatius, Justin and Tertullian report of the primitive Christians, it seemed to me as though I were at Ephesus, or Thessalonica, or in the midst of some other church founded by the Apostles. Truly, most unreasonable are all those who find fault with the Brethren!

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[8] George Strejc, or Vetter, was ordained to the priesthood in 1567; became a member of the Executive Council; was a learned and diligent scholar and a hymnologist; and exercised no little influence in the Church. At the time of his death he was priest of the parish at Schlowitz, in Moravia. He died on Friday after the second Sunday after Epiphany, 1599. Todtenbuch, p. 91.

Bohemia does not recognize, Moravia does not know, what they are; otherwise these countries would honor and love them. They are worthy to govern the whole Church, if it is to revive and regain its apostolic power."[9]

Supplied by the Bishops with the necessary documents Lasitius began his work subsequent to 1567, and finished it about 1570. On the twenty-third of March he sent the manuscript to John Lorenz. It was to be submitted to the Bishops and, with their approval, published. But they hesitated to give their approval. Beza, whom Lasitius consulted, advised him to undertake a thorough revision, omitting everything that seemed marvelous. If this were done, he promised to write a preface. Rüdinger, to whom the manuscript was submitted by Cepolla, at Wittenberg, in 1571, severely criticised the work. Its style was faulty, he said, and its author superstitious. Even Blahoslaw, in a letter to Lasitius written in the same year, although favoring the History and sending additional materials, gave him an unmistakable hint that the Bishops would prefer if, for the time being, it remained in manuscript.[10] Hence it was not printed. While the manuscript had been in the hands of the Bishops, Turnovius had enriched it with copious annotations; and now Lasitius himself began a careful revision. This was completed in 1599, at Czaslau, in Lithuania; and the revised work, carrying the history of the Brethren to the year 1575, was dedicated to Charles von Zerotin. But even now it was not published.[11]

At the request of the Bishops, Professor Joachim Camerarius, of the University of Leipzig, consented to write a History of the Unity.[12] This work was found completed among his papers, after his death in 1574; but it was not published until 1605, when his grand-son, Lewis Camerarius, brought

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[9] Croeger, II. pp. 100 and 101.

[10] Authorities for the above, letters in Quellen, pp. 379, 380, etc., and 325.

[11] Comenius, in 1648, published the eighth Book and the Contents of the other Books.

[12] Quellen, p. 343, compared with p. 347.

it out at Heidelberg. Along with it appeared a brief History by Rüdinger, written in 1579, entitled: *De Fratrum Orthodoxorum in Bohemia et Moravia Ecclesiolis Narratiuncula.*[13] Of the origin and progress of the Unity in Poland, George Israel wrote a short account.

The above are only a few of the works which were issued in the period under review; a number have been omitted, and the majority were lost amidst the storms of the Anti-Reformation. As in all former times of their history the Brethren still diligently used the press to the glory of God. In addition to their four presses in Bohemia and Moravia, they had a fifth at Szamotuli in Poland. This press was subsequently removed to Lissa. Hymnals were issued in the highest style of art. The arabesques with which they were ornamented were particularly beautiful; in some instances such works were printed on the finest parchment. Claudianus, proved to be an adept in bringing out publications of this kind. About 1580 the offices for baptisms, and marriages, for the burial of the dead, and for other occasions of worship, were published for the use of the priests. Such offices were not given into the hands of the people.

Education was greatly developed. In 1575 about forty students were studying for the ministry at foreign universities, besides many young nobles of the Church. The number of its schools in Bohemia and Moravia had increased. While the course of instruction was thorough and systematized, and probably reached beyond the elements of Latin, we know nothing further with regard to it. In 1574 a College was founded at Eibenschütz, for young noblemen, by Barons John von Zerotin, Znata von Lonenic, and Frederick von Nachod. Its first Rector was Esrom Rüdinger. In consequence of the Crypto-Calvinistic catastrophe which overwhelmed the University of Wittenberg in 1574, he was imprisoned and then banished. The Brethren received him with open arms. One of the first Professors of the new

[13] Camerarius, p. 145, etc.

College was John Aeneas. It was supported by a grant which seventeen nobles pledged themselves annually to make. This college prospered. Among its students were young men from Germany and Catholics from Moravia.

Not less was the care bestowed by the Brethren upon their schools in Poland. Acolytes were educated in the Parsonages, as in Bohemia and Moravia, Lorenz and Turnovius being particularly zealous in furthering this mode of instruction; elementary schools existed at Barcin, Lobsenia, Ostrorog, Posen, and Wieruszew; and schools of a higher grade at Kozminek and at Lissa.[14]

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[14] Regenvolscius, pp. 117 and 118; Lukaszewic, (Polish ed.), p. 388, etc.

PERIOD VII.

THE UNITAS FRATRUM IN THE TIME OF ITS OUTWARD PROSPERITY, CULMINATING IN ITS RECOGNITION UNDER THE BOHEMIAN CHARTER.

A. D. 1580–1620.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Unitas Fratrum in Bohemia and Moravia. *A. D.* 1580–1590.

The Jesuits.—Sturm preaches and writes against the Brethren.—Kirmezer and Hedericus.—Persecutions.—The Bishop of Olmütz and Rüdinger.—Theological Seminaries.—Death of Bishops Lorenz and Israel.—New Bishops.—Jungbunzlau passes out of the Hands of the Krajek Family.—Changes in the Manner of Living among the Clergy.

With the progress of Protestantism the influence of the Jesuits kept even pace. Protestantism was preparing for a general victory throughout Bohemia and Moravia; the Jesuits were scheming to change this triumph into a defeat. During the first part of his reign, Rudolph was like wax in their hands. Whenever it suited their purpose they moulded him as they pleased; at other times they did not deem it worth their while to seek his support.[1] Their order numbered forty members, among them several Bohemians educated at Rome,

[1] Subsequent to 1600 Rudolph entertained a positive dislike to the clergy, including the Jesuits. This was owing to his mental weakness which, at that time, began to show itself. Gindely's Rudolf II., I. p. 42.

at Ferdinand's expense. But whether they were natives or foreigners, they all burned with equal zeal to restore the supremacy of the Catholic Church. In endeavoring to reach this end they employed the same means as in Poland. They established schools which soon won a high repute. They undertook missionary tours, preaching and disputing on doctrinal points in towns and villages, in churches, in market-places, in private houses, and wherever else they gained a hearing. They strained every nerve to turn the powerful hands of the nobles against Protestantism, and in this effort were supported by the Spanish wives whom several of the Barons had married.

Wenzel Sturm and Hostowin distinguished themselves. The former was appointed by the Archbishop to undertake a mission against the Brethren. Sturm prepared for it by critically studying their writings. Rejecting as absurd the charges of moral depravity, he made dogmatical points the base from which to begin an attack. The Brethren, he asserted, had repeatedly changed their doctrinal system. It was unstable. This he offered to prove in public disputations. He traveled through the country, making known the result of his studies and repeating his challenge. It was not accepted. Foiled in this effort, he published a number of polemical works, criticising the faith, ministry, and claims of the Unity as an apostolic church. The most important of these writings was his "Comparison of the doctrinal Teachings of the Brethren" (1582).

About the same time two Protestant controversialists, both in Moravia, entered the field. The one was Paul Kirmezer, Dean at Ungarisch-Brod, an independent Lutheran, ignorant, unstable and perfidious. In that town the Unity had a flourishing parish of which he tried to gain the control. Failing in this attempt he issued a scurrilous work, incited Baron von Kunowic, the owner of the domain, against the Brethren, denounced their parsonage as a common brothel and had it searched. Bishop Aeneas indignantly repelled such charges; Zerotin and other Moravian nobles opened the eyes of Kuno-

wic to the true character of Kirmezer. He was dismissed from Ungarisch-Brod. In deep abasement he came to the Brethren and begged them to have mercy on him. They received and supported him to the day of his death.[2]

The other opponent was Doctor Hedericus, or Heidenreich, pastor of the Lutheran Church at Iglau and a zealous advocate of ubiquitism. He published a work at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, attacking the doctrines of the Unity (1580). The offers of several Lutheran divines—opponents of ubiquitism—to write a reply, were declined by the Bishops. They themselves took no notice of this assault until eleven years later, when Turnovius was appointed by the Synod to publish a refutation (1591);[3] but they complained to the Moravian Diet of the various publications that had been recently issued against their Church. The Diet found these complaints to be just and resolved that all writers of libels should thereafter be dealt with strictly according to law.[4]

But more formidable attacks than those of the pen were undertaken against the Brethren. In 1582, instigated by the Jesuits, Baron Pernstein, on whose estates about one-third of their number was domiciliated, began a persecution. At Pottenstein, Kostelec and other places their chapels were closed; at Landskron their parsonage was laid even with the ground; in many instances they were driven with clubs to Catholic churches, and while servants held them and forced them to open their mouths, the priests thrust in the consecrated wafer.[5] The spiritual oversight of his Moravian domains Pernstein committed to the Bishop of Olmütz, who was not slow to ex-

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[2] Croeger, II. p. 170.

[3] The work of Hedericus bore the following title: D. Johannis Hederici Examinationem capitum doctrinæ fratrum, etc., quibus ab ecclesia Augustanæ Confessionis publice privatimque dissentire eos, demonstratur. In 1585 it was translated into German by John Lætus; in 1742 a new German version was added by Carpzov to his Religions-Untersuchung d. Böhmisch und Mährischen Brüder, published at Leipzig, a polemical work against the Unitas Fratrum, both the Ancient and the Renewed.

[4] Gindely, II. p. 271.

[5] L. F., XIII. p. 261. R.'s Z., p. 432.

ercise the power which he thus received, even after the Baron's death, which occurred in the same year.

In other respects, too, this Bishop, unmindful of the humiliation he had, on former occasions, endured at the hands of Moravian nobles, gave evidence of his zeal as a persecutor. He secured an order for the arrest of Rüdinger. Although Baron von Lippe, the owner of Eibenschütz, who had disregarded an imperial mandate, issued in 1578, to close the College at that place, refused to allow this new order to be executed, Rüdinger became uneasy, left his post and accepted an asylum on a domain of Frederick von Zerotin. Rüdinger never returned to Eibenschütz. His health was failing and, after a time, he retired to Nuremberg, where he died in 1590. The persecution on the Pernstein estates gradually came to an end.

In 1584 Rudolph, yielding to the persuasions of Rosenberg and the Jesuits, renewed the Edict of St. James, and thus attempted a general persecution. But it failed. The edict was everywhere disregarded. The Brethren manifested no alarm and continued to develop their Church. At a meeting of the Synod, held in the same year at Jungbunzlau, it was resolved to found three Theological Seminaries—one in that town, another at Prerau, and a third at Eibenschütz.[6] Of the character of these institutions we know nothing. They probably were merely a higher grade of the schools conducted in the parsonages.

On the Day of John the Baptist (June the twenty-fourth), in 1587, Bishop Lorenz died at Ostrorog, aged sixty-eight years. In perfect peace, bidding farewell to each member of his family, and calling upon the name of the Lord, he went to his reward. "Through his labors God accomplished great things in Poland."[7] In the same year the Synod met at Leipnik and elected John Abdias and Simon Theophilus Turn-

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[6] Regenvolscius, p. 65; Croeger, II. pp. 161 and 162.

[7] Todtenbuch, p. 78. Lorenz married in his old age. He was probably the first Bishop that took this step.

ovius to the episcopacy.[8] They were consecrated by Kalef, Zacharias and Aeneas. Israel, who had retired from active work and who was known and greatly honored as "The Sire," probably took part in this consecration. Of the new Bishops Turnovius continued to labor in Poland, while Abdias was assigned to the Moravian Province. He was a godly, kind-hearted and zealous servant of the Church. But the Lord had need of him and called him from the work of his episcopate when it had continued for scarcely a year. He died at Prerau, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1588. A few weeks later, on the fifteenth of July, the venerable George Israel, in a full age of eighty years, was gathered to his fathers. George Vetter preached a memorial sermon, which moved the congregation to tears. His text was: "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come. He shall enter into peace; they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness." (Isaiah 57: 1 and 2.) In conclusion he spoke, in substance, as follows:

Amidst all the circumstances of his long life the deceased Bishop was eminent "because of his sound judgment, his wonderful memory, his extraordinary piety and zeal. Passing by many other points, I sum up his character and work by saying, that he was a most distinguished instance of divine grace and a most illustrious instrument in the hands of God. Oh how we all rejoiced whenever we were permitted to behold his hoary head, to listen to his earnest words, to make them the basis of our deliberations, to watch him in his daily life, which was so gentle and fatherly, to enjoy his fellowship! Alas the all-wise God has taken back this rare gift, which He granted us for a season! Where shall we find another father like unto him? Certainly not in the communion of Antichrist!"[9]

Bishop Kalef was now appointed President of the Council. In consequence of the death of Baron Adam von Krajek (May the seventeenth, 1588), and the intrigues by which his domain

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[8] Jaffet's S. G., I. p. 22, etc. R.'s Z., 436.

[9] That is, the Romish Church. Todtenbuch, p. 80–82, which work gives the Latin epitaph engraven on Israel's tombstone.

of Jungbunzlau was alienated, Kalef removed to Brandeis on the Adler, taking the archives with him.[10]

There he died on Monday after the third Sunday in Advent, 1588. In the next year, in the week following the first Sunday after Trinity, John Ephraim and Paul Jessen were elected to the episcopacy at Leipnik, and consecrated by Zacharias, Aeneas and Turnovius. Zacharias was appointed President of the Council.[11]

A marked change was going on among the ministers of the Unity. Although many of them still supported themselves, in part, by the labor of their hands, there were few, especially in Moravia, who did not, at the same time, enjoy an income from a fund, or from the gardens, vineyards and fields belonging to their parishes. Moreover, they were now commonly married. Even the Bishops began to take unto themselves wives. Subsequent to the first decade of the seventeenth century, celibacy was given up entirely. Those of the parsonages which were conducted on the old style, had been improved and enlarged, and were furnished with every convenience necessary to the comfort of the household. The servants, both male and female, were under the control of the Council.

In every parish there was a fund, called *Korbona*, from which the poor and the sick received aid. This fund was maintained through the free-will offerings of the people, and with it were paid also the contributions toward the support of the priest.[12]

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[10] Krajek left no children. His heirs were his widow and two sisters. George Popel von Lobkowitz, under whose protection the widow put herself, succeeded in getting possession of the estate; subsequently he exchanged it for another and it passed into the hands of Bohnslaw Hassenstein von Lobkowitz.

[11] Jaffet's S. G., I. p. 22, etc. and II. p. 38, etc. R.'s Z. pp. 435 and 436.

[12] Gindely's Comenius, p. 532.

CHAPTER XL.

Progress of the Unity and the Kralitz Bible. *A. D.* 1591–1593.

The Utraquists, Catholics and Reformed.—Bohemia in a State of Confusion.—Activity of the Brethren's Church.—Synods.—Meetings of the Acolytes, Deacons and Priests.—Peter Wok von Rosenberg.—The Kralitz Bible.—Its three Editions.—Extracts from the first Edition.—Opinions of Scholars.—Reprints.

WHILE the Unitas Fratrum continued to prosper and the changes, of which we have spoken in the last chapter, helped to develop its inner growth, the Lutherans were still in an unsettled state and the Utraquists dwindling to a bare remnant. The few cities which acknowledged the Consistory, did nothing to uphold its authority; the priests which it appointed, were ridiculed and hindered in the discharge of their functions; the Administrator was a worthless character; the University was alienated and had practically become a Protestant seat; and the inferior schools were following in its footsteps. That National Church which Rockyzana had so proudly organized, lay in its last gasps. At the same time the Roman Catholic reaction went boldly on, through the efforts of the Jesuits; and the Reformed began to gain footholds. In the last years of the sixteenth century they spread rapidly, exercising no little influence in the religious development of the kingdom. In other respects its state was deplorable. The increasing lethargy of Rudolph produced confusion which often bordered on anarchy.

Such circumstances brought out the activity of the Brethren's Church in bold relief. This Church labored with unabated vigor. Numerous Synods were held. On one of these occasions, at Leipnik, July the eighth, 1591, special meetings of the acolytes were appointed for the following year.[1] Those in Bohemia were to assemble at Jungbunzlau, those in Moravia at Zerawic; both on Tuesday following the Sunday called Jubilate, or the Third Sunday after Easter, when a Bishop would deliver to them a charge on the duties of the priesthood. The meeting at Zerawic was conducted by Bishop Aeneas (April the twenty-first, 1592). There were present ninety-nine acolytes, with whom had come twenty-seven deacons. In his charge he warned them—so says Gindely—against witchcraft, astrology, jurisprudence and medicine.[2]

On the twelfth of July, of the same year, another Synod convened at Leipnik. Bohnslaw von Lobkowitz, the new owner of Jungbunzlau, asked, whether a murderer, if a member of the Unity, might be accompanied by a priest to the place of execution? The decision of the Synod was as follows: "It is not proper to comfort him whom God does not comfort, or to grant the service of love to one to whom it is not granted by God."[3] At the instance of Daniel Strasnicky permission was given for the purchase, at Prerau, of a house which was to be converted, according to the example of other

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[1] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 243, cited by Czerwenka.

[2] Gindely, II. p. 326, cites a MS. from Lissa in the Boh. Museum at Prague. This MS., as appears from Czerwenka, is the original of the Dekrete d. B. U., since published by Gindely; and yet in the published work there is found no report of the meeting at Zerawic. It is therefore not clear from what source he derives his information; and it is, in the highest degree, improbable that Bishop Aeneas, whatever his opinion of the study and practice of law may have been, warned the acolytes against the science of medicine.

[3] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 249, etc., cited by Czerwenka, who correctly remarks, that the service of a priest, on the occasion referred to, was therefore made to depend upon the state of mind of the criminal. If he repented he might be accompanied by a priest; not otherwise. Gindely incorrectly interprets the decision as referring to every case, whether the criminal was penitent or not.

parishes, into a hospital. An ordination of thirty-three priests took place; and John Popel,[4] Zacharias Ariston, John Albin and Jacob Alpheus were elected to the Executive Council. Immediately after the Synod, on the sixteenth of July, a special meeting for the instruction of the priests and deacons took place at Leipnik.

About this time there died at Prague Baron William von Rosenberg, a trusted councilor of the Emperor, an ardent supporter of the Jesuits, the most influential and richest Catholic noble of the realm. He left no children and his vast domains passed into the hands of his brother, Baron Peter Wok von Rosenberg. This nobleman was a member of the Unity. What a blow to the Romanist cause! What a gain for the Brethren and the faith which they represented![5]

The year 1593 saw the completion of the Kralitz Bible. This was the greatest literary work undertaken by the Unitas Fratrum and constitutes its grandest monument.

There existed a number of earlier Bohemian versions, but they had all been translated from the Vulgate. The Brethren determined to give the Czechs a Bible rendered from the original. Blahoslaw, of whose New Testament we have spoken, set the project on foot. The most thorough preparations took place: in particular were several young men sent to the Universities of Wittenberg and Basel in order to fit themselves for the difficult task of translating. When they had completed their studies a Commission was appointed to undertake the work.[6] This Commission consisted of Bishop John

[4] Popel was an exemplary servant of God, ordained to the priesthood at Austerlitz, in 1581. He died at Horazdowic on Friday previous to the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, 1599, and was buried in the convent where the remains of many other priests of the Unity were resting. This convent was the property of the Brethren. Todtenbuch, p. 92.

[5] Wok von Rosenberg joined the Brethren in 1582, through the influence of Henry Schwarz, who became his chaplain. Chlumecky's Zerotin, p. 148.

[6] Our account of the Kralitz Bible is based upon Elsner's rare but invaluable treatise entitled, "Versuch einer Böhmischen Bibel-Geschichte," Halle, 1765; Malin's "The Bohemian Bible," in the Appendix to the Catalogue of his library; and a personal examination of the copies of the Kralitz Bible in this library.

Aeneas, the chairman; of George Streic, or Vetter, Isaiah Cepolla, John Ephraim, Paul Jessen, John Capito,[7] members of the Council; and of Albert Nicholas, a Silesian, and Luke Helic, the son of a baptized Jew, distinguished Hebrew scholars. The vacancies created through the death of Cepolla and Capito, were filled by John Nemczansky and Zacharias Ariston. Near Willimowitz, in Moravia, stood a castle known as Kralitz, the property of John von Zerotin. In that castle the Commission met and the work was printed; hence the name by which it is commonly known. Zacharias Solin, a priest of the Unity, had charge of the press;[8] Zerotin assumed the entire cost of the undertaking.

For fourteen years the Commission labored with indefatigable diligence. The work was published in six Parts. The first, which contained the Five Books of Moses, appeared in 1579; the second, comprising the Books from Joshua to Esther, in 1580; the third, embracing the Poetical Books, in 1582; the fourth, consisting of the Prophetical Books, in 1587; the fifth, composed of the Apocrypha, in 1588; and the sixth, being Blahoslaw's New Testament, in 1593.[9]

We will proceed to describe each of these volumes.

VOLUME I.—*Biblj Ceske Djk prwnj, totiz Patery Knihy Mogzjssowy, w nowe wydane MDLXXIX.*

"The First Part of the Bohemian Bible, that is, the Five Books of Moses, published anew 1579."

This title is printed partly in red and partly in black letters and surrounded by an arabesque border, with an *Agnus Dei*

[7] John Capito was born at Bystric, near Pernstein; a learned man; died at Trebitz, on the last Sunday of the year 1589. Todtenbuch, pp. 84 and 92.

[8] Solin was as faithful in the discharge of his ministerial duties as he was skillful in superintending a printing-office. He brought out beautiful copies of the Bible, printed on vellum, and corresponding in style to the vellum Hymnals. In 1581 he was ordained to the priesthood and died at Kralitz, on the eighth of March, 1595. Todtenbuch, p. 89.

[9] Why both Gindely and Czerwenka assert that the fifth and sixth Parts were published simultaneously in 1593, we do not know. Elsner, who wrote with a copy of the Kralitz Bible before him, says the fifth Part was published in 1588; and this is substantiated by the title of that Part transcribed for us from the copy in the Herrnhut Archives.

at the top.[10] On the reverse side of the page are given the following passages of Scripture:

"When all Israel is come to appear before the Lord Thy God in the place which He shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing." (Deut. 31 : 11.)

"This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success. Only be strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to thy right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest." (Joshua 1 : 8, 7.)

"Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." (Luke 16 : 29.)

"And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, He expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself." (Luke 24 : 27.)

"For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me." (John 5 : 46.)

There follows a preface in which the Bishops inform their clergy why this Bible is published. A second preface is addressed to the reader and contains an account of the origin and arrangement of the entire work. At the end of the volume are five synoptical tables. The first treats of the division of the divine law into the moral, ceremonial and civil; the second sets forth those passages in the Pentateuch which contain the commandments of the moral law; the third presents, according to Origen, such passages as relate to the worship of God, to priests and sacrifices, and to whatever else is embraced in the ceremonial law; the fourth contains, again according to Origen, the various statutes belonging to the civil law; and the fifth gives passages encouraging men to prize and diligently keep the entire law of God. "I find these five tables," says Elsner, "to be very good. They serve an intelligent reader

[10] The title pages of the books published by the Brethren were frequently ornamented with an *Agnus Dei*, because it constituted the device on their episcopal seal, with the legend: *Vicit agnus noster, eum sequamur*. This seal was made over to the Renewed U. F., when it obtained the episcopal succession through Jablonsky, and is still in use.

as a compendious Concordance to the Pentateuch and enable him to gain a clear idea of the Mosaic law in all its various characters."

VOLUME II.—*Biblj Ceske Djk druhy, w nowe wydany Leta Pane MDLXXX.*

"The Second Part of the Bohemian Bible, published anew in the year of the Lord 1580."

On the reverse side of the title-page is given a list of the Books, from Joshua to Esther, contained in this volume.

VOLUME III.—*Biblj Ceske Djk tretj, w wydany Leta Pane MDLXXXII.*

"The Third Part of the Bohemian Bible, published anew in the year 1582."

On the reverse side of the title-page we find a list of the Books, from Job to the Song of Solomon, embraced in this volume. The Book of Job is supplied with a preface holding him up as an example of patience; and an introduction to the Psalms treats of their importance, of their titles and authors, and of the order in which they are given. It is that of the Hebrew Bible and not that of the Septuagint, which latter order was observed in the other Bohemian versions; but the ninth Psalm is divided into two parts, while the one hundred and forty-sixth and the one hundred and forty-seventh are combined into one. At the head of each Psalm the numbers according to the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint are both given.

VOLUME IV.—*Biblj Ceske Djk ctwrty, w nowe wydany Leta MDLXXXVII.*

"The Fourth Part of the Bohemian Bible, published anew in the year 1587."

On the reverse side of the title-page is a list of the Prophetical Books, from Isaiah to Malachi; the next page begins with a preface treating of the importance and excellency of these writings, and of the rules to be observed in reading them.

VOLUME V.—*Biblj Ceske Djk paty, w nemz se Knihy ty, kterez sau nazwany Apokryffa, pokladagj. W nowe wydany Leta MDLXXXVIII.*

"The Fifth Part of the Bohemian Bible, in which those Books which are called the Apocrypha usually stand. Published anew in the year 1588."

On the reverse side of the title-page is found a list of the Apocryphal Books; a lengthy preface treats of their importance and of the way in which they ought to be read.

VOLUME VI.—*Biblj Ceske Djk ssesty, totiz Nowy Zakon. W nowe wydany Leta Pane MDXCIII.*

"The Sixth Part of the Bohemian Bible, that is, the New Testament. Published anew in the year of the Lord 1593."

On the reverse side of the title-page is a list of the Books of the New Testament; to each Book is prefixed a summary of its contents. At the end of the volume is a Table of the Pericopes appointed for the ecclesiastical year.

These six volumes are quarto in form, and printed on good, stout paper, in beautiful Latin type; the outer margin of each page contains annotations on the text, and the inner, references to parallel passages, as also brief summaries of the contents. Nemcansky and Ariston furnished the greater part of the commentary. In order to give an idea of its character we here present a few extracts translated into English from the German of Czerwenka, who has rendered them from the original Bohemian:[11]

MATTHEW 26: 26. *"And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, (or gave thanks,)*—He gave thanks to His Father for the work of redemption which was soon to be finished, in remembrance of which He instituted the sacrament of His body and blood:—or He blessed ordinary bread to this particular purpose, so that it might become the sacrament of His body, and thus be distinguished from all other bread—*and brake it,*—not only in order that it might the more easily be distributed among His disciples, but also as a symbol and testimony, that He would himself be broken on the Cross for our sins, that He would give himself as a ransom for all believers so that, through His merits, there would be a communion among them—*and gave it to the disciples,*—as a sign and an assurance, that He gave to them Himself, the true bread of life, for the strengthening of their fellowship and for the nourishment of their souls,—*and said, Take, eat; this is my body,*—this bread, which I break, or this sacrament,

[11] Czerwenka, II. pp. 501 and 502.

which I institute, is a mighty testimony and proof, that my body is given for you unto death, that it is crucified, broken as it were, and prepared as delicious food for your souls; this body is given unto death for the life of the world, laid as it were upon the table, that it may be partaken of in faith.

ROMANS 9: 8–11. *That is, They which are the children of the flesh,*—begotten according to the flesh, as there still are many false Christians, who indeed have a name, but not the truth—*these are not the children of God: but the children of the promise*—who have been chosen by God through free grace as His children—*are counted for the seed,*—such are those to whom God has promised that He would be their gracious God. *For this is the word of promise, At this time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son.*—Some one might perhaps think, that Isaac was chosen on account of his mother, a believing and righteous woman, and that Ishmael was rejected on account of his proud and perverse mother. But the example of Jacob and Esau shows the contrary; for although they were the children of the same father and mother, Esau, and he the first-born, was rejected, while Jacob, through grace, was chosen of God—*And not only this; but when Rebecca also had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac; for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil,*—whereby they might have merited the wrath or the grace of God—*that the purpose of God,*—according to which He ordained whom, through grace, He would save, and whom, in consequence of His justice, He would condemn—*according to election, might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth;*—the purpose of God rests upon His electing and rejecting; for those whom He has elected unto eternal life, He has also purposed to save, and those whom He has rejected, He means to condemn.

1 PETER 3: 19, 20. *By which also he went and preached*—through Noah, the preacher of righteousness, that which served to awaken repentance and faith. Or as others interpret the words: Christ came and preached, and thus caused the power of His death and merits to be experienced not only by the living but also by those long dead, in that He made known to them that power—*unto the spirits in prison;*—those who had long ago died, whose spirits however, separated from their bodies, had come, on account of their unbelief and impenitent lives, into the prison of everlasting damnation. *Which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah,*—not in vain has the Spirit of the Lord made use of the word "once;" He meant to show that the time which God has fixed, is limited; whoever neglects this time, has no other for repentance.

REVELATION 11: 3. *And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.*—In comparison with the number of Antichrist's deceivers, I will intrust my city and the temple of

my holy Church, to but a few insignificant and despised ones among my servants, as it were to but one or two of them; nevertheless they shall, in unity, accomplish my work and mutually support each other; and shall prove themselves sufficient as witnesses unto the truth, which shall be established in the mouth of two or three witnesses, so that in the presence of wisdom like unto theirs the enemies will not be able to lift up their heads. Such servants, in ancient times, were Elijah, Micha, Zerubbabel, Josiah, and those disciples of the Lord who went out "two and two;" in later times, Master John Hus, Jerome of Prague and others."

In 1596 a second and cheaper edition of the Kralitz Bible was published, in one quarto volume. The title reads as follows:

Biblj Swata, to gest, Kniha, w niz se wssecka Pjsma Swata Stareho y Noweho Zakona Zdrzugj; w nowe wytisstena a wydana. Leta Pane MDXCVI.

"The Holy Bible, that is, the Book in which all the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are contained: printed and published anew in the year of the Lord 1596."

The title-page is highly ornamented. At the top appears the name Jehovah in Hebrew characters; at the bottom Christ is represented in a triumphal chariot, leading captive death and hell; on the left side Moses with the tables of the law, on the right, Aaron as high-priest; within these devices an oval encircling the title which, with the exception of the two words *to gest*, is printed in red letters.

On the reverse side of the page we find the following passages of Scripture:

"And Abraham saith unto them: They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." (Luke 16: 29.)

"And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." (Luke 16: 31.)

"And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me." (Luke 24: 44.)

"Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me." (John 5: 39.)

On the next page follows the preface addressed to the ministers of the Unity; the second preface is omitted; but a com-

plete Table of all the Books of the Bible is given. The six divisions of the first edition are kept up, there being, at the beginning of every new part, an ornamented title in red. There are eleven hundred and forty pages and each page has two columns; on the margins are references to parallel passages; between the columns appear the numbers of the verses, which are not, as in the first edition, distinguished by a new line but by the sign ‡. The annotations are omitted. At the end of the book we find, first, a list of the passages of the Old Testament cited in the New by Christ and the Apostles; second, an alphabetical Register of Hebrew and Chaldee proper names, with their signification in Bohemian; third, a Table of the Pericopes appointed for the ecclesiastical year.

The sixth volume of the first edition, that is, the New Testament, revised by Zacharias Ariston, was republished in 1601; and a new edition of the entire work, on the plan of the second edition and again without the commentary, appeared in a folio volume in 1613.

The Kralitz Bible is not only the first Bohemian version rendered from the original, but also the first which divided the chapters into verses and separated the apocryphal from the canonical books. As a translation, it forms a master-piece; its style is pure, idiomatic and beautiful, a standard even at the present day.

With regard to this point there is but one voice.

Gindely says: "As long as the Bohemian tongue will be spoken, there can never die the memory of this great work. It is the type of the development which the Bohemian language reached in the sixteenth century."[12] "God," writes Comenius, "has laid such a blessing on this work, that we have the writings of the prophets and apostles translated into our own language in a style as beautiful as that found in any other European version."[13] When the work first appeared, a Roman Catholic Bishop openly expressed his profound admira-

[12] Gindely, II. p. 309.
[13] Comenii Hist. § 117.

tion. At a later time, in 1668, the Jesuits of Prague published an Orthographical Tract, in which occurs the following passage:

"Here is given an excellent method of writing and printing the Bohemian language correctly, drawn from that Bohemian Bible which is divided into several parts, furnished with marginal annotations, and highly esteemed among Protestants. It is true that this Bible, on account of its heretical errors, is not to be read or kept by Catholics; nevertheless because, according to the unanimous testimony of all scholars, it presents the Bohemian tongue in words more idiomatic, beautiful and chaste than other books, its style deserves to be praised above all measure." [14]

And yet the Kralitz Bible, more than any other work of the Brethren, was sought out and destroyed in the time of the Anti-Reformation. Thousands of copies perished; but few remain at the present day.[15] In 1722 the third edition was reprinted, in a handsome volume, at Halle, for the descendants of the exiled Bohemians; and again at Brieg, in Silesia, in 1745. This latter reprint, however, says Malin, "was so inferior that none but the poorest people would purchase it." The New Testament was frequently republished, between the years 1709 and 1752, at Halle, Zittau, Lauban, Brieg and Berlin; but for a period of two hundred and sixty years, neither the Old nor the New Testament appeared in Bohemia. Mere extracts from the latter were issued at Prague, in 1861 and the following years. In 1873, however, the "Amos Comenius Association," of that city, began the republication, in beautiful style, of the entire New Testament, with the original annotations. This work was completed in 1875. It forms a splendid quarto volume of eight hundred and ninety-two pages. Moreover the Kralitz version has furnished, word for word, the text of the Bohemian Bible published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

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[14] Kleich's Preface to the N. T. of 1720, cited by Elsner in his Versuch, etc., pp. 36, 37, Note.

[15] There is a well-preserved copy of the first edition, in six vols., in the Archives at Herrnhut; another in the Bohemian Museum at Prague. The Malin Library, No. 100, contains the third volume, 1582, of the first edition; a complete copy, No. 350, of the second edition, of 1596, probably the only one in the U. S.; and a complete copy, No. 36, of the third edition of 1613.

CHAPTER XLI.

Further History of the Brethren's Church in Bohemia and Moravia. A. D. 1594–1607.

Death of Bishops Zacharias, Aeneas and Jessen.—Synod of 1594.—New Bishops.—Members of the Council.—Enactments of the Synod.—Its Convocation in 1598.—Doctrine of the Lord's Supper discussed by Turnovius.—Death of Ephraim.—New Bishops.—Charles von Zerotin. —His Home and Career.—Accused of treason and heresy.—His Acquittal.—Plots against the Unity.—Renewal of the Edict of St. James.—The Brethren lose Jungbunzlau.—Wenzel Budowa.—His Speech at the Diet.—New Reactionary Measures.

DEATH was reaping a harvest among the leaders of the Unity. In 1590, after a faithful service of thirty-eight years, Bishop Zacharias, the President of the Council, finished his course;[1] in 1594, on the fifth of February, his successor, Bishop John Aeneas, was called to rest. At New Year, while on the road from Kaunic to Eibenschütz, he was attacked and robbed by a party of marauding soldiers. The shock brought on an illness of which he died, aged fifty-six years. In him the Unity lost one of its most illustrious representatives. A scholar, the Kralitz Bible the splendid memorial of his fame—he led a life exemplary through its piety and showed himself to be "a prudent watchman over the household of God."[2]

[1] He died at Slezan, on Wednesday previous to the fourth Sunday in Lent, not quite sixty-eight years old. Daniel Boreas preached the funeral sermon, on 2 Tim. 4: 6–8. Todtenbuch, p. 84.

[2] Todtenbuch, p. 87.

A few months later, on the twenty-fourth of May, Bishop Paul Jessen followed him into eternity. He, too, was a learned man, mighty in word and deed, of keen understanding, never at a loss for an answer, and very eloquent. But God had given him a thorn in the flesh, so that he was often hindered in his public ministrations.[3]

In order to fill the vacancies thus created the Synod met at Prerau and elected to the episcopacy Jacob Narcissus and John Nemcansky, one of the translators of the Kralitz Bible. They were consecrated on the fourteenth of July, 1594, by Turnovius and Ephraim, the only surviving bishops.[4] Narcissus was eloquent and sagacious; Nemcansky, distinguished for his learning, his conscientiousness, his humility before God and man.[5]

The Synod constituted Turnovius Ecclesiastical Judge for the Polish churches and President of the Council; Ephraim Ecclesiastical Judge for Bohemia and Moravia; Narcissus, historian; and Nemcansky, archivist. Associated with these Bishops in the Council were the following Assistant Bishops: Jacob the Great; John Slavon—elected in 1572, died in 1600, at Jungbunzlau, a pious, diligent and exemplary man, but an enemy of learning and bitterly opposed to the marriage of priests; Luke Andronik—elected in 1572, died in Poland, in 1595, surnamed Smelaus, a man of very small stature, zealous in the work of God; Paul Sperat—died at Straznic, in 1601, an earnest laborer in the Lord's vineyard; Samuel Susicky—a distinguished scholar, subsequently elevated to the episcopacy; John Popel; Zacharias Ariston—elected in 1592, eventually a leading bishop; John Albin; Jacob Alpheus; Matthias Ryba; and Andrew Kolsky.[6]

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[3] Todtenbuch, p. 88. Jessen was ordained to the priesthood at Austerlitz, in 1576, and elected to the Council in 1584. He died at Bezauchow and was buried at Drewohostic. The thorn in the flesh, of which the Todtenbuch speaks, was probably some chronic and painful disease.

[4] Jaffet's S. G., I. p. 22, etc., and II. p. 38, R.'s Z., p. 435.

[5] Narcissus was ordained to the priesthood in 1574; Nemcansky in 1584, and elected to the Council in 1589. Regenvolscius, p. 320; Todtenbuch, p. 91.

[6] Todtenbuch, pp. 94, 89, 96, 92, 101. A number of the above names are not mentioned in the Todtenbuch.

Subjects of importance discussed at the Synod were: the publication of a Concordance, the revision of the Kralitz Bible, and the introduction, in public worship, of instrumental music. Such music was permitted, but moderation in the use of it was strongly recommended.[7]

At a later convocation, which took place at Jungbunzlau on the third of June, 1598, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper received attention. Turnovius introduced this topic and earnestly contended for the tenet of the fathers: that the Lord's body is present sacramentally and spiritually, but that all further explanations are to be avoided. From this point of view, he said, the Brethren occupied a middle ground between the Lutherans and the Calvinists. He added, in words that have the true ring: "The Unity is not an old woman. It has grown strong, perfected its doctrines, and reached that point in its apprehension and explanation of the truths of the Holy Scriptures which renders it unnecessary that it should be learning of other churches, but rather gives it the right to be their teacher."[8]

The principle urged by Turnovius was anew accepted; and he received permission to publish an elaborate work, which he had prepared, on the Lord's Supper. Gindely asserts that, six years later, in 1604, the Synod forsook the old position, formally adopted the Calvinistic doctrine and engrafted it upon the Brethren's Church.[9] This we deem to be an incorrect view of the case. That a majority of the Synod declared in favor of the Reformed dogma, is true; but that Bishop Ariston protested against this declaration, that the tenet of the fathers was not condemned, and that the definition of the Lord's Supper as set forth in the Confessions was not changed, all this is equally true. The course pursued by the majority formed one of those doctrinal fluctuations which occasionally took place among the Brethren, but which, as Turnovius well

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[7] Dekrete d. B. U., p. 260, etc., cited by Czerwenka, II. pp. 504, 505.
[8] Gindely, II. pp. 328, 329, based upon the Dekrete d. B. U.
[9] Gindely, II. pp. 344, 345.

said in his address at the Synod of 1598, affected individuals, not the Unity as such.

On the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity, 1598, Bishop John Nemcansky died at Drewohostic, after having filled the episcopal office for but four years. An election was held at the Synod of 1599, which convened again at Jungbunzlau, and Samuel Susicky and Zacharias Ariston were chosen. They received consecration at the hands of Turnovius, Ephraim and Narcissus, on the sixth of July, this day being fixed upon in memory of the martyrdom of John Hus.[10] Four weeks later, Susicky died, on the ninth Sunday after Trinity; and in the following year, 1600, John Ephraim passed away, at Prague, on the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity. Both these Bishops were buried in Augusta's grave, at Jungbunzlau.

Ephraim was a learned scholar, amiable and fatherly in his intercourse with men of every rank, but timid and apt to borrow trouble. The exercise of discipline invariably caused him a struggle. On such occasions he would seclude himself, and spend hours in mourning and weeping, as though he were to do penance instead of imposing it. Of this tenderheartedness the guilty often took advantage.[11]

The new vacancies in the episcopate were filled, in 1601, by the election of John Lanetius and Bartholomew Nemcansky, who was a brother of the deceased Bishop of the same name. They were consecrated, on the fifth of May, by Turnovius, Narcissus and Ariston.[12]

About this time Baron Charles von Zerotin became prominent. He was born at Brandeis on the Adler, on the fourteenth of September, 1564. His father was John von Zerotin, through whose liberality the Kralitz Bible was published and who died on the twenty-fifth of February, 1587; his mother, Marianna von Zerotin, belonged to the ancient house of Bozkowic. After having been carefully trained in the

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[10] Jaffet's S. G., I. p. 22, etc., II. pp. 38, etc., R.'s Z., p. 437.

[11] Todtenbuch, p. 94.

[12] Jaffet's S. G., I. p. 22, etc., and II. p. 38 etc., R.'s Z., p. 437.

schools of the Brethren, he completed his studies at the Universities of Basle and Geneva. A tour through France, England, the Netherlands and Germany, brought him into connection with many distinguished soldiers, statesmen and theologians. Henry of Navarre excited his deepest admiration and the war which he was carrying on against the Catholics filled him with enthusiam. He looked upon this Prince as the champion of the true faith and joined his banner.

Zerotin's military career was brilliant; but his ideals were shattered. Out of heart, the sacrifices which he had made for the cause scarcely appreciated, he returned to Moravia in the same year in which Henry abjured the Protestant religion (July, 1593). There, in the service of his king, his country, and his God, he hoped to find a sphere of usefulness. Accomplished, an eloquent speaker, a graceful writer, a soldier, a statesman, and an earnest Christian, attached with his whole heart to the Church of the Brethren—he seemed ordained to accomplish great things. His exalted rank was sustained by immense wealth. He owned eight estates in Moravia and one in Bohemia. His revenues were princely.[13]

In order to give an idea of the style in which the barons of the Unity lived, we will briefly describe Zerotin's home. It was not exceptional in its magnificence, but a sample of the seats of the higher aristocracy throughout Bohemia and Moravia.

The domain on which he resided lay to the west of Brünn and was called Namiest. It embraced an area of more than twenty-five square miles; its chief town, bearing the same name as the estate, was situated on the Oslava, at the foot of a hill crowned with massive rocks that were overtopped by two crags. On these crags, between which was constructed a draw-bridge, towered the stately home of Zerotin. The one was covered with the dwellings of his officials; from the other, which beetled over the valley of the Oslava, rose the Castle.

[13] Chlumecky aptly calls Zerotin, "both a Maecenas and a scholar." His estates were the following: Namiest, Kralitz, Rositz, Struty, Lomnitz, Drewohostitz, Prerau, Turnitz, and Brandeis on the Adler.

Round about it stood the houses of his retainers and domestics. The sides of the hill presented a park of pines, beeches and very old oaks. This park was stocked with deer. A flight of broad marble steps, with statues on either hand, led to a splendid portal opening into the court-yard, in the middle of which appeared a fountain representing Neptune surrounded by dolphins. The Castle was three stories high, built in the romanesque style, and contained nearly one hundred apartments.

Its establishment and all its appointments were regal in their character. The Baron was surrounded by a court. To it belonged scholars and artists whom he had invited to make his house their home; gentlemen of the chamber, all of noble birth; pages waiting on him or the Baroness, and representing some of the most ancient families of Moravia; the masters and teachers of these pages; secretaries; equerries; masters of the chase; and last, but by no means least, the chaplain, who was a priest of the Unity. The retinue of servants was very large. It consisted of valets, lackeys, haiducks, grooms, stable-boys, huntsmen, barbers, watchmen and couriers; the culinary department was in charge of a kitchen-master with numerous cooks and bakers under him; in addition, there were household tailors, shoemakers, saddlers and other tradesmen.

The Castle was rarely without guests. Among these the bishops and ministers of the Unity were ever welcome. They exercised a great influence in the family; the chaplain was the Baron's confidential adviser; religion gave tone to the whole house. Every morning and evening the hymns of the Brethren swelled, in sweet harmony, through its halls, and from the Kralitz Bible were read aloud the words of eternal life. It was a home, says Chlumecky, in which "prevailed abundance without extravagance, hilarity without excess, piety without sanctimoniousness."[14]

On his return from France Zerotin took part in a campaign against the Turks. While thus engaged he was appointed Assessor of the Supreme Court of Moravia. In this position,

[14] Chlumecky's Zerotin, pp. 141–146.

no less than in the Diet, he distinguished himself by his liberal course and soon stood at the head of a party that contended for religious freedom and civil rights. In all his efforts he was supported by his cousin, Frederick von Zerotin, the Governor of Moravia.

After Frederick's death (May the thirtieth, 1598), the Romish reaction assumed formidable proportions and began to single out Zerotin as a shining mark for its arrows. His ruin would lead to the destruction of the Brethren's Church. So argued the Catholic leaders, with whom his personal enemies made common cause. About the beginning of the year 1600, he was formally charged with treason and heresy. The trial took place at Prague and resulted in his triumphant acquittal. The reactionists were baffled; his personal enemies covered with confusion. They succeeded, however, in driving him from his seat on the bench.

At this time the chief advisers of the Emperor were the notorious Melchior Khlesel,[15] Zbynek von Duba, Archbishop of Prague, Albert von Lobkowitz, the Chancellor, Joroslaw von Martinic, John Menzel, the imperial Secretary, and three Jesuits, George Scherer, William Lamormain and Jacob Geranus, the Rector of the College. These men ceased not to plot against the Unity and Protestantism in general. Their designs in relation to Zerotin had failed, but a conspiracy involving the destruction of the Brethren in a body might be more successful. For months the capital was full of rumors. A grand stroke, it was whispered, had been concocted. Prague would soon see terrible things. For such dark sayings there was cause. On the second of September, 1602, heralds issued from the gates of the Hradschin, came down into the city and with the blast of trumpets published, from street to street, a decree renewing the Edict of St. James.

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[15] Khlesel was the son of a baker, who was a Lutheran. Through the influence of the Jesuit Scherer he became a pervert to the Romish faith and entered the service of the Catholic Church, in which he rose to be Bishop of Vienna and subsequently a Cardinal. He was the bitter and uncompromising foe of Protestantism in every shape and form.

The infamy of this measure was surpassed only by its bold-faced assurance. A Romish persecution was ordered in a Protestant country! Of the nobility scarcely one-tenth, of the people less than one-tenth, belonged to the Catholic Church.[16] And yet this insignificant minority meant to coerce the conscience of a nation.

At first Prague and all Bohemia stood aghast. Although the Picards only were mentioned in the edict, no one doubted that it was aimed at the Protestants as a body. But the consternation soon subsided. The magistrates of the capital reported to the Chancellor that it was impossible to carry out their instructions. A burlesque of the decree appeared, ostensibly issued in heaven by God. This parody, probably from the pen of a member of the Unity, met with an immense sale. It was followed by a hymn in memory of Hus and the reprint of a satirical production published at the time of the Council of Trent.[17] Men laughed over these travesties, and yet failed not to realize that they were signs of a grave crisis.

The Brethren of Prague deemed it prudent to omit their public worship and meet in secret; those at Jungbunzlau suffered an irreparable loss. This town, in 1597, had bought its freedom of Bohuslaw Hassenstein and thus become a royal city. It constituted the most flourishing seat of the Unity in all Bohemia. In addition to Mount Carmel, with its ancient chapel, parsonage and school, was the beautiful church built by Krajek, in 1555. The membership was large and prosperous. Here synods were often held, on which occasions Jungbunzlau was thronged with bishops and ministers. It formed the centre of sacred memories reaching back to the earliest time of the Brethren and around many a familiar spot clustered hallowed associations of a later age.

In this venerable precinct appeared two imperial commissioners, and on the eleventh of November, 1602, closed the

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[16] Gindely's Rudolf II. u. seine Zeit, I. p. 179.

[17] Czerwenka, II. pp. 509, 510. Sixtus Palma, the publisher, was imprisoned and eventually banished.

chapel and church; on the twenty-third of December, the parsonage and school. Several months later these buildings, together with the land belonging to them, were confiscated by the Emperor and, in 1606, sold to the town, which endowed a hospital with the entire property. A similar fate befell the parish at Moldauteinitz.

The perils threatening the Unity awakened a new champion in its defence.

Wenzel Budowec von Budowa, born about the year 1547, after spending twelve years in foreign countries, partly at universities and partly on travels, and acquiring a number of languages, had been associated, in the reign of Maximilian, with Baron David Ungnad in an imperial embassy to Constantinople. In that city he passed four years and mastered both the Arabic and Turkish tongues.[18] He returned to Bohemia rich in experience, progressive in his views, strong in his determination to secure religious liberty for his Church and countrymen.

At the Diet that met at Prague, in January, 1603, he became, by common consent, the leader of the Protestant party. It was proposed to withhold supplies from the Emperor until he had revoked his decree. But Budowa delivered a brilliant speech, in which, after showing that the edict affected all Protestants alike, he urged measures that would be strictly legal. Money for the war against the Turks should be unconditionally voted, but at the same time a petition should be presented to the Emperor asking him to protect his subjects against an edict which had originated through the evil counsels of his advisers and their ignorance of the constitutional law of Bohemia. This suggestion was adopted. But when the clique behind Rudolph's throne perceived that the Protestant states meant to employ legal and not, as they had hoped, revolutionary measures, they induced him to pro-

[18] While at Constantinople he studied the Mohammedan religion and refuted its claims in a work which he entitled "Antialkoran." This work was by many so entirely misunderstood that he was accused of having embraced the Mohammedan faith.

rogue the Diet before the petition could be signed and to call Budowa to an account for his speech.

Budowa pledged his word to appear whenever cited. In the following month the citation took place. He repaired to Prague and deposited in the Chancellor's office the petition of the Diet, a German translation of the Bohemian Confession, and a paper of his own proving by incontrovertible arguments that the states had the law on their side. When these papers were presented to Rudolph he was so deeply impressed that he quashed further proceedings against Budowa and sent him a message saying, that he desired, above all things, to maintain friendly relations with the Protestants.

But his advisers were not satisfied. With a high hand they carried out measures still more reactionary in their character. A second decree appeared, ordering a strict observance of the first, especially in royal cities; a Catholic Synod was held (September the twenty-eighth, 1605), the first since the rehabilitation of the arch-bishopric; every priest, professor, student, physician, teacher, bookseller and printer was required to sign an oath of allegiance to the ecclesiastical authorities; and a strict censorship of the press was established.

Such measures could not but defeat themselves. They cemented the bond between the Brethren and Lutherans. They roused up both these parties. They formed the stepping stone to religious liberty.

CHAPTER XLII.

The Polish Branch of the Church to the General Synod of Thorn. A. D. 1581–1595.

Opposition to the Sendomirian Confederation.—Gerike and Enoch.—Synod of Posen.—General Synod of Wladislaw.—Gerike and the Jesuits.—Death of King Stephen.—Election of Sigismund the Third.—His bigoted Policy and its Results.—Appeal to the Diet.—Breach and Reconciliation between Gliczner and Turnovius.—The General Synod of Thorn and its Enactments.—Gerike excommunicated.—Results of the Synod.

THE union among the Protestants of Poland began to totter. This was owing to the baneful influences which proceeded from Posen. In that city were two Lutheran churches; the one German, in charge of Paul Gerike; the other Polish, with John Enoch, a renegade from the Brethren whose discipline he could not brook, as its minister. Upon both these men had fallen Morgenstern's mantle of intolerance. In language as bitter as that which had come from his lips they preached against the *Consensus Sendomiriensis* and denounced the fellowship of the Lutherans with the Unity. Such a course was suicidal. The encroachments of the Roman Catholics could be successfully resisted only by an unbroken phalanx. This the Protestant leaders fully realized, and in order to restore harmony, convoked at Posen a joint Synod of the Brethren and the Lutherans. It met on the fourteenth of February, 1582. Three bishops of the Unity, thirty of its priests, two Lutheran superintendents and twenty ministers took part in its deliberations. The *Consensus* was anew ratified; while

Gerike and Enoch were rebuked and admonished to desist from their injurious course. In the following year, at a General Synod held at Wladislaw, on the ninth of June, a still more formal agreement was entered into by all the three Protestant Churches, that the confederation of Sendomir should be maintained. In order to give to it more authority the publication of the *Consensus*, in Latin and Polish, was resolved upon. Several senators, many magnates and about seventy clerical representatives of the Brethren's, the Lutheran and the Reformed Confessions composed the membership of this Synod.[1]

These convocations, however, did not heal the breach at Posen. Enoch grew more tractable and, after a time, resigned his charge; but his successor, Andrew Luperian, the son-in-law of Morgenstern, showed himself to be a bitter foe of union, and Gerike, smarting under the reproof which he had received, became more violent than before. Not satisfied with personally declining to recognize the Brethren, he forbade his parishioners to visit their church, and unblushingly proclaimed from his pulpit, that an alliance between the Lutherans and Jesuits would be preferable to the Sendomirian confederation. The Jesuits were not slow to profit by these dissensions. They flattered Gerike's vanity, assuring him that he was the only true Lutheran in all Poland; they praised his zeal; they incited him to still more vehement denunciations; and then contrasted the quarrels of the Protestants with the peace and unity prevailing among Catholics. The result was, that not a few Protestants of Posen were triumphantly led back, by the cunning Fathers, to the bosom of the mother-church.

Gerike and his associate ministers at Posen were not alone in their opposition to the *Consensus;* a similar tendency existed among the German Lutheran churches of Lithuania. This was plainly seen in the so-called *Concordia Vilnensis* which they issued (1538), and became still more evident from

[1] Lukaszewicz, pp. 99 and 100; Krasinski, p. 79, etc.

the fact that they declined to send delegates to the General Synods. But they did not, like Gerike, openly attack the confederation; and it was supported by the Polish Lutheran churches of Lithuania.

In 1586 King Stephen died, at Grodno, after a brief illness. This event was a severe blow to the Protestant cause. He had remained true to the principle laid down at the beginning of his reign. Catholic though he was, he had not interfered with the religious beliefs of his subjects. His successor, Sigismund the Third, elected on the nineteenth of August, 1587, pursued a different course. The only son of John the Third, of Sweden, a Protestant monarch, and the grandson of the illustrious Gustavus Vasa, he nevertheless, through the influence of his mother, became a bigoted Romanist.[2] The sway exercised over him by the Jesuits was absolute. He was a mere tool in their hands. Without the advice of Bernhard Golynski, one of their order and his private confessor, he did nothing, whether in matters of religion or of the state.

Of the nefarious counsels which he thus received, his reign began to give evidence. An open persecution would have been premature. Other ways were, therefore, suggested. The most notable showed the astuteness of the Fathers. By all the means within his reach he commenced favoring the Catholics. To them alone he granted the starosties which were at his disposal;[3] they were invested with the highest and

[2] His mother was the sister of Sigismund Augustus, of Poland. Sigismund the Third was born June the twentieth, 1566. The Archduke Maximilian of Austria disputed his election and supported, by the force of arms, his own claims, until he was taken prisoner and forced to renounce the crown. After the death of Sigismund's father (1592) he became King of Sweden also, but was deposed in 1604 and his uncle, Charles the Ninth, whom he had appointed Regent, ascended the Swedish throne.

[3] Krasinski, II. p. 93, Note, says: "The kings of Poland possessed a great number of domains known under the name of Starosties, which they were obliged to distribute to nobles, who held them for life. These estates were converted into powerful instruments of seduction in the hands of Sigismund the Third, who with them rewarded those who deserted from Protestantism, or the Greek Church, and became converts to Romanism."

most lucrative offices; if recent perverts from the Evangelical faith, he heaped riches and distinctions upon them; honors and emoluments were held out to noblemen as inducements to deny their religion; vacancies in the Senate, which at the beginning of his reign had been an almost wholly Protestant body, were filled with Romanists until but two Protestant members remained; to the complaints which came from the Evangelical party in all sections of his kingdom, he turned a deaf ear.

The ultimate result of the Jesuitical policy thus inaugurated was the ruin of Poland; its immediate consequences were heavy losses inflicted on Protestantism. Many of its adherents fell away—magnates and inferior nobles, citizens and peasants; many domains on which its churches and schools had been a shining light, grew dark with Romish superstition and intolerance. At the same time the Jesuits themselves were indefatigable in their efforts. From the pulpit, with all the eloquence of which they were masters, they appealed to the Poles to return to the Catholic Church; through the press they sent forth a stream of polemical writings. The Archbishop of Gnesen, the Bishop of Cujavia and the Bishop of Posen lent their powerful aid. Synods were held in order to promote the authority of Rome; at Kalish a second Jesuit College was founded. Even violent measures were resorted to. At Cracow a mob, instigated by the Jesuits and led by the students of the University, burned the Protestant church (1591); at Posen, two years later, the pupils of the Jesuit schools attempted to destroy the Brethren's church, but were obliged to desist when they found the populace unwilling to join in the outrage. Sigismund himself, on his way to Sweden, seized the principal churches of Thorn and Elbing and gave them to the Catholics. It was high time for the Protestants to bestir themselves.

The Brethren took the initiative. Bishop Turnovius proceeded to Warsaw, in May, 1593, and appealed to the Diet. He was in the noon-tide of his influence and popularity, respected both by nobles and the common people for his learn-

ing, eloquence and zeal.[4] His appeal was supported by many magnates; and in spite of the efforts of its Catholic members the Diet passed a severe law against all disturbers of the public peace. For a time the Protestants remained unmolested.

But discord continued to throw their own ranks into confusion. Gerike inveighed, as vehemently as ever, against the *Consensus;* Erasmus Gliczner, excited by the remonstrances of Lutheran divines in Germany, began to waver. In 1594 he published, at Dantzic, a Polish version of the Augustana, with a preface criticising the Confessions both of the Brethren and the Reformed and making no allusion whatever to the Sendomirian confederation. This unwarranted proceeding was highly resented by Turnovius, who wrote his celebrated "Defence of the *Consensus Sendomiriensis.*" An open breach took place. It would have led to grave consequences, if the two leaders had not been reconciled, through the exertions of Count Andrew Leszcynski and other magnates, at the Diet of Cracow, in the following year.[5]

On the same occasion it was agreed to convoke another General Synod. Invitations were sent to all parts of the kingdom.

The response was prompt and enthusiastic.[6] From Great and Little Poland, from Lithuania, Polish Prussia, Red and

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[4] Turnovius spoke Polish, Bohemian and German with great fluency, was master of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew, a poet of no mean rank, a proficient in music, an astronomer and a historian.

[5] A written compact, containing nine points, was signed by Gliczner and Turnovius, as also by several witnesses. This compact is given by Lukaszewicz, pp. 106 and 107; Jablonski in Con. Send., pp. 240 and 241; Salig Hist. Aug. Conf., p. 787. The full title of Turnovius' work was: "Defence of the Sendomirian Consensus and of the evangelical confessions contained therein, against that improper edition of the Augsburg Confession which annuls this Consensus. In the year 1594."

[6] Full accounts of the Synod are found in Krasinski, II. chap. 5; Fischer, II. pp. 39–82; Lukaszewicz, pp. 107–134, whose principal sources are Daniel Mikolajewski's official report as clerical secretary and a MS. History of the Synod by Turnovius. This History, translated from the Polish into German, is found in full in Fischer, II. Anhang, No. 2, p. 405, etc.

White Russia, from Volhynia, Podolia and the Ukraine, a large number of nobles flocked to Thorn, the place of meeting. They were joined by more than seventy clerical delegates. The Brethren, the Lutherans and the Reformed were all fully represented. After a solemn service of praise and prayer in the church of St. Mary, the Synod was opened on the twenty-first of August, 1595. Stanislaus Orzelski, Starost of Radziejow, a man of learning and influence, was chosen lay president; Andrew Rzeczycki, Chamberlain of Lublin, his assistant; Bishop Turnovius, Erasmus Gliczner and Francis Jezierski, the Superintendent of the Reformed churches in Little Poland, clerical presidents. The sessions were held in the aula of the gymnasium; every morning, early at six o'clock, a synodical sermon was preached in the church. Several attempts were made by representatives of the King, of the Bishop of Cujavia, and of three palatinates, to break up the Synod; but it did not allow itself to be intimidated and, declaring its convocation to be in accordance with constitutional law, proceeded to the important business for which it had been called.

This business comprised the *Consensus Sendomiriensis*, the discipline, church-government, and the persecutions of the Jesuits. In relation to the last of these points a deputation of twelve magnates was appointed to lay before the King the grievances of his Protestant subjects; with regard to the other points, eighteen enactments were adopted. The first treated of the *Consensus* and was formulated as follows:

"Our evangelical *Consensus*, adopted at Sendomir in 1570, explained by the *Consignatio* of Posen in the same year, revised and ratified by the General Synods of Cracow, Petrikau and Wladislaw—as this is set forth in the copies printed, in Latin and Polish, at Thorn, in 1592—we unanimously re-adopt and reaffirm at this our General Synod of Thorn: we protest against the course of our opponents who, by word of mouth and in their writings, have ventured to cast into our teeth that we are not united and that our *Consensus* is spurious: and we testify, that we faithfully hold to and foster this true *Consensus*, and according to its principles are united in holy harmony."

The remaining enactments related to the obligatory char-

acter of the *Consensus*, the discipline, schools, the duty of patrons, the government of the churches, and the importance of observing prayer and fast days in view of the dangers threatening the Polish Protestants.[7] On the twenty-sixth of August the Synod adjourned with praise and thanksgiving to God.

Its proceedings in relation to Paul Gerike had been summary. Inasmuch as he had refused to accept the *Consensus*, had continued to protest against the confederation, and, at last, secretly left Thorn, he had been excommunicated. And now, in September, a commission proceeded to Posen in order to carry out this sentence. The elders of his church begged that time might be given him for reflection. Accordingly the commission retired; but came again in December, when the same request was made. In January of the following year several nobles arrived with the determination of putting an end to such evasions. They sent for Erasmus Gliczner, who convened the Polish congregation and deposed Luperian; but when he attempted to depose Gerike, the German congregation rose in a body and threatened him with death. He barely escaped from their hands. Thus Gerike, defiant to the last, braved the whole Synod. Soon after, however, he resigned of his own accord and went to Breslau. His place was filled with a minister favorable to the *Consensus* and the controversies between the Lutherans and Brethren came to an end.

The deputation appointed to lay before Sigismund the grievances of the Protestants, effected nothing. Although it comprised magnates of the highest rank, he refused to grant them an audience. Nevertheless the Synod of Thorn served to awaken among the Protestants the consciousness of strength, and to convince the Catholics that the reaction which they were pushing forward, had been but partially successful. Many Lutheran divines of Germany blamed Gliczner for the course which he was pursuing; but he remained faithful to the confederation.

[7] The enactments were printed at Thorn in 1596, with the title: Acta et conclusiones Synodi Generalis Toruniensis A. D. 1595 mense Augusto. Fischer, II. Anhang, No. 1, p. 395, etc., gives them in full.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Negotiations with the Greek Church and further History of the Polish Branch of the Unity. A. D. 1595–1607.

The Greek Church in Poland.—Its Union with the Roman Catholic.—Protest of a Majority of the Adherents of the Greek Faith.—Prince Ostrogski's Overtures to the Synod of Thorn.—The Vilna Conference.—Bishop Turnovius its Leader.—His Articles.—First Meeting of the Conference.—Second Meeting.—Doctrinal Articles.—Projected Union of Greeks and Protestants fails.—Political Confederation of Vilna.—Withdrawal of the Lutherans from the Sendomirian Confederation.—Civil War in Poland.

THE Polish dominions contained many followers of the Greek Church. These Sigismund the Third determined to unite with the Church of Rome. His first step in this direction was unsuccessful; after a time, however, by the aid of Possevinus, a wily Jesuit, four Greek bishops, and finally the Metropolitan of Kioff himself, who had been deposed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, were induced to favor the project. A Greek Synod held in 1594, at Brest, in Lithuania, resolved on union with Rome and sent delegates to Clement the Eighth. These delegates, in the name of their constituents, swore allegiance to the papal see.[1] At a subsequent Synod the

[1] At the Council of Florence, in 1438, the Emperor John Paleologus placed the Eastern Church under the papal see, but the great majority of the clergy and members of that Church refused to acknowledge the Pope. Of the project of uniting the National Bohemian Church with the Greek we have given an account. In the second half of the sixteenth century the divines of Tübingen carried on a correspondence with the Patriarch of Constantinople and sent him a Greek version of the Augsburg Confession. Sources for the negotiations set forth in this chapter are: Krasinski, II. chap. 6; Lukaszewicz, pp. 134–144; Fischer, II. p. 91, etc.; Regenvolscius, Lib. quartus, Cap. III, p. 478, etc.

articles of agreement were signed and all opponents of the union excommunicated (1596).

But this measure unchurched a majority of the adherents of the Greek faith. The union did not meet with general favor. Prince Constantine Ostrogski, Palatine of Kioff, followed by the greater part of the magnates and inferior nobles of that persuasion, protested against the acts of the Synod of Brest. A large and influential convocation was held at which the Bishops who had brought about the union were, in their turn, excommunicated. Thus occurred a schism in the Greek Church of Poland, much to the King's displeasure who persecuted the schismatic Greeks, as he chose to call them, and the Protestants alike.

In view of such circumstances Prince Ostrogski made overtures to the Synod of Thorn, proposing a political and religious confederation between the Greek and Protestant bodies. The Synod favored this project and agreed with his commissioner that representatives of both parties should meet and arrange the details. More than three years passed by before such a meeting took place. At last, in the beginning of 1599, Count Andrew Leszcynski, a distinguished noble of the Brethren's Unity, sought an interview with Prince Ostrogski and Count Radziwill. These three magnates determined on Vilna as the place, and the month of May as the time, for the proposed council. In it were to be represented the Brethren's Unity, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and the Greek persuasion.

On the thirtieth of April Bishop Turnovius, although he had but just recovered from a severe illness, left Ostrorog and proceeded to Radziejow. There he was joined by Daniel Mikolajewski, the Reformed superintendent, and at Elbing by Erasmus Gliczner. From that town the three traveled in company, by way of Königsberg, to Vilna. They arrived on the fourteenth of May after having, on the previous evening, entered into a formal compact to maintain unanimity, as the common representatives of the *Consensus Sendomiriensis*, in their negotiations with the Greek divines. This compact was

suggested by Turnovius, who, true to the principles of his Church which never lost an opportunity of promoting unity among Christians, was the soul of the undertaking. He also drew up, as the basis of the negotiations, twelve articles, which were approved by Gliczner and Mikolajewski and laid before Ostrogski. To the Greek clergy was sent an extract of the articles, in substance as follows:

The Evangelical Divines desire to ask the Greek Divines:

1. Whether, in their judgment, the pure Word of God as contained in the Old and New Testament, is sufficient for salvation?
2. Whether they give credence, in all things, to the old teachers (Church-fathers), on account of their reputation, even though these teachers may not, in some particulars, agree with the Word of God?
3. Whether, in case anything should be found in their doctrine and worship contrary to the Word of God and the teaching of the Apostles, they would deem it their duty to introduce a change in accordance with the Divine Word?
4. Whether they are ready to recognize as fellow servants of God and brethren, those who order their worship and all their other religious affairs according to the Divine Word in its purity and who look upon the adversary of the Lord Christ and of His Gospel as Antichrist?
5. Whether, following the precepts of the Lord Christ, they will unite in love, and for mutual advice and assistance, over against Antichrist and his servants, with those who deem the pure Word of God to be sufficient for salvation, implicitly submit to its rule and doctrine, accept the Lord Christ as their Shepherd and the only Head of the Church, administer the sacraments according to His instruction, acknowledge the seven oldest Œcumenical Councils, and recognize those holy Church-fathers whose writings agree with the Word of God, as men given by Him for the building up of His Church and instruction in divine things?

Although Leszcynski and Radziwill had not yet arrived, a preliminary consultation took place on the twenty-fourth of May, in the palace of Ostrogski. The Greek Church was represented by Luke, the Metropolitan of Bialogrod, Isaac, Abbot of Dubin, and the Archdeacon Gideon. The salutation which Isaac gave the Protestant divines augured ill success to the negotiations. Extending his hand to Turnovius, he said: "I greet you, although the Scriptures forbid us to greet

heretics." With that gentle dignity which characterized him the Bishop expressed his surprise that a stranger, who had never before seen him and his companions, should take for granted that they were heretics.

When all were seated Ostrogski opened the proceedings with an address in which he gave utterance to the hope that a mutual understanding would be reached. "If God the Lord," he said in conclusion, "would permit a union between our Greek and your Evangelical Church, I would be ready to-morrow to leave this world with joy." Gliczner replied, that the Polish Protestants were prepared to come to such an understanding and even, if this should prove possible, to effect a union with the Eastern Church. Before he could say anything more the Metropolitan interrupted him, exclaiming: "Vain are your expectations that we will relinquish our faith and accept yours! You must give up your religion and unite with us. There is no other way." This roused Prince Ostrogski. He rebuked Luke and turning to the Protestants, said: "If our clergy decline a union, let the devil take them! We will maintain peace and exercise mutual love without them."

Turnovius was the peace-maker. In courteous language he showed: that errors had crept into the Greek Church, but that nevertheless, in many points, it agreed with the Protestant, notably in not acknowledging the Romish Antichrist, but Jesus Christ alone, as the Head of the Church; and that a closer fellowship was possible. He continued on this wise:

"Through the persecutions of our enemies, the followers of Antichrist, God incites us to engage in these mutual deliberations. I deem this to be an auspicious day, because He permits me to come hither with my brethren, in order to commune and negotiate with members of the Eastern Church in relation to things which tend to a mutual understanding and produce brotherly love. I therefore declare, in my own name and that of my brethren, that we are ready to unite not only with you in the kingdom of Poland, but also with those who live in Moscow, and even in Greece, so that we may come, upon the basis of the Holy Scriptures, to an agreement in all articles of faith and offices of worship. Should you point out to us any article in our doctrine not in harmony with the Word of God, we are prepared to reject it.

The same thing we hope of you: that should we find in your faith any tenets not in accordance with, or contrary to, the Divine Word, you will lay them aside and giving honor to the truth, will in the truth unite with us. As to the mode and manner in which this can be brought about, you must, I presume, apply to him who has the rule over you, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and hence can not, at this time, consummate a union with us. But by the aid of God, you and we can, as soon as more representatives of both sides will be present, begin to prepare and lay the foundation for this holy undertaking. We will be very glad, therefore, to hear in what way you mean to receive these our brotherly overtures, and what your views are with regard to the proposed union."[2]

Mikolajewski spoke in the same conciliatory strain. Both addresses were well received. Ostrogski thanked the two divines for what they had said; Isaac and Gideon expressed their gratitude to God that He had afforded them this opportunity to be witnesses of the love existing between Greek and Protestant believers, by which Christ's disciples, according to His own words, were known. At considerable length Isaac proceeded to show in what particulars the Eastern Church agreed with the Protestant, but added, that the Greek clergy had no authority to consummate a union except by permission of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, who, however, he was convinced, would not withhold their consent. At the close of the conference the divines pledged each other their right hands in token of amity and fellowship. While thus fraternizing one of the Greeks said: "Would to God, honored sirs, that for the sake of good order, you would submit to the authority of our Patriarchs!"

"What!" exclaimed Ostrogski, "they refuse obedience to the Pope, with his supreme authority, and do you expect them to be subordinate to the Patriarchs, with their inferior authority?"

On the twenty-eighth of May the negotiations were resumed, seven nobles of the Evangelical and Greek faith, ten Evangelical and ten Greek clergymen being present.[3] There were

[2] The above part of Turnovius' address is given in full by Lukaszewicz.

[3] Of the Protestant clergymen several, besides Turnovius, were connected with the Brethren.

read the following articles in which the Protestant Church agreed with the Eastern:

We believe and confess in common:

1. That the Holy Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles are the source of truth and of that doctrine which saves.
2. That God, in His being, is one, but triune in person.
3. That the three persons of the Godhead are different, but one in substance, according to the Nicene Creed.
4. That the *Apostolic Symbolum* contains the essence of true worship and of a true confession of faith.
5. That Christ, the Son of the living God, is the true God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, in a way inexpressible, and true man, born of the Virgin Mary for our redemption.
6. That this Christ, in that by His death He offered Himself to God the Father for us, has made an all-sufficient atonement for our sins.
7. That God is neither the cause nor the author of sin.
8. That all men are conceived and born in original sin.
9. That all those who repent and are truly converted, receive the forgiveness of sin.
10. That baptized believers must do good works.
11. That Christ Himself is the one only Head of His Church, both of the visible and the invisible.
12. That in the Church of God the office of the ministry is necessary for the dispensation of the Word and the sacraments.
13. That the clergy are not forbidden to marry.
14. That infants are to be baptized.
15. That the Lord's Supper is to be administered under both kinds to all believers.
16. That the Holy Scriptures know nothing of purgatory.
17. That Christ having bodily ascended into heaven now sits at the right hand of the Father, from whence He will come to judge the quick and the dead.
18. That as the bliss of believers is everlasting, so the punishment of the damned is without end.

After these articles had been read Bishop Turnovius proposed, that such doctrinal points as the two Churches did not hold in common should be discussed at annual Synods to be convened alternately in Greek and Protestant parishes. But the fraternal sentiments expressed by the Greek divines at the first conference had strangely changed. They manifested no inclination to take up religious questions; and, at last, in spite of the urgency of Ostrogski, declined all further negotiations until they had heard from their Patriarchs. It was with no

little difficulty that a promise was exacted from them to take, meanwhile, no steps in opposition to a union. On the sixth of June the Protestant divines wrote to the Patriarchs, after Bishop Turnovius, on the fourth, had sent a letter of his own to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The nobles present at the conference now proceeded to organize a political confederation. Having for its object the maintenance of the act of 1573, which had never been repealed and guaranteed religious liberty, this confederation was not revolutionary but legal. In order to give it efficiency, a large number of so-called Provisors were chosen. It became their duty to defend, by every constitutional means, the religious liberty of the nation, and in case of necessity, to repel force by force. The articles of agreement were subsequently signed by several hundred noblemen. For a time the Catholics were overawed and the persecution of Protestants and Greeks ceased.

There exists no little uncertainty with regard to the character of the answers sent by the Patriarchs to the letters of the Evangelical divines, except that both prelates declined to permit a union.[4] Hence the negotiations were never resumed.

Far more unfortunate was the experience which the Sendomirian confederation made. On the twenty-sixth of January, 1603, Erasmus Gliczner died at Brodnica, or Strassburg, in West Prussia. Although he had several times vacillated, and, subsequently to the conference at Vilna, written a paper retracting his adhesion to the *Consensus*, yet in general he had been its main stay among the Lutherans and, on his death-bed, had torn that paper to pieces and urged his brethren to uphold

[4] Friese says, that the answer of the Patriarch of Constantinople was intercepted by the Jesuits, but that the reply of the Patriarch of Alexander reached its destination; of the contents he says nothing. Regenvolscius relates that, out of fear for the Catholics, the answer of the Patriarch of Constantinople, sent by the Abbot Cyrill, was communicated only to certain individuals and not made public. A short letter from this Patriarch to Turnovius is given in Regenvolscius, p. 497, but it merely refers him to the reply sent by the Abbot. The letters of Turnovius and the Protestant divines are found in the same work, pp. 491 and 495.

the confederation. His admonitions were not heeded. The Lutherans withdrew from it and declined to send delegates to the Synods.

In 1606, owing to a general dissatisfaction with the king's religious and civil policy, disturbances broke out all over Poland and eventually ripened into a civil war. This war, whatever advantages it, at first, seemed to confer upon the Protestants, in the end brought them nothing but disasters. At the beginning of the century they had again been outstripped, in point of numbers, by the Catholics; and now, in its first decades, the Romish reaction reached its height.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Bohemian Charter. A. D. 1608–1609.

Matthias declared Head of the House of Hapsburg.—Confederacy against Rudolph.—The Bohemian Diet.—Protestant States determined to secure Religious Liberty.—Envoys of Matthias in the Diet.—Zerotin's Speech.—Promises of Rudolph.—Pacification with Matthias.—Diet of 1609.—Prorogued.—Independent Meeting of the States.—Diet Reopened.—States present Draft of a Charter.—Directors appointed.—Troops raised.—Rudolph signs the Charter.—Its Provisions.—Agreement between Catholics and Protestants.—Thanksgiving Festival.—Agreement between the Unity and the other Protestants.—Election of Consistory and of a Defenders.—Their Instructions.

THE striking figure in which the Prophet foretold the downfall of Israel's line of kings may be applied to the Emperor Rudolph: he sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind. It swept over all his dominions. Hungary, under the leadership of Stephen Bocskay, broke out into open revolt and made common cause with the Turks, its ancient enemies (1604). Rudolph's own brothers and nephews met at Lintz and subsequently at Vienna (April, 1606), declared him unfit to govern, and constituted the Archduke Matthias the head of their House. Matthias, after having concluded peace, in the Emperor's name, both with Bocskay and the Turks, (1606) induced Hungary and Austria to unite in a confederacy against the Emperor (1608). Moravia, bleeding at many wounds, prepared to shake off his yoke. So great was the crisis that it brought Charles von Zerotin forth from his retirement. At Rositz he consulted with the Hungarian and Austrian leaders; at Eibenschütz a Diet convened, of which he was the moving spirit. Berka, whom Rudolph had

appointed Governor, was deposed and a provisional government instituted; Moravia joined the confederacy and recognized Matthias as its sovereign (April, 1608).

The Archduke had gathered an army and now advanced into Bohemia. Rudolph was overwhelmed with fear. He would have fled, if the ministers of the crown had not, almost by force, prevented him. His effort to convene representatives of all his dominions in a General Diet, had proved a failure; his negotiations with his brother had been equally unsuccessful. But now, on the twenty-third of May, the Bohemian Diet met. For the first time in many years he opened it in person. A man prematurely aged, with a shriveled face, bleached hair, a bent back and wavering step, tottered into the chamber. This was the Emperor.[1] He greeted the Diet and, soon after, pleading weakness, retired. The states were moved with pity. But pity could not induce them to relinquish the great purpose they had in view. They were determined to secure religious liberty. That they took advantage of his unfortunate position, is certain; that their past experiences justified them in adopting this course, no candid mind will deny. Budowa drew up twenty-five articles, setting forth the grievances of the Protestants, demanding absolute religious liberty for all estates and conditions of the kingdom, and claiming, in every other respect, the same rights for Protestants as for Catholics.

Meantime Matthias had advanced to within ten miles of Prague, and his envoys, led by Zerotin, appeared in that city.

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[1] Rudolph had not yet reached the age of fifty-six years. Many of the nobles had not seen him for years. He had become more and more inert and morose. His mind was impaired. Haunted by the idea that he was to be assassinated by a monk, he secluded himself, so that the highest officials and his own brothers were refused an audience. Philip Lang, his favorite servant, exercised an unbounded influence in the palace and secured enormous bribes. No one could see the Emperor except through his intervention.

Authorities for this chapter are: Gindely, II. Viertes Buch; Gindely's Majestätsbrief; Gindely's Rudolf, II, Part I, chapters 5, 6 and 7; Czerwenka,II, chapter 14; Chlumecky, chapters 7–13.

On the twenty-fifth of May they were admitted to the Diet. In an eloquent speech Zerotin urged the states to join the confederacy, bring about Rudolph's abdication and elect Matthias as his successor. Partly out of pity for their monarch, but chiefly because they resented the interference of the Archduke, they declined these overtures. The envoys left Prague; and on the twenty-eighth the Protestant states, in a body, presented Budowa's articles to the Emperor. Overawed by this demonstration and the determined bearing of the nobles he promised to remove all grievances and prevent persecution in every form, but begged that the question of religious liberty might be deferred to the next Diet. He gave a written pledge that this question should, at that Diet, be taken up first of all and finally settled. The states consented to wait, although not without reluctance.

By this time Matthias and his army were almost before the walls of Prague. The Emperor sent a commission to treat with his brother. This effort proved successful. A pacification was concluded at Lieben (June the twenty-fifth), on the following terms: Rudolph acknowledged Matthias as his successor to the Bohemian throne and ceded to him Hungary, Austria and Moravia; Matthias promised to withdraw his army and engage in no further hostile demonstrations against Rudolph. This compact was carried out at once. The Hungarian regalia were sent, with great pomp, to the Archduke, who thereupon retired with his troops; the Protestant and Catholic nobles in attendance went back to their domains. At Stierbohol the former had secretly entered into an agreement to stand up for religious liberty at all hazards. In bringing about this agreement Zerotin had again been active. On his return to Moravia the Diet appointed him Governor of that margraviate.

Through the advice of such intolerant councilors as Slawata,[2]

[2] Count William von Slawata was born and educated within the pale of the Brethren's Church. In order to gain the hand of a Catholic heiress he embraced the Romish faith. He wrote very complete and valuable Memoirs, which have been published in the Third Part of the Monumenta Historiæ Bohemica, edited by Gindely, Prague, 1864–1870.

Lobkowitz, Martinic, and Adam von Sternberg, Rudolph became unfaithful to his pledge. In spite of the near meeting of what promised to be the most momentous Diet of his reign he issued three decrees interfering anew with the religious beliefs of his subjects. A course so infatuated did not promise harmony, but made the Evangelical states all the more determined to gain their end.

The Diet opened on the twenty-eighth of January, 1609. Budowa, Stephen von Sternberg and Matthias von Thurn were the leaders on the Protestant side. Five times the states renewed their demand for religious liberty; five times the Emperor, incited by the Archbishop, the Jesuits and the head-strong among his own councilors, declined to grant their demand. Was this that settlement of the religious question which he had solemnly promised when his brother's army was menacing his capital? But he had still another stroke in reserve. On the thirty-first of March the Diet was prorogued. This perfidious measure roused Budowa to action. Calling to the Protestant members as they were dispersing he begged them to meet the next morning. They came and enthusiastically adopted a written declaration, which he had drawn up, that the course of the Government obliged the Evangelical states to convene, on their own responsibility, on the coming fourth of May, in order to take measures for the defence of their religion, their country, their families and king. Meantime envoys were to be sent to Matthias, to the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg and the Palatinate, to the Duke of Brunswick and the Silesian and Lusatian Diets, in order to ask for their intervention.

Toward the end of April the nobles, accompanied by numerous retainers, hastened to Prague. On the appointed day they repaired to the Hradschin. Their first act was, once more to approach Rudolph with protestations of loyalty and the earnest petition that he would reopen the Diet. These overtures were harshly rejected. Even the use of a hall was refused. Then they took their holy cause into their own keeping. Standing in the court-yard of the Castle they

solemnly swore, with bared heads and right hands lifted up to heaven, that they would gain religious liberty at any cost and be true to each other whatever might betide. This done, they marched, in closed ranks, to the Council House of the *Neustadt*, paying no attention to the royal officer who ordered them to disperse, and took possession of that building.

On the next morning (May the sixth), these fearless defenders of their faith met again. Before the deliberations opened they all, at Budowa's suggestion, fell on their knees and sang a hymn beginning, "Send us, Lord, Thy Holy Spirit." Its solemn strains reached the multitude without which instantly grew still, and many a murmured intercession mingled with the hymn. After the singing a prayer was offered. The subsequent meetings were opened and closed in the same way. And when a memorial had been prepared and six nobles were sent to present it to Rudolph, the rest remained in the Council House calling upon the Lord to turn the king's heart and prosper their undertaking.

Rudolph was disposed to yield. The memorial, the representations of the Saxon ambassadors, the reply of the powers to whom the states had appealed and who all, with the exception of Matthias, promised their aid, could not but impress him. Hence he reopened the Diet (May the twenty-fifth). But the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau, who, soon after, arrived in Prague, and the persistent obstinacy of his own councilors, wiped out such impressions. On the fifth of June, in answer to the petition of the Diet, he once more declined to grant religious liberty. The Evangelical states immediately appointed a committee to take measures for their defence; while the Catholic states made common cause with them, in spite of the protest of the imperial councilors. In a few days the report of the committee was ready. This report embodied an address to the Emperor; the draft of a charter; and an appeal to the public. The address declined all further negotiations with the imperial councilors and announced the intention of the states to elect Directors and arm themselves. Rudolph now tried, in various ways, to compromise. But

the states remained firm. Their draft of a charter was their ultimatum. They appointed thirty Directors, and while Prague raised four thousand five hundred men, the nobles hastened to their domains to levy additional troops. The Emperor was forced to yield. After negotiating, for several days, with the Directors, who manfully maintained the demands of their constituents, he signed the charter, in the evening of Thursday, the ninth of July. It became Lobkowitz's duty, as Chancellor, to countersign it. But he refused; saying that his conscience forbade him. Hence Adam von Sternberg, the Burggrave of Prague, attached his signature.[3]

Upon the basis of the Bohemian Confession of 1575 the charter granted absolute religious liberty throughout the kingdom; the University and the "Lower Consistory of Prague,"[4] were given over to the Protestants; they received permission to erect churches and establish schools; the Diet was empowered to elect Defenders; and all edicts, whatever their origin or form, against the Protestants, were forever rescinded. In the draft presented by the Diet the word "Evangelical" was used to designate the Protestant party; in the charter itself this party was designated as "all those three estates of our Bohemian kingdom that receive the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under both kinds." This was the only change which Rudolph made. It embraced under the common name of "Utraquists," the Unitas Fratrum, the Lutherans, the Reformed, and the remnant of Old Utraquists, who, however, were soon lost among the other denominations.[5]

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[3] John Menzel, the royal Secretary, also declined signing, and Paul Michna, a foreigner, recently appointed Secretary of the Chancellor's office, signed in his place.

[4] These words of the charter do not imply inferiority, but relate to the seat of the old Utraquist Consistory, in the lower part of the city; whereas the Catholic Consistory had its seat on the Hradschin Hill.

[5] The charter was written in Bohemia. Ferdinand the Second destroyed the original; but there is a copy, beautifully engrossed on parchment, in the library of Zittau, in Saxony, together with an affidavit of the burgomaster and council of the *Neustadt* of Prague, setting forth that this transcript is

In accordance with this charter, the same day on which it was signed, the Protestant Directors and the Catholic states concluded an "Agreement," providing for amicable relations between the two Churches, especially in towns and villages where both were represented. To this important document Lobkowitz, Slawata and Martinic refused to attach their signatures. On the twelfth of July the charter was delivered to the Directors and carried, in solemn procession, through the streets, which were thronged with a jubilant multitude, to the *Altstadt*, where psalms of praise were chanted in the church of the Holy Cross. In the same edifice, three days later, a solemn thanksgiving service took place. But the festival was not confined to that sanctuary. The entire city was alive with joy. Bells rang out a glad peal; inscriptions adorned houses and gates; the people sang and shouted and congratulated each other; while the keynote of all such manifestations was, *Te Deum laudamus!* Amidst this jubilee, in which many Catholics joined, the Jesuits appointed a forty hours' devotion, "that the Romish faith might be graciously preserved from the scandalous undertakings of the heretics."

On the twenty-second of July, of the same year, the Diet reassembled. Its most important duty was, to regulate the internal affairs of the Evangelical Church and especially the relation of the Brethren to their fellow Protestants. After

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true and correct. It is, without doubt, that copy which was preserved in the archives of the Protestant Consistory and was brought to Zittau in the Anti-Reformation. John Borott, Pastor of the Bohemian church at that place, published it in 1803, together with a German translation and important notes (Der von Rudolph dem Zweiten ertheilte Majestätsbrief, etc., Görliz, bei C. G. Anton, 1803). Gindely gives the charter in full, II. pp. 445–454; also Pescheck, I. p. 159, etc.; in the English translation of Pescheck's work it is found in Vol. I. pp. 167–177. The charter and the Agreement of the Protestants and Catholics were recorded in the National Register's office; the original documents, inclosed in a silver case, were deposited in the Castle of Carlstein, on the Moldau, about seventeen miles below Prague. In this Castle all the official documents of the kingdom were preserved.

protracted consultations a document was prepared embracing, in substance, the following points:

All parties, namely, the Brethren, the Lutherans, the Reformed and those priests who have been ordained by the Archbishop but have joined the Protestants, accept the Bohemian Confession of 1575; the name by which they are to be known in common is, "Utraquist Christians;" a pious and learned priest is to be elected Administrator of the Consistory; next to him in rank is to stand a Bishop of the Unity; the other members of the Consistory are to be three professors of the University, and seven priests, of whom two are to belong to the Brethren; the Consistory directs and superintends the Bohemian Evangelical Church; the Administrator, with the assistance of the other members, ordains its priests, but priests of the Brethren are to be ordained "according to the mode and order in use among them," although "the said Administrator is also to lay his hands upon them;" such priests are to be installed by the Bishops of the Unity and the Administrator shall not hinder these Bishops in any way, but every one shall abide by his own order, ceremonies and rites; priests ordained in foreign countries and wishing to serve a Bohemian parish must apply to the Consistory and accept the Bohemian Confession.[6]

When this paper had been agreed upon, there was held, in the Thein church, a solemn service in the course of which a sermon was preached and, at the close, the *Te Deum* chanted. From the church the congregation proceeded to the *Carolinum*,

[6] Czerwenka, II. p. 578, is guilty of a strange inaccuracy. He says that the priests of the Brethren were thereafter ordained by the Administrator. This is simply absurd, as the *Ratio Disciplinæ*, adopted a few years later, shows. The document, which Czerwenka had before him, reads: "Likewise those persons of his (the Administrator) own order, or belonging to his own party, desiring to enter the priestly office among those called the United Brethren, being found fit and worthy by them, and willing to conform to the doctrine contained in this Confession, shall be examined, ordained and consecrated, according to the mode and order in use among them; and the said Administrator is also to lay his hands upon them" (Pescheck, I. p. 202). Moreover, this passage not only refutes Czerwenka, but also refers, in our judgment, merely to such candidates for the priesthood as came from the Administrator's "own party," that is, from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and not to such as were born and bred in the Unity, who were ordained without the aid of the Administrator. The entire document is given by Pescheck, I. p. 197–203, and by Skala, I. p. 249, etc.

where the document was signed by the representatives of the Diet, on the one part, and the Bishops and priests of the Brethren, on the other. There were present many nobles, citizens, and clergy, to the number of five hundred from all parts of the country. This important act was consummated on the twenty-eighth of September, 1609.

While the Unitas Fratrum cordially united with its fellow Protestants in the way which has now been set forth, it had no thought of relinquishing its own confession, constitution, peculiarities, or orders. This is evident from its subsequent history. In accordance with its enlarged views, such a position was consistent. The Brethren could form an integral part of the Evangelical Church of Bohemia and yet maintain all that was their own.

On the sixth of October the election of the Consistory and Defenders took place.

Elias Sud von Semanin, incumbent of the Thein church, was chosen Administrator of the Consistory and Matthias Cyrus the episcopal representative of the Unity.[7] Its other two representatives were John Cyrill and John Corvin. The Consistory received minute instructions, setting forth its duties and privileges, as also the ritual and ceremonies which it was to regulate.[8]

Twenty-four Defenders were next elected—eight barons, eight knights and eight citizens. About one-third of these Defenders belonged to the Unity. Budowa was prominent. They, too, received instructions carefully formulated.[9] It was their duty to look after the Consistory and University, and to guard against any infringement of the Bohemian Confession, of the union of the Protestants, of the charter and the Agreement with the Catholics.

Not until all these affairs had been settled did the states disband their army. Rudolph gave them a written amnesty.

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[7] He was, however, not consecrated to the episcopacy until 1611.

[8] Instructions in full given by Pescheck, I. pp. 204–223.

[9] Instructions to the Defenders, Pescheck, I. pp. 223–233.

This amnesty Lobkowitz, Slawata and Martinic again refused to sign. In the next session of the Diet Budowa called them to an account. They excused themselves by saying, that their declination was a matter of conscience. A fiery speech, in which he denounced them as enemies of liberty and peace, constituted Budowa's reply. This jar was the first sign portending a short-lived existence of religious liberty.

On the twenty-third of February, 1610, the Diet adjourned.

CHAPTER XLV.

The Unitas Fratrum as a legally recognized Church in Bohemia. Its further History in Poland. A. D. 1610–1620.

Rapid Development of Protestantism.—Churches, Schools and the University.—Number of Protestants.—Rudolph's Conspiracy and Resignation.—His Death.—Matthias succeeds him.—Progress of the Unity.—Proposed Endowments.—Death of Bishops Ariston, Turnovius, Bartholomew Nemcansky and Narcissus.—Consecration of Cruciger, Rybinius, Gertich, Koneczny, Cyrus, Erastus and John Turnovius.—Zerotin as Governor of Moravia.—State of the Brethren in Poland.—Effort to renew the Sendomirian Confederation.—Ostrorog.—Printing Press and Endowment.—Synod of Zerawic.—The Ratio Disciplinae.—John Amos Comenius.—Death of Bishop Cyrus and Consecration of Cyrill.—Dispute about the Bethlehem Chapel.

THE Bohemian charter was the fruit produced by the labors and conflicts and intercessions of two centuries. It represented the dying testimony of John Hus, the battle-cry of the Taborites, the sufferings of Gregory and all his fellow confessors, the prayers in which the Brethren had been instant, their endurance amidst persecutions, the holy work which one generation had transmitted to the next, the trust and hopes of other Protestants, the longing of a nation to serve God as conscience dictated. And now that such aspirations had been fulfilled, a joyous development began in the religious life of the kingdom. In Prague, in other cities, in nearly every town and village, there were churches in which was preached the free grace of Christ, justification by faith, all the counsel of God. Before long twenty-two places of Protestant worship could be counted in the capital, while nearly five hundred

Evangelical clergymen, each in charge of a parish, were laboring throughout the kingdom.[1] Protestants and Catholics lived at peace. The "Agreement" was faithfully observed. "One could often find," says Pelzel, a Roman Catholic historian, "in one and the same Bohemian village, two or three parishes, ministers and teachers, representing as many different confessions, but all maintaining amicable relations."[2]

Bohemia had always been noted for its schools; now they began to flourish and increase in an unprecedented degree. There was not a market-town without at least one school, while larger towns had several. In Prague there were sixteen, besides two gymnasia. Paul Stransky, a celebrated Professor of the University, testifies that the Bohemian schools were, at that time, the best in Europe. They were parish schools, each in charge commonly of two teachers, sometimes of five or six. No one was employed as an instructor unless he had attained to the degree of a Bachelor of Arts; in a majority of cases the teachers had reached the degree of Masters. The result was that men could be found in the ordinary walks of life, familiar with Virgil, Ovid and Horace, even with Homer and Anacreon, and able to compose Latin and Greek verses.[3]

However unsuccessful Rudolph's reign proved to be in other respects, it was a golden age for Bohemian learning and literature. Prague could boast of celebrities like Tycho Brahe, the astronomer, John Kepler, the mathematician, John Jessen, the physiologist and anatomist, all drawn to that city through the Emperor's munificence. The University enjoyed his special favor. It had fallen into decay, but began to revive under his fostering care.

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[1] Perscheck, I. p. 239 and Czerwenka, II. p. 594, who gives the names of the churches in Prague.

[2] Pelzel, II. p. 653.

[3] Pelzel, II. p. 678, who is our authority for all that we have said with regard to schools. Their superior character, as set forth by this author and by Stransky, must be understood in a relative sense. It is well known that the system of education, in that age, was open, in many respects, to severe criticism and induced Comenius to devise his better method.

Such a restoration was zealously pushed forward by the Protestant Consistory and Defenders, as soon as the University passed into their hands. Its resources were developed; its ancient fame was restored. Budowa took a deep interest in this seat of learning. The Professors were distinguished for their thorough scholarship and enlightened understanding. Besides Jessen and Stransky, some of the most celebrated were Bachaczius, Nigellus, Simon Skala, Campanus and Troilus.

That the general revival of learning throughout the kingdom was a direct result of Protestantism, Pelzel acknowledges. "The most remarkable feature of the case," he says, "is the fact, that the Protestants of Bohemia, who always tried to enlighten the people, brought this about. Nearly all the learned men of this period belonged to their Church."[4]

The rapid increase of the membership of the Evangelical Church, was another consequence of religious liberty. Bohemia became, even more completely than prior to the granting of the charter, a Protestant country. We may give statistics which are at least approximately correct. The total population amounted to about three million. Of this number perhaps two hundred and fifty thousand were Catholics, and about two million seven hundred and fifty thousand Protestants. It is important, in order to gain a correct insight into the character of the Anti-Reformation, to remember these statistics.[5]

Rudolph bitterly repented of his course, both in its relation to Matthias and the Protestants. He hated his brother and bewailed his own weakness in granting the charter. The Archduke Leopold encouraged such sentiments. They plotted together and, at last, formed a conspiracy to deprive Matthias of the succession, transfer it to Leopold and crush Protestantism. Several Catholic nobles, among them Slawata and Martinic, were privy to this plot. In order to carry it out

[4] Pelzel, II. p. 679.

[5] These statistics are based upon the information derived from Gindely and elsewhere given, that the Catholics constituted less than one-tenth of the population. Vide p. 439.

the Archduke, under pretense of defending his diocese of Passau, raised an army of twelve thousand men—the scum and refuse of various nations. Led by General Ramée these troops advanced into Bohemia, plundering, burning and murdering wherever they came. In February, of 1611, they appeared before Prague, effected an entrance through Leopold's connivance, and began a terrible carnage, until they were driven beyond the walls by the infuriated citizens, whom Count Thurn supported with a small body of men. Soon after an army raised by the states came to the rescue. Into its hands fell Francis Tennagel, Leopold's councilor, who disclosed the entire conspiracy. The states immediately sent for Matthias. He arrived on the twenty-fourth of March, at the head of his troops; "the army of Passau," as Leopold's men were called, fled in hot haste. Three days later the states petitioned Matthias to assume the government, and constrained Rudolph to convene the Diet. On the eleventh of April the latter resigned the crown of Bohemia, with which the former was invested on the twenty-third of May, after having promised to issue a new charter. Meanwhile he sanctioned the rights and privileges granted by his brother.

Thus Rudolph lost all his possessions. An archduchy, a dukedom, two margraviates and two kingdoms slipped from his grasp; nothing remained but the empty dignity of a German Emperor. For nine months he brooded over his fall, his wrongs and the best means of regaining his dominions; until on the twentieth of January, 1612, death brought his unhappy career to a close.[6]

The Brethren were not behind their fellow Protestants in utilizing the privileges of the charter. Their parishes pros-

[6] In the hope of retrieving his losses Rudolph began negotiations with the Protestant Union—organized, in 1608, by a number of princes for mutual protection and in order to aid the Evangelical party irrespective of doctrinal differences—and would, no doubt, have joined it if death had not overtaken him. The Hist. Persecutionum, cap. XLI, gives a strange and wholly unhistoric account of his intention to found an "Order of Peace" (Ordo Pacis); the favorable view which it takes of his character and reign is equally incorrect.

pered and were multiplied. Prague, in particular, offered them a field from which they gathered rich harvests. The venerable Bethlehem Chapel which had long been closed, was formally reopened and given to them, because "their Unity was, so to say, the legitimate daughter of Hus;"[7] and when this edifice became too small for their membership, they began, in 1614, to build the church of Simon and Judah, which was finished in 1618. At Jungbunzlau their parish and school were reorganized; at Brandeis on the Adler Charles von Zerotin erected for them the church of John the Baptist. He conferred upon the membership in that town so many other benefits, that it came to be known as "the Brethren's promised land." To the work of education they devoted themselves with new zeal. Their schools ranked first.[8]

In Moravia, too, the Unity flourished. Zerotin conceived the idea of endowing it with funds and estates; Baron Rosenberg was ready to carry out a similar project in Bohemia. The titles to such property were to be vested in the bishops. But these discountenanced the entire scheme; "partly," says Comenius, "because such endowments could not be concealed, and if known, would create envy; partly because, looking at older examples (in the Catholic Church), they remembered that they too were human and might make an improper use of such gifts; but chiefly because of the interdict of God (*interdictum Dei*). Did not the Apostles choose rather to be dispensers of the divine word than to serve tables? (Acts 6.) Hence like the Apostles they preferred rather to distribute heavenly treasures, than to take care of earthly riches." While, therefore, single churches, as we have elsewhere said, owned property, the Unity as such, in Bohemia and Moravia, was not endowed.[9]

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[7] Hist. Persecutionum, cap. XL. 3.

[8] Czerwenka, II. p. 587.

[9] The above extract is taken from Comenius' Paraenesis ad Ecclesias nominatim Anglicanam, §§ 75 and 76, p. 125. What he means by the interdict of God, is hard to say. Plitt imagines that the question whether endowments should be received, was referred to the decision of the Lord by the lot. This we deem, in the highest degree, improbable.

The important work which the Synods carried on, did not flag in this period. They met frequently, regulated the schools, provided for the observance of the discipline, elected bishops, and in every other way, promoted the best interests of the Church.

The episcopate, by reason of death, was subjected to many changes. Neither Ariston nor Turnovius lived to enjoy the benefits of the charter. The former died of consumption, on the eighth of February, 1606, at Eibenschütz. He was a faithful servant of Jesus Christ, a prominent leader of the Unity, an ardent promoter of learning, enlightened, eloquent and zealous.[10] His place was filled by John Cruciger, elected, in the same year, at the Synod of Jaromir, and consecrated a few days after St. Mark's Day, by Narcissus, Nemcansky and Lanetius.[11]

At Ostrorog, two years later, on the twenty-second of March, 1608, Turnovius at the age of sixty-four years finished his illustrious career. One of his last projects was the publication of a Polish Bible on the model of that of Kralitz. This project was taken up by a Synod of the Brethren and Reformed, which intrusted the work to John Turnovius, his nephew, and Daniel Mikolajewski (1603). It was, how-

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The second number, which has just come to hand, of Joseph Müller's Historical Reports, gives an insight into the many donations made to, and the many privileges conferred upon, single churches. Müller found in the Staatsarchiv of Posen, to which a part of the archives of Lissa have recently been transferred, forty-seven original deeds and other documents. The deeds convey gardens, building lots, fields and houses; the other documents grant privileges of various kinds to the membership. One of these papers, given by Baron Adam von Krajek, emancipates John Aeneas, subsequently the celebrated Bishop, releasing "him from vassalage and serfdom, in order that he may with a good will serve the Lord and His Church in personal freedom." These forty-seven documents evidently form only a small part of the entire number of similar papers issued for the benefit of the Brethren.

[10] Todtenbuch, pp. 101 and 102. He was ordained a deacon in 1578, and a priest in 1587. With this record and that of a few additional but unimportant names, the invaluable necrology found in the Todtenbuch, comes to an end.

[11] Jaffet's S. G., p. 39, 2, R.'s Z., p. 438.

ever, subsequently relinquished; for what reason, does not appear.[12]

Jacob Narcissus now became President of the Council, and in the same year in which Turnovius died, consecrated, with the assistance of Nemcansky and Lanetius, at the Synod of Leipnik, Matthias Rybinius or Rybinski and Martin Gratian Gertich to the episcopacy.

Rybinius came of a ministerial family. His father, a Bohemian by birth, served the Unity for more than thirty years at Lobsenia, Barcin, and other Polish parishes. He had his son carefully educated in the schools of the Brethren and then sent him to the Universities of Breslau and Heidelberg. As a scholar Rybinius ranked high. His Polish metrical version of the Psalms, adapted to the French tunes, gave him a wide reputation.[13]

Gertich was born on the eleventh of November, 1568, at Lassowice, in Poland. His parents were Germans. He was educated at Lissa, and, through the munificence of Count Leszcynski, at the Universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig, Basle and Heidelberg. After he had finished his studies he became the chaplain of his patron and subsequently served Baron Schöneich, at Carolath, in Silesia, in the same capacity. At a later time he was appointed pastor of the church at Lissa, and on Rybinius' death took up his residence at Ostrorog, where he remained until that ancient seat fell into the hands of the Jesuits. Eloquent and learned, of a dignified bearing but gentle in his ways, he exercised great influence, especially upon young ministers, with whom he kept up a diligent correspondence.[14] Both Rybinius and Gertich superintended the Polish churches.

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[12] Jablonski's Con. Send., § 103, p. 121.

[13] Compare p. 411 of this History. Rybinius was ordained to the priesthood 1589. His biography is given by Fischer, II. p. 183 and Regenvolscius, p. 388.

[14] Fischer II. p. 182; Regenvolcius, p. 388. Gertich took part in the negotiations with the Greek divines at Vilna, in 1599. On that occasion he wrote a polemical account of the public disputation in which he, Daniel Mikolajewski and Martin Janitius engaged with the celebrated Jesuit Martin Smiglecki, in the presence of four thousand hearers.

In 1609 Bartholomew Nemcansky, one of the Bohemian Bishops, died at Jungbunzlau. The vacancy thus created was filled, in the same year, by the election of Matthias Koneczny, who received consecration at the hands of Narcissus, Lanetius and Cruciger. The new Bishop was a learned scholar and fruitful writer, distinguished for his ornate Bohemian style. Among his works, some of which are still extant, the most celebrated were: A Manual for family worship; the *Theatrum Divinum*, or Contemplation of the works of God's creation; a Treatise on Christian Duty; and Truth Triumphant, a polemical writing directed against Sturm.[15]

Two years later, in 1611, Jacob Narcissus, the President of the Council, passed away at Brandeis on the Adler, in the sixty-third year of his age. Thereupon Bishop John Lanetius was appointed President, and proceeded, with the assistance of Gertich and Koneczny, to consecrate to the episcopacy Matthias Cyrus, the assessor of the Protestant Consistory. Cyrus was a learned and eloquent preacher, of grave deportment, a general favorite among the nobility.

In the following year (1612) Bishop Rybinius was taken ill. He visited Posen in the hope of being benefited by its celebrated physicians, but died May the twentieth, aged only forty-six years, at the house of his friend Henry Girk, one of the elders of the Brethren's Church in that city.

In October the Synod met at Ostrorog and elected for the Bohemian Province, Gregory Erastus, and for the Polish, John Turnovius, who were consecrated by Lanetius, Koneczny and Cyrus.[16] Erastus was a godly and learned man, who deserved well of the Church, and accomplished much good, especially by the extensive correspondence which he carried on. John Turnovius, the son of a minister of the same name and the

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[15] Regenvolscius, p. 321.

[16] The last bishop mentioned by Jaffet in his important record, is Cruciger; those that follow Cruciger are given according to the complete list of Regenvolscius, pp. 315–323; the list furnished by Gindely, in his Quellen, p. 450, etc.; and John Plitt's MS. Treatise Vom Bischofthum der B. U. in alter und neuer Zeit, 1835, Herrnhut Archives.

nephew of Bishop Simon Theophilus Turnovius, was educated at the gymnasia of Glogau and Breslau, and the Universities of Strasburg, Basle and Geneva. After his graduation he served various parishes in his native country, and in 1608, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Marburg. Subsequently he became Rector of the school at Thorn. He was an eloquent speaker and a poet whose translations of German songs and hymns, published in 1605, as also his *Centuriae Carminum*, issued in 1606, gave him a distinguished name.[17]

While so many of the Bishops whom he had been accustomed to entertain at Namiest were passing away, Charles von Zerotin faithfully discharged his duties as Governor of Moravia. It was his earnest purpose on the one hand, to be true to Matthias, and on the other, to further the welfare of the margraviate. The most important project which he devised was its consolidation with Bohemia, Silesia, Lusatia, Hungary and Austria into one empire. In this way the interests of each country would become the interests of all, the element of absolutism disappear and both civil and religious liberty be developed. This was a statesman-like plan. Had it been carried out Austria would have grown great and free, a centre of liberal influences and enlightened power; not that hot-bed of bigotry aud intolerance of which history sadly tells. But the project failed. Nor was this all. Prompted by Cardinal Khlesel and forgetting what he owed Zerotin, Matthias began to withdraw his favor. Hence the Governor's personal influence rapidly waned, while that of the reactionary faction was in the ascendency. These considerations induced him in 1615, to resign and retire to private life. But he remained loyal to the House of Hapsburg and faithful to Matthias, in spite of his ingratitude. On more than one occasion he mediated between this monarch and the states.

Through Zerotin's retirement a prominent figure disappeared from the arena of European politics. "His name,"

[17] Fischer, II. p. 183; Regenvolscius, p. 389. Gertich wrote also Funeral Discourses, Theological Disputations, and a work on Predestination.

says Chlumecky, "was honored in Germany, France, Italy and England; Protestant leaders throughout Europe looked upon him as a tower of strength for the pure faith; even the Catholics, although they called him 'the worst of heretics,' were constrained to acknowledge his love of justice, his moderation, his great talents." [18]

After the Synod of Thorn, until the year 1605, the Polish Protestants enjoyed comparative peace. But the civil war in which many of them took part, as also the treatment which the Catholics received at the hands of the Swedish invaders, in 1604, brought on as soon as the din of war had ceased a new and more decided reaction.

The Jesuits again put themselves at its head. They employed the same means as before; but open violence became more common. At Posen the Lutheran church was set on fire and that of the Brethren torn to the ground (1616). In the brief period of fifteen years, from 1606 to 1620, the Protestants lost two-thirds of their places of worship. Among them were not a few belonging to the Brethren.[19] Such distressing experiences induced them, at the Synod of Belz in 1613, to unite with the Reformed in overtures to the Lutherans for a renewal of the Sendomirian Confederation. But these overtures were rejected.[20]

The wounds which the Unity received in Poland were many, yet not fatal. It still constituted an active Church, was supported by powerful magnates, and carried on the work of the Gospel with zeal and success.

Ostrorog continued to be its chief seat. In that large and flourishing parish were found: a Theological School in which, under the eyes of the Bishops, young men were trained for the ministry and from which the most promising were sent to foreign universities;[21] the archives of the Polish Province; and

[18] Chlumecky's Zerotin, p. 857.

[19] Lukaszewicz, p. 146.

[20] Jablonski's Con. Send., § 106, p. 123.

[21] This school probably ranked with the seminaries at Jungbunzlau, Prerau and Eibenschütz. Compare p. 418.

a valuable library, originally presented by the Ostrorog family and increased through subsequent gifts.

In 1605 Turnovius had received from the Bohemian Bishops a printing press, which was at work throughout this whole period, sending forth many important writings in Polish, Bohemian, German and Latin. There existed, moreover, an endowment of sixty thousand Polish florins, created, in part, through legacies, and in part, through collections. This fund was invested at Thorn and the interest was applied to the payment of provincial expenses.[22]

Toward the end of April, 1616, the Synod met at Zerawic, on the Moravian-Hungarian frontier, and was attended by all the Bishops and Assistant Bishops and a large number of ministers from every part of the Unity.[23] This convocation proved to be the last prior to the Anti-Reformation. As though anticipating that tempest, the assembled fathers set up a memorial which no storm has been able to sweep away.

In the course of the negotiations between the Brethren and their fellow Protestants, at the Diet of 1609, the former were asked to explain in what their peculiarities consisted. Thereupon the Bishops produced a document, setting forth the constitution, ministry, ritual and discipline of the Unitas Fratrum. Although the importance of these principles was recognized, they could not, in the very nature of the case, be generally adopted. Hence the Brethren were told to retain their own form of discipline and order, "until Providence should offer something more perfect, which might be alike suitable to all." [24]

The Synod took up the document presented on that occasion. It was revised, amended and amplified; and then formally adopted as "a recognized code of laws" for the Unitas Fra-

[22] Lukaszewicz, Polish ed., pp. 405–410. This endowment was of precisely the same character as the so-called Sustentation Funds in the various Provinces of the Unitas Fratrum at the present day. Why the Bishops permitted it to be created in the Polish Province, while forbidding endowments in the Moravian and Bohemian, we can not tell.

[23] Plitt, Sect. 79.

[24] Ratio Disciplinæ, ed. 1702, Præfatio, p. 5; Seifferth's Church Constitution, Preface, pp. 96 and 97.

trum. All the Bishops and Assistant Bishops attached their signatures. The object which the Synod had in view, is thus defined: "That not only a more certain account of this matter might be left to posterity, but also that the obligation of every individual to a careful observance of the regulations in mutual charity, might be more binding." [25]

Such a purpose was fulfilled. It may well be said, that Jesus Christ, the Divine Head of His Church, who has led the Unitas Fratrum in all periods of its history, in ways that have been wonderful and sometimes almost miraculous, himself prompted the drawing up of this statute-book. It guided the Brethren in their exile and made them faithful to the usages of their fathers; it perpetuated the memory of their Unity as a living Church, even when they had almost ceased to exist; it formed the standard according to which their descendants reorganized at Herrnhut, in Saxony.

The *Ratio Disciplinæ* contains seven chapters. In the first "is exhibited the order of the whole Unity in general;" that is, "the Essential, Auxiliary and Accidental Things of Christianity;" [26] the classes of the membership; the lay officers of the Church; and the three orders of its ministry. The second chapter treats of Synods and the rite of ordination; the third of the preaching of the Word, the administration of the sacraments, confirmation, festivals and fasts; the fourth of "the

[25] *Ibid.* The original document was written in Bohemian. Sixteen years later, the Synod of Lissa, in 1632, resolved to publish a Latin version and supply it with a preface. This was done in the following year. The work appeared at Lissa and received the following title: Ratio Disciplinæ Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum. Whether this edition is extant, we do not know. But in the same year a German translation was published with the title: Kirchen Ordnung, wie sie in der vereinigten Böhmischen Brüderschafft gehalten wird. Gedruckt zur Polnischen Lissaw Im Jahr 1633. Of this edition there is a copy in the Malin Library, No. 769. In 1660, Amos Comenius republished the Latin edition at Amsterdam (Malin Lib., No. 806); in 1702, Buddæus brought out a third edition at Halle; and in 1866 Bishop Seifferth a fourth in London, adding an English translation and valuable notes. Seifferth's work is entitled: Church Constitution of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren.

[26] Compare p. 201 of this History.

domestic order of the ministers," in other words, their mode of living in the parsonages; the fifth of "the domestic order of the hearers," that is, the regulations which are to govern families; the sixth of official visits on the part of the bishops and their assistants; and the seventh of the discipline.

At the same Synod which adopted this document there was ordained on the twenty-seventh of April, to the priesthood of the Unity, a man whose career shed lustre upon the last period of its history, whose fame filled Europe and reached other continents, who with one hand laid upon the remnant of the Brethren God's protecting benediction, and with the other pointed, like a seer, to a better time, a new epoch, a glorious renewal of the Church of his fathers. His name was John Amos Comenius, or Komensky. He was born on the twenty-eighth of March, 1592, at Niwnitz, a market-town near Ungarish-Brod, on the domain of Ostran, in Moravia.[27] His parents, Martin and Anna Komensky, who were wealthy members of the Brethren's Church, both died when he was a child; the former in 1602, the latter probably in 1604. A tradition, which can not, however, be substantiated, says that his father was a miller. The guardians to whose care he had been left, neglected him. He was sent to the Brethren's schools at Ungarish-Brod and Straznic. In 1611 he entered the Theological Institute at Herborn, in Nassau; and on the nineteenth of June, 1613, the University at Heidelberg. After having completed his studies he traveled to Holland and probably to England. On his return to Moravia he was appointed, through the influence of Charles von Zerotin, Rector of the school at Prerau. There he began to examine into the system of education then in vogue and devise new methods. One of his first literary works was a treatise on grammar, published in 1616. Two years after the Synod of Zerawic he was appointed pastor of the flourishing parish at Fulneck and Rector

[27] Ostran was the property of the Kunowic family and formed, in the sixteenth century, a chief seat of the Brethren, where they had a press on which Blahoslav's works were printed. The owners of the domain were members of the Unity.

of its school. The house in which he lived and taught stood on the slope of a hill overlooking the town and crowned with a stately castle.[28]

On the fourteenth of March, 1618, Bishop Cyrus died at Prague and was buried in the Bethlehem Chapel. The vacancy thus created in the Consistory was filled by the appointment of John Cyrill, who received consecration to the episcopacy at the hands of Lanetius and his associate Bishops.[29]

Cyrus had been the preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel. The calling of a successor gave rise to an acrimonious dispute—one of the signs of the coming revolution—between the Faculty of the University and the Roman Catholic burgomaster of the *Altstadt*, in whom was conjointly vested the right of appointment. At last the Faculty appealed to the Defenders to designate the incumbent. The Defenders appointed Bishop Cyrill.[30]

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[28] This building remained until recent times. It was a massive structure of stone, two stories high, with an arched door, to the left of which were two windows, and seven windows in the second story. We visited Fulneck in 1879 and found that this venerable edifice had been torn down and a sort of tenement house erected on its site, owned by a manufacturer, named Gerlich, who has a garden near by; but there exists a correct picture of the original building. Connected with the house is a chapel, which, no doubt, occupies the site of the Brethren's chapel in the time of Comenius. From this spot one has a full view of the Fulneck square, surrounded by ancient and quaint buildings; and from the park of the castle, on the top of the hill, opens a beautiful prospect of the entire *Kuhländl*, where are Zauchtenthal and many other villages, once flourishing parishes of the Brethren.

The principal sources for the life of Comenius are: Criegern's Comenius als Theolog; Palacky's Comenius; Benham's Comenius; Lissa's Jubelfeier; etc. It was formerly common to designate Komna as his birthplace. Later researches have shown this to be incorrect. Equally mistaken, as Zerotin's letters to Comenius show, is the idea of Adelung, Elsner, Croeger, and others, that he adopted the name Komensky after he had been exiled, in order to hide his true name. He received the name of Komensky from his father, whose ancestors came from Komna. Comenius is its Latin form.

[29] Plitt's MS. Vom Bischofsthum.

[30] Gindely's 30-jähr. Krieg; I. pp. 265 and 266.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Bohemian Revolution. A. D. 1617–1620.

Confidence of the Protestants in the Charter.—The Jesuits determined to counteract its Blessings.—Prelude to the Revolution.—Matthias ignores the Rights of the Evangelical Party.—Diet of 1615.—Unjust Enactment regarding Germans.—The Emperor refuses to interpose in Favor of the Protestants.—He chooses Ferdinand as his Successor.—Character of this Prince.—Diet of 1617.—Ferdinand King of Bohemia.—His Public and Secret Oaths.—Regents appointed.—The Grievances of the Evangelical Party.—A Protestant Convention.—The Emperor forbids such Meetings.—In spite of this Prohibition a second Convention takes place.—Count Thurn.—His conspiracy to put the Regents to Death.—The Twenty-third of May and its Outrage.—A Provisional Government.—Apologies.—War breaks out.—Death of Matthias.—The Bohemians refuse to acknowledge Ferdinand and elect Frederick of the Palatinate.—Battle of the White Mountain.—Flight of Frederick.—The Protestant Party powerless.

In the history of Christendom there are few events more mournful than those which we are now about to set forth. From the pinnacle of prosperity Bohemia and Moravia were plunged into the depths of adversity: when the Unitas Fratrum, after a century and a half of oppression, had at last secured a legal existence and flourished like a cedar of Lebanon, it was cut down. And yet of Him, in whose sight the nations are as a drop of a bucket and counted as the small dust of the balance, and who leads His Church and every part thereof on ways that are not known, it must, in this instance also, be said, that while "clouds and darkness are round about Him, righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne."

That Rome never yields, was a truth which the Bohemian Protestants failed to recognize amidst the joyous growth of their cause. They had implicit faith in the Charter. They rejoiced in the amicable relations brought about by the "Agreement" with the Catholics. They cheerfully acknowledged all their rights, and for themselves asked nothing more than the same recognition. But this happy state of affairs constituted, in the estimation of the Jesuits, an intolerable offense. Never had they lost sight of their nefarious purpose. The Evangelical party must be destroyed at all hazards. Towards this end they now moved, sometimes with open violence, and again with every artifice of which they were masters. All the dissensions between Protestants and Catholics which broke out, they instigated. All the oppressive measures under which Evangelical parishes began to suffer, they advised. All the blood that was shed and all the frightful cruelties of the Anti-Reformation, they were responsible for. The war that convulsed Europe for thirty years, was their work. Had there been no Jesuits, Bohemia and Moravia would, this day, stand foremost among the Protestant powers of the world. At the same time, when the "Agreement" had once been broken, the course of the Evangelical party was not blameless. "But," says a cotemporaneous writer, "where ours failed once, the other side committed themselves ten-fold."[1]

There was a prelude to the Bohemian Revolution. As early as 1611 complaints began to reach the Defenders that the Catholics were growing unfriendly. The Defenders appealed to Matthias, but without success. He had gained the goal of his ambition. Now that he was King of Bohemia, King of Hungary, and Emperor of Germany,[2] he took his ease; gave himself up to his amours; followed the counsels of the Jesuits, and in particular of Peter Pazman, a renegade

[1] Cited by Pescheck, I. pp. 240. Authorities for this chapter are: Pescheck I, chapters 7, 8 and 9; Czerwenka, II, chapter 15; Gindely's 30-jähr. Krieg, Vols. I, II and III; and a large number of original pamphlets issued by both parties, and found in the Malin Library.

[2] Elected at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, June the twenty-fourth, 1612.

from the true faith; allowed Cardinal Khlesel free sway as his prime minister; and refused to do justice to the Protestants.

The Charter contained an unfortunate ambiguity. Ecclesiastical domains were not specified as included in the benefits of religious liberty. Hence the Archbishop of Prague and his clergy, supported by the Jesuits, claimed that such estates were under their exclusive control and debarred from the privileges granted elsewhere. That this was not the meaning of the Charter is self-evident; for it had been drawn up by Protestants.

At the Diet of 1615 the Evangelical states formally laid their grievances before the Emperor. But he had no ear for the startling proofs which they unfolded of the violation of the Charter, and would give no promise to correct the abuses which had taken place. Imbittered by this repulse they adopted an unjust and ill-advised enactment. Thereafter no foreigner should be permitted to enjoy the rights of citizenship, unless familiar with the Bohemian tongue, which, after the death or resignation of the German incumbents and instructors then in office, was to be exclusively used in public worship and teaching, newly-organized parishes and schools being alone excepted. Had not the Revolution caused this enactment to be practically forgotten, it would have led to results different from those which its originators aimed at and would have brought about feuds among the Protestants themselves. This the Jesuits foresaw and, therefore, induced Matthias to give it his sanction.

In the following year (1616) a deputation of three nobles had an interview with him at Brandeis and urged the rights of the Evangelical party. His answer was, that he could not permit the building of Protestant churches on ecclesiastical domains, because the Charter did not grant this privilege; and that, having made over all the benefices on royal estates to the Archbishop, he could not interfere with the acts of this prelate. And yet Matthias was the monarch, who, prior and subsequent to his coronation, had solemnly pledged himself, by two formal documents, to maintain the rights and privi-

leges of the kingdom and especially its chartered religious liberty.[3]

Upon a prelude so ominous followed the events which brought on the Revolution. The first was the appointment of a successor to Matthias. The Emperor was old and childless. Into whose hands should the sceptre pass? Who was best fitted to sway it to the glory of the House of Hapsburg and in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church? Instigated by Peter Pazman, and encouraged by his own brothers who waived their rights, his choice fell upon his cousin, Ferdinand Archduke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, a son of the Archduke Charles and grandson of Ferdinand the First. He was born at Grätz, on the ninth of July, 1578, and educated by the Jesuits. Through their influence he became an intensely bigoted Romanist. When but twenty years of age he vowed in the Chapel of the Virgin at Loretto, that he would suppress Protestantism throughout his realm.[4] Sternly had he kept this vow. Not a vestige of Evangelical religion remained except among the nobles; and he was but waiting for a favorable opportunity to force upon them the choice between the Catholic Church or exile. Rather, so he said, would he take a staff in his hand, gather his family around him, and beg his bread from door to door, than tolerate a heretic in his dominions.[5] At the same time he was a man of sound judgment, fearless determination and great energy.

Accompanied by this Prince, Matthias, in the spring of 1617, unexpectedly arrived at Prague and issued a proclamation convening the Diet. It met on the sixth of June. No season could have been more inconvenient for the nobles. The harvest prevented their leaving home. But for this very

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[3] Deductio, Beylage No. LXII, p. 153, where the document is given which he issued prior to his coronation, and p. 162, No. LXIV, where is found the one published after his coronation.

[4] Lamormain de Virtutibus Ferdinandi, cited by Pescheck, I, p. 257.

[5] Pescheck, I, 258. In 1629 the opportunity for coercing his nobles presented itself to Ferdinand. The Beylagen to the Deductio contain full accounts of his previous persecutions.

reason Matthias had fixed upon that time.[6] He did not wish to see a large attendance. Nor was he disappointed. Comparatively few of the states assembled. To those who were present he announced that he had adopted Ferdinand as his son, and demanded that they should accept him as their future king. Of a constitutional election there was not a whisper. The Catholics at once acceded to this demand. Of the Protestants some indignantly returned to their estates; others were won over by promises or threats; only a small minority, among whom Thurn, Schlick, Budowa, Fels, and William von Lobkowitz were prominent, formed the opposition. These men contended that so important a measure could not be decided by a Bohemian Diet, but must be referred to a General Diet; they protested against accepting instead of electing a king; and when they saw that Ferdinand's appointment was inevitable, they stipulated that he must at least swear to respect the Charter and uphold the other privileges of the kingdom. On the ninth of June the form of an election was gone through with; and on the twenty-ninth, after having taken the prescribed oath, he was crowned. Prior to this public pledge, however, he had, accompanied by the Jesuits, gone to the sacristy of the Cathedral and there sworn a secret oath, that he would never grant anything to the heretics which would be prejudicial to the Roman Catholic Church.[7]

What wonder that the Jesuits boasted of having won a victory! That the Romanists generally triumphed! That the Baroness von Pernstein, as soon as the ceremonies of the coronation were at an end, turned to those beside her and remarked,

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[6] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XLII, 1.

[7] This fact is not only given in the Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XLII, 13, but also substantiated by Romish authority. In the preface to a work published by the Jesuits in 1618, at Malzheim, in Alsace, and dedicated to the Archduke Leopold, they admonish him to manifest the same zeal for his Church as his brother Ferdinand, who although he swore, at his coronation, to tolerate the heretics in Bohemia, had nevertheless previously bound himself by an oath in the sacristy, never to yield to them in anything which might run counter to the interests of Romanism. Comp. Pescheck, I, p. 270, and Caroli Memorabilia Ecc. Saec. XVII, I, 452.

with a malicious smile, that the time had now come for testing the question, whether the Catholics were to rule the Protestants, or the Protestants the Catholics! The whole proceeding at Prague was contrary to the spirit of the constitution. A monarch was forced upon Bohemia, and the countries incorporated with it—Moravia, Lusatia and Silesia—had no voice in the matter.

In the following December the Emperor, the new King, and the entire court, returned to Vienna. This was the next event which led to the Revolution. It would hardly have occurred if Matthias had taken up his abode at Prague. His absence required a substitute. But instead of intrusting the kingdom to a governor, he appointed ten Regents. Seven of these were Catholics and only three Protestants. The Catholics were Adam von Sternberg, Waldstein, Thalemberg, Slawata, Martinic, Matthias von Lobkowitz, and Charles von Duba; the Protestants, Janowic, Krimic, and Gersdorf. These latter soon perceived that they were powerless. Under the arbitrary rule of the majority an unfriendly treatment of the adherents of the Evangelical faith, and what was worse, oppressive measures against them, met with encouragement. In almost every particular were the Charter and the "Agreement" violated. Such violations did not originate among the people, but were planned and dictated by the Jesuits. It was the purpose of these archconspirators, first, to deprive the Protestants of all legal means of redress, and then to provoke them to illegal acts which would brand them as rebels to whom no mercy must be shown.

It is important to set forth in detail the character of such machinations.

Prominent ecclesiastics at Prague allowed no opportunity to pass without denouncing the Charter as a "rascally document," and invalid, because it had not been sanctioned by the Pope. The Catholics were alienated from their Evangelical countrymen, and encouraged to withdraw even from social fellowship with them; to be present at their marriages or baptisms, or funerals, was strictly forbidden. Marriages with

Protestants were allowed only in case the Catholic party promised to pervert the other. Protestants were reviled in every possible manner; the wives of their ministers were decried as whores and the children as bastards; testimonials of their having been born in lawful wedlock were invariably refused. A Jesuit at Prague said in a sermon, that it was better to have the devil in one's house than a wife who was a Lutheran; the devil could be exorcised, but not Lutheran wives. Other Jesuits preached and wrote in a similar strain. Matthias von Thurn was deprived of the governorship of Karlstein, and this office was given to Martinic. An edict appeared infringing upon religious liberty in royal cities; and when the *Altstadt* of Prague protested, a second and still severer edict was issued, forbidding the publication of any work which had not received the Chancellor's approval, thus establishing a most unwarranted censorship of the press. The Evangelical minister of Aussig was banished and a Catholic priest put in his place: this proceeding led to a bloody retaliation for which the people were severely punished. At Prague the elders of the Protestant churches were prohibited from meeting without the permission of the royal judges, who were all Catholics, and without informing these judges of the business they proposed transacting. Protestants were removed from office without cause. Their children lost the right of citizenship. On ecclesiastical domains they were forced to go to the Romish confessional, or sign papers pledging themselves to obey the Romish Church. In many cases they were allowed to marry only on condition of receiving the Romish sacrament or of turning Catholics. Rich wards and orphans, or daughters at school in convents, were inveigled into secret marriages with Catholics. Children were torn from the arms of widowed mothers and given to the Jesuits to educate. In some parishes church-edifices were taken from the Protestants; in others they were hindered from filling vacant pastorships; in others documents were wantonly destroyed, and they were deprived of the privileges which such papers had granted; in still others they were refused burial on con-

secrated ground, or their funeral services were maliciously interrupted. The Abbot of Braunau caused the Protestant church in that town to be torn to the ground; and when representatives of the parish went to Prague to lodge complaint, they were cast into prison. Another Protestant church, situated on the estate of Klostergrab, was closed by order of the Archbishop to whom that domain belonged. A publication appeared attacking the Augsburg Confession; another, defaming the Unitas Fratrum.[8]

These were the grievances of which the Protestants complained and which formed the chief cause of the Revolution. It is a long and black list. No one can go through it without deep indignation. "A chaos existed; injustice was called justice; breaking the laws of the land, zeal for the Romish Church; clinging to chartered liberty, a crime against the majesty of the King."[9]

The Defenders failing, in spite of all their efforts, to secure redress, called a convention. This privilege had been granted by the Diet of 1609. In cases of importance six Protestant delegates from each circuit of the kingdom were to meet with the Protestant office-bearers and councilors, for consultation on the affairs of their Church.[10]

The convention began on the sixth of March, 1618, and was held in the *Carolinum*. A remonstrance against the violations of the Charter was adopted and presented to the Regents. These denied that infringements had taken place and justified what the paper complained of. Thereupon a petition to the Emperor was drawn up, entreating him to exercise his authority in the interests of the Charter; and letters were sent to the

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[8] The publication against the Brethren proceeded from their fellow Protestants, and Count Schlick, whose prejudices against the Unity were never fully removed, was probably responsible for it; but it was written under Romish influences and used as a weapon by the Catholics. An anonymous reply appeared. The Apologies and their accompanying documents, subsequently issued by the states, fully substantiate all the grievances adduced above.

[9] Czerwenka, II. p. 605.

[10] Behemischer Landtag, 1609, p. 10.

Moravian, Silesian and Lusatian Diets, asking them to intercede with him on behalf of his Protestant subjects. After having determined to meet again on the twenty-first of May, the convention adjourned.

Instead of answering the petition Matthias sent a letter to the Regents. Its tone was hard and menacing. He refused to listen to any grievances; forbade the Defenders to call conventions; declared that the churches at Braunau and Klostergrab had been closed in accordance with his orders; asserted that the Protestants, and not the Catholics, had broken the Charter; and added, that if the states continued in the course upon which they had entered, he would punish them as rebels.[11] This letter roused a feeling of intense bitterness throughout Bohemia. It was officially communicated to those Defenders who were at Prague.[12] They listened to it in silence, and after a few days read to the Regents a calm reply. Protestant conventions, they said, were sanctioned by law; the Diet had provided for such meetings; hence they were constrained to decline interfering with the one appointed for the month of May.[13]

When the Regents perceived that the Defenders were not to be intimidated, they tried to impair their influence by alienating the royal cities; and endeavored to create dissensions among the Protestant clergy. Both these efforts were partially successful.

Meantime the refusal of the Defenders to prohibit the meeting of another convention had been reported to Vienna, and on the seventeenth of April a second letter arrived, reiterating, although in milder language, the imperial inter-

[11] This letter is given in Document No. 99, accompanying the Andere Apologie.

[12] It was commonly said, that the obnoxious letter had been written by the Regents themselves and merely signed by the Emperor. This, however, seems not to have been the case. Cardinal Khlesel was the author. Gindely, in his 30-jähr. Krieg, I. p. 258, adduces the testimony of Slawata, who says that he had himself been astonished at the severity of its tone.

[13] Gindely, 30-jähr. Krieg, I. p. 259, Note, says, that there can be no doubt of the legality of the position maintained by the Defenders.

diction. But they again declined to interfere. On the eighteenth of May they adopted a formal paper, giving an account of the conflict which had broken out and showing that their course was strictly in accordance with the Charter and the enactments of the Diet. This document was read, on Sunday the twentieth, in all the Protestant churches of Prague. Rosacius, the incumbent of the church of St. Nicholas in the *Kleinseite*, added a fervent prayer, that God would bless the Defenders in their arduous efforts to maintain religious liberty.

The next morning, May the twenty-first, the convention met in the *Carolinum*, and was opened with the singing of the ninety-first Psalm, a prayer, and an address by Rosacius. Afterward, in accordance with a summons received from the Regents, the entire body of representatives proceeded to the Hradschin, where a third letter from the Emperor, dated May the sixteenth, was read to them, which once more forbade their meeting. They listened respectfully, asked for a copy of the letter, and promised a speedy reply. In the court-yard of the Castle they held an impromptu meeting and determined, in spite of the prohibition of the Emperor, to assemble again on the following morning. At that sitting the Defenders were appointed to draft the reply of the convention. The further business of the day consisted in negotiations with the two city-councils of Prague which, through the machinations of the Regents, had become disaffected. While these negotiations were going on Count Thurn appeared with the intelligence that he had been cited to Vienna. Amidst great excitement the representatives swore to protect him.

Thurn's influence over them was unfortunate. He was a German, but owned domains in Bohemia for which country he cherished an enthusiastic love. No one could doubt his zeal on behalf of the Evangelical cause; and yet by his passionate disposition, reckless plans, and headstrong will, he injured, instead of promoting, Protestantism.[14]

[14] Schiller in his Geschichte des 30-jähr. Kriegs, Cotta's ed. of 1838, IX. p. 75, characterizes Thurn as follows: "He was a hotheaded, violent man, who loved confusion, because in the midst of it his talents shone forth.

This soon became evident. When the Defenders met in order to draw up a reply to the Regents, he began to whisper that the time for peaceful measures was at end, that the rights of the Protestants must be maintained by force, that nothing would be accomplished unless a "demonstration" took place. Some of his friends earnestly dissuaded him from urging such views. But in the course of the day he won over Wenzel von Ruppa and Colonna von Fels. A plot was formed, into which, before the evening came, several other representives were drawn, to take the law into their own hands and put the most obnoxious of the Regents to death.[15] While this plot was known only to the conspirators, the news spread that decisive measures were impending. Prague became agitated. The streets were crowded with people. Every face was grave; every heart anxious. Men asked each other: what is going to happen? No one could tell. But the conviction grew general, that the patience of the Evangelical states was exhausted and that they would stop at nothing. The Regents were warned, but took no notice of the warning. Paul Michna, however, one of their secretaries, who had made himself particularly unpopular, became alarmed and fled to Vienna.

Such was the state of feeling when the twenty-third of May, 1618, dawned—a day never to be forgotten, "the beginning and the cause of all the woe that followed."[16]

Rash and fool-hardy, he undertook things upon which a man of cool judgment, whose blood flows calmly, would not venture; unconscientious, when the question was whether his passions should be gratified, he played with the fate of thousands, and yet was subtile enough to entangle an entire nation in his leading-strings."

[15] That such a conspiracy was formed, Gindely, in his 30-jähr. Krieg, shows on the authority of Skala, a Protestant, and of the reports of the judicial examinations to which the Defenders and other noblemen were, at a later time, subjected. It is strange that Czerwenka, who had the same sources at command, passes over the conspiracy in absolute silence and rather lets the assault upon the Regents appear as an unpremeditated act, caused by the excitement of the moment. Gindely says, that Budowa knew of and approved the plot.

[16] These are the words with which the Protestant exiles bewailed their fate in the time of the Anti-Reformation. Gindely 30-jähr. Krieg, I. p. 235.

Soon after eight o'clock, the members of the convention, accompanied by their servants and followed by a great multitude, proceeded to the Hradschin, some on foot, others on horseback, and still others in splendid coaches. Having assembled in the Diet-chamber, the paper drawn up by the Defenders was read and adopted. It protested against any attempt to hinder the calling of Protestant conventions; condemned the course of the Regents; and closed with the categorical question, whether they had been concerned in the composition of the imperial letter dated the twenty-first of March. An ominous threat was added. Over against the injustice from which they had so long suffered, the states would themselves take measures to secure their rights. The tone of the paper throughout was bold and fearless; and the nobles who were privy to the conspiracy, no longer attempted to conceal its purpose. Count Schlick said to the representatives of Schlan: "To-day you will see and hear things strange and terrible, which will not be pleasing to the Catholics; to-day the states will sweep aside everything that stands in the way of the Charter."[17] Just as the sitting was about to close a messenger burst into the chamber with the report, that the Protestant members of the council of the *Altstadt* had been imprisoned in order to prevent them from sending deputies to the convention.[18] This report was false, but it produced intense excitement. The whole body rose and hurried to the office of the Regents.

This office was situated in the oldest part of the Castle; it had three windows, one looking toward the east, the other two toward the south. Its appointments were simple: a few arm-chairs, a tile stove and several tables, the largest of which, used as the council-table, stood in the centre.

Into this apartment pressed the members of the convention. In order to make room for them, the council-table was

[17] On the authority of Skala, as cited by Czerwenka.

[18] The two city-councils of Prague had convened very early in the morning; that of the *Neustadt* resolved to send deputies to the convention, that of the *Altstadt* declined.

pushed against the wall; but in spite of this a large number were obliged to remain in the corridor. Only four Regents, Adam von Sternberg, Martinic, Slawata, and Diepold von Lobkowitz, and one secretary, Philip Fabricius Platter, were present. On account of the press these officials gathered in a corner near the stove.[19]

The men who thrust themselves forward as ring-leaders were Thurn, Schlick, Ruppa, Paul von Rican, William von Lobkowitz, Kaplir, and Ulrich Kinsky. Rican opened the interview by asking, on whose authority the councilors of the *Altstadt* had been imprisoned. The Regents disavowed all knowledge of such an occurrence. Thereupon he read the paper adopted by the convention and urged them to answer the question with which it closed. Others did the same. But the Regents declined giving the desired information. This refusal roused the states. The interview became heated. Voices were raised in loud anger. Slawata and Martinic had to bear its brunt. Upon them were heaped charges, criminations and invectives. They were responsible for the wrongs of the Protestants; to their influence could be traced every violation of the Charter; Sternberg and Lobkowitz were innocent. Thus vociferated the states in great excitement. At last there was a lull in the tumult. Slawata seized the opportunity and began a defense of his course. But no sooner had he ceased speaking than the storm began afresh, bursting into the terrific cry, that by their crimes both he and Martinic had forfeited their lives. Pale with fright these two Regents begged that no violence might be committed and earnestly appealed for protection to some of their own kinsmen, who were standing among the throng. But their supplications fell upon deaf ears. Rican drew forth and read a second paper, which pronounced them guilty of violating the Charter and declared them to be the enemies of the commonwealth. In response to his question, as to whether the states concurred in

[19] Chronik von Böhmen, II. p. 102. The office of the Regents, including its furniture, has been preserved intact to the present day. Sternberg, was Martinic's father-in-law; of the antecedents of Fabricius nothing is known.

this sentence, came a unanimous and vehement "Aye!" And now the uproar commenced anew. "Into the Black Tower with them!" cried some; "Out of the window, according to ancient Bohemian usage!" exclaimed Ruppa. This was the mode of execution which the conspirators had agreed upon. It was carried out on the instant. While several of them pushed Sternberg and Diepold von Lobkowitz into an adjoining apartment, others, led by William von Lobkowitz, seized Martinic and dragged him to a window. He made a desperate resistance. But in a moment he was hurled into the moat below. When the deed had been done, a painful silence ensued and consternation was seen in every face. Thurn, who had laid hold of Slawata, broke the spell. "Noble lords," he cried, "here is the other one!" Immediately Slawata was dragged to another window and thrown out; Fabricius was tossed after him. They fell, a distance of fifty-six feet, upon a heap of sweepings and paper cuttings.[20] Slawata's head struck against the wall and received a severe wound; Martinic was slightly bruised; Fabricius remained unhurt. The conspirators crowded to the windows. What was their amazement when they saw that neither the nobles nor the secretary had been killed by the fall! They meant to put them to death. Pistols were hastily drawn and many shots fired. But the bullets fell wide of their mark.

Fabricius ran for his life, reached his house, and fled. On a farm, near Prague, he lay concealed for a few days, and then hastened to Vienna in order to inform the Emperor of what had occurred.[21] Slawata and Martinic were rescued by

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[20] Upon the authority of Slawata, Gindely in his 30-jähr. Krieg, I. pp. 298 and 299, denies that the fall of the men was broken by sweepings and cuttings; but Skala distinctly asserts this, and as he lived at Prague, he had the best opportunity of ascertaining the truth. Slawata was too seriously hurt in order to know upon what he fell; and his testimony is furthermore worthless, because he and other Catholics endeavored to spread the idea, that a miracle had been worked on behalf of the Regents. A monument now marks the spot where they fell.

[21] Fabricius was raised by the Emperor to the ranks of the nobility, receiving the expressive title of Baron von Hohenfall.

their servants, who procured a ladder up which they carried them into the adjoining residence of the Chancellor von Lobkowitz. At its portal appeared Thurn, with a body of followers, and demanded that the two Regents should be delivered into his hands. But Polixena, the Chancellor's wife, spoke to him in so kind yet dignified a way that he retired in confusion. In the evening Martinic, having cut off his beard, blackened his face with gunpowder, and otherwise disguised himself, fled from Prague. He reached Munich in safety, where Maximilian of Bavaria welcomed him with open arms. Slawata remained at the Chancellor's house. He was too badly wounded to think of escaping; but his wife besought the Countess Thurn to help her in saving his life. The Countess promised to do what she could, adding, with a melancholy smile, that she had a presentiment that the time would soon come when she would be the suppliant. Her exertions were not in vain. Thurn and his compeers consented to spare Slawata; but required him to sign a paper acknowledging that he had been justly treated and promising never to avenge himself on the Protestant states.[22] After his restoration to health, he was allowed to retire to Teplitz, whence he fled to Saxony. A golden triangle, richly ornamented with rubies, and inclosing a picture of the Virgin painted on enamel, formed the thank-offering which the three men conjointly dedicated to her shrine in the church of Loretto, at Prague.[23]

The act of violence perpetrated in the ancient Castle of the Bohemian kings was a grave error and an unjustifiable outrage; but the provocations which led to it were flagrant, scandalous and inexcusable. Persistently had the Charter been broken; unceasing had been the insults, the annoyances, the injuries, the persecutions, to which the Protestants were exposed; in the most shameful manner had promises and solemn pledges been disregarded; with arrogant willfulness had all legal redress been denied. Was it astonishing that

[22] This paper is given in full by Pescheck, I. pp. 295 and 296.

[23] Schottsky's Prag., II. p. 241.

the patience of the leaders gave way? How intolerable must the grievances have been, when a grand old man like Budowa countenanced the act! Its perpetrators were guilty; but the Regents, and especially the Jesuits, no less guilty. For a long time these latter had been trying to bring about, not the outrage which actually occurred, but some deed of violence that would put the Protestants in their power. Nor must it be forgotten, that the states looked upon the proceeding as a judicial execution. They believed that the time had come for taking the law into their own hands; they formally condemned the two Regents to death, and then carried out the sentence. It may be called an early instance of lynch-law. No attempt was made to excuse what they had done; on the contrary, they defended it as the only way open to them in the struggle for their chartered rights. That Slawata and Martinic were enemies of the Bohemian commonwealth and, according to its laws, deserved death, can not be gainsaid; that, on the other hand, the states were not the administrators of the law, that they had no right to proceed against these Regents, that their grievances, however great, did not warrant so cruel and wicked a thing, by which the holy cause of religion was stained, all this is undeniable. Their crime can be extenuated, but not justified.

The news of what had occurred spread like lightning through the city and the populace became eager for further acts of violence. But Thurn, at the head of a body of armed men, rode through the streets everywhere proclaiming that the Catholics were not to be molested, that the states were merely defending the rights of the Protestants, that no disorder would be permitted. In all churches, throughout the capital and the country, the people were told the same thing.

A provisional government, consisting of thirty Directors, was now instituted and an army raised, of which Count Thurn took the command. On the thirtieth of May appeared the first and, soon after, the second Apology of the states.[24] These

[24] Apologia and Andere Apologia. Pescheck gives full extracts I. pp. 297, 304, 322, etc.

Apologies recited, and through numerous documents, proved the injuries inflicted upon the Protestants. The act perpetrated by the states was set forth as follows:

"For the above mentioned reasons we have proceeded against two of the Regents, namely, William Slawata von Chlum and Kossumberg and Jaroslaw Barzita von Martinic, otherwise called Smeczansky, as men who perverted justice and destroyed the peace of the country, in that they did not fulfill the duties of the office in which they were placed, but wickedly abused it, both to the disparagement of the authority of his imperial majesty our king and sovereign, and to the destruction of the peace of this kingdom of Bohemia: we threw them both out of the window, according to ancient usage, and after them a secretary, their flatterer, who, among others, had caused great distraction in the city of Prague. But since their lives have been spared, it remains for us to know how to deal with them; either to forgive them and those whom they protect, or to prosecute in whatever way we may determine, not only them but others also who have violated the Charter and the 'Agreement,' being their accomplices, in particular Paul Michna, that wicked and treacherous man."

These Apologies which, in one sense, have the force of the Declaration of Independence issued by our own country in 1776, excited general interest and won for the cause no little favor. They were sent to the Emperor together with a letter in which the states respectfully but firmly justified their course. Other letters were written to the Moravian, Silesian, Lusatian and Hungarian Diets, also to the German Empire, asking for aid.

Several decrees, on the part of the Directors, now appeared. The first explained that by the Charter religious liberty was granted to all Bohemians, including residents on ecclesiastical domains; the second expelled the Jesuits from Prague (June the first); the third, issued after the discovery of fifty tuns of gunpowder stored in the cellars of their *Clementinum*, banished them from Bohemia forever; the fourth sent into exile Archbishop Lohelius and other dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church who had made themselves particularly obnoxious.

The arrival of Fabricius at Vienna caused a profound sensation. His tale was so startling that it almost transcended belief. Cardinal Khlesel, contrary to his custom, advocated

mild measures; Ferdinand urged the immediate crushing of the rebellion by force of arms. The Emperor followed the Cardinal's advice. In the beginning of June he commissioned Eusebius Khan to visit Prague and negotiate with the Protestant states. The old order of things should be restored. This was the only demand which Matthias made. It was sustained by Charles von Zerotin, who hastened to the capital and strongly urged his Bohemian compatriots to yield. But they would not.

And now, for weeks, imperial rescripts came from Vienna and answers were sent back by the Directory at Prague. This correspondence served but to inflame the passions of both parties. Day by day the hope of healing the rupture diminished. War became imminent. It is true that Khlesel still endeavored to prevent so great a calamity. But in July, with the connivance of Ferdinand, he was seized and removed to Tyrol. Matthias, whom illness confined to his bed, although deeply wounded by this indignity, was unable to prevent it. War broke out in the following month. At first it was an unimportant conflict; but it spread and grew into a thirty years' bloody struggle between Romanism and Protestantism.

In March of 1619 the princes of the Empire tried to effect a reconciliation. The attempt failed; and on the twentieth of the same month Matthias died.

Ferdinand the Second was now King. He too began to favor peace. He wrote to Bohemia, reappointed the Regents, promised to govern in accordance with the pledges given at his coronation, and added, that he would do everything in his power to restore the tranquility of the kingdom. This would have been the time for the Protestants to come to terms. That they refused to do so, was unfortunate, and yet the natural consequence of his past course. Who will blame them for declaring their utter want of confidence in him, and their solemn belief that even his oaths were untrustworthy? As long as Matthias lived, they remained loyal and hoped for an eventual understanding. But Ferdinand's accession to the throne undermined their loyalty and blighted such hopes. A

permanent breach between Bohemia and the House of Hapsburg became inevitable.

The Directory took immediate steps to prosecute the war. While Count Mansfeld,[25] at the head of one army, occupied the attention of the imperialists under Count Bouquoy, Thurn led another into Moravia. Brünn gave him a cordial welcome. The Protestant states joined the Revolution, organized a provisional government, and banished the Jesuits. Charles von Zerotin and other nobles protested; but they were seized and imprisoned. Leaving Brünn, Thurn directed his march toward Vienna. On the sixth of June he appeared before its walls. Within was Ferdinand, empty-handed and defenceless. He had neither money nor troops. His fate, the future of his House, the weal of Germany, the destiny of Europe, lay within Thurn's grasp An immediate attack would have resulted in the fall of Vienna, the capture of the King, and the triumph of Protestantism. Instead of recognizing these momentous issues, Thurn began negotiations with the Austrian states, and the states with Ferdinand. On the eleventh they sent a deputation requiring him to sign a paper which would have rendered them practically independent. He declined. The deputies became urgent. He remained firm. At last one of their number, a Baron von Obergassing, seized a button of his coat and, in a menacing tone, exclaimed: "Ferdinand, are you going to sign soon?" Instead of an answer came a blast of trumpets from the courtyard into which, at that moment, galloped a body of five hundred horsemen. They had been sent by Buquoy in order to protect the King, and had entered the city through a gate which Thurn had inexcusably left unguarded. Their arrival changed the whole aspect of affairs. Ferdinand was saved. Soon after, news came of the defeat of Mansfeld. Thurn immediately raised the siege and hurried back to Bohemia.

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[25] Ernst von Mansfeld, born in 1585, was one of the greatest generals of his time. After serving the king of Spain and the emperor of Germany, he joined the Protestants of Bohemia, fought many battles in their interests, showed himself as formidable after defeat as before, and died, in 1626, near Zara, in Dalmatia.

As soon as he was gone Ferdinand proceeded to Frankfurt-on-the-Main and began negotiations with the Electors. When the Bohemian Directors saw that these negotiations would prove successful, they prepared to shake off the Hapsburg yoke. On the thirty-first of July a treaty was concluded with Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia, and on the sixteenth of August with Austria. A general Diet convened, which, after publishing the reasons that rendered the deposition of Ferdinand justifiable and the election of a new monarch necessary, united, on the nineteenth of August, 1619, in choosing Frederick the Fifth of the Palatinate. At Frankfurt, nine days later, (August the twenty-eighth) Ferdinand was elected Emperor.

Many advisers warned Frederick against accepting the Bohemian throne. His own father-in-law, James the First of England, refused all aid. But Abraham Scultetus, his court-preacher, represented the appointment as a call from God which duty to the Evangelical faith required him to follow; and Elizabeth, his ambitious wife, told him, that if he had had courage to marry a king's daughter, he ought to have courage to take a kingdom for her portion. To such persuasions he yielded. On the thirty-first of October, 1619, he entered Prague, and on the fourth of November was crowned King of Bohemia. George Dikastus, the Administrator of the Protestant Consistory, and his associate, Bishop John Cyrill, the representative of the Unitas Fratrum, conjointly performed the ceremony. The coronation sermon was delivered by the former, on the first seven verses of the second chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to Timothy. Three days later, November the seventh, Elizabeth was crowned Queen of Bohemia, John Corvin, a priest of the Unity and member of the Consistory, preaching on the same text. Soon after the new monarch issued a proclamation in Bohemian, German, and Latin, setting forth the reasons which induced him to accept the crown.[26]

[26] Original of the German version of this proclamation in Malin Library, No. 331, "Offen ausschreiben, warumb wir die Cron Böhmen auf uns genommen," etc.

Frederick was affable and good-natured, but careless, weak, and unfit to rule amidst the intricacies and conflicts of a Revolution. He put slights upon his Bohemian generals and councilors, and alienated the affections of the people by giving undue prominence to the Reformed ritual and by the scandalous vandalism which he encouraged in the Cathedral and other churches.

The measures of Ferdinand, on the contrary, were prompt and energetic. He assured himself of the support of Maximilian of Bavaria; won, through Maximilian's influence, the entire Catholic League; and gained from Sigismund of Poland and Philip the Third of Spain the promise of auxiliary troops.

Over against so formidable a coalition, Frederick endeavored to rouse the Protestant Union; but jealousy and bickerings stood in his way. In March, 1620, John George, Elector of Saxony, the most powerful adherent of the Evangelical faith, espoused the Emperor's cause; and in July, through the intervention of France, a pacification was brought about between the Union and the League. And now, on every side, a storm began to gather. Maximilian took command of the army of the League and effected a junction with Count Buquoy; the Elector of Saxony conquered Lusatia; Sigismund sent eight thousand Cossacks; two Spanish generals advanced from the Netherlands with thirty thousand men.

Before these auxiliaries could be of any assistance the fate of Frederick, of Bohemia and Moravia, of the Unitas Fratrum, of Protestantism in the Hapsburg dominions for generations to come, was decided. On the eighth of November, 1620, the imperialists and the troops of the League, under Buquoy and Maximilian, attacked, at the White Mountain, three miles to the west of Prague, the Bohemian army, which scarcely counted half the number of their combined forces. It was commanded by Prince Christian of Anhalt and, on the seventh, had made a forced march in order to reach the capital. In this march Frederick had taken part, but had left the camp and gone into the city where he had spent the night. In the morning

Anhalt sent him word that an attack was imminent, begging him to rejoin the troops and encourage them by his presence. Instead of complying Frederick attended service in the Cathedral, and then engaged two English ambassadors in a lengthy conversation, assuring them that Anhalt was mistaken. At noon he invited them to sit down with him to dinner. The meal had just been finished when a messenger arrived, with the startling report that a battle was in progress. Putting himself at the head of five hundred horsemen, detailed to guard the Hradschin, he hastened to the Reichs Gate. There he met his generals fleeing from the field. For one short hour only did the conflict last. The Bohemian army suffered a crushing defeat.

Frederick's cause was not yet lost. Many of his troops found their way into Prague; the citizens offered to defend its walls; eight thousand Hungarians were within twenty miles of the city; Mansfeld had twelve thousand men at Pilsen; winter, which was close at hand, would render a protracted siege impossible. But the King's heart failed him. He fled, with his family, his generals, and a number of prominent nobles. At Breslau he made a brief stand. On hearing, however, of the defection of Moravia, he continued his flight until he reached Holland. There he lived in retirement, at the expense of his father-in-law. In the beginning of 1621, he was put under the ban of the empire.

Thus ended the Bohemian Revolution. The entire kingdom with its affiliated countries lay helpless at the Emperor's feet.

PERIOD VIII.

THE UNITAS FRATRUM AS A CHURCH IN EXILE AND A HIDDEN SEED. A. D. 1621–1722.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Day of Blood at Prague. A. D. 1621.

Prague and the Protestant States surrender.—Outrages in the City and throughout the Country.—Charles von Liechtenstein Governor.—The Jesuits recalled and the Ministers of the Brethren and the Reformed banished.—The Directors and Leaders of the Revolution imprisoned.—Their Trial and Condemnation.—Twenty-seven of them to suffer Death.—Ferdinand approves of the Sentence.—The Condemned prepare for their End.—The Scaffold on the Grosse Ring.—The Execution.—The Victims.—Other Punishments.—Confiscations.

THE defeat of the Bohemian army at the White Mountain struck terror to the hearts of the Protestants. Their cause was lost. No hope remained except in God. The terms which the states attempted to make with the conquerors were coldly rejected. An unconditional surrender formed the only proposition which Maximilian would entertain; and the sole promise, on behalf of the Emperor, which he believed himself justified to give, was, that their lives should be spared. Even against this Buquoy protested. The states, he said, had deserved death. Equally unsuccessful were the efforts

of the City Councils to open negotiations.[1] On the tenth of November the victorious army entered Prague.

This army immediately gave itself up to a licentiousness that beggars description. Houses were pillaged; women violated; men tortured in order to extort confessions as to where they had hidden their treasures. The very clothes were torn, in the public streets, from the persons of the passers by. No one was safe. In as much as valuables of every kind had been brought into the capital, under the supposition that within its walls they could best be protected, the booty that fell into the hands of the army proved to be immense. Similar spoliations took place throughout the country. The Spanish mercenaries made themselves particularly notorious. Nor were the outrages perpetrated by common soldiers alone. "It is an undeniable fact," says Gindely, "that the bearers of the most exalted names, who filled the highest military offices under Buquoy, personally took part in such robberies."[2] Maximilian, in the time of his short stay at Prague, vainly tried to put a stop to them; and on returning to his own dominions (November the eighteenth), charged the Prince von Liechtenstein, whom he appointed Governor, to curb the disorders by all the means within his power.[3]

In this Prince Bohemia soon learned to recognize a scourge of God. His efforts in the direction pointed out by the Duke were as lame as his measures on behalf of the Romish Church were energetic. The Jesuits, the Archbishop, and the other exiled ecclesiastics were recalled; the priests of the Unity, as well as the Calvinist ministers, professors and teachers, were ordered to leave Prague in three days, and Bohemia in eight;

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[1] Sources for this chapter are: Gindely's 30-jähr. Krieg, III. chap. 10 and IV. chap. 2; Pescheck I. chap. 9 and 10; Daums' Verfolgungen in B.; Ein Tag aus d. Böhm. Gesch.; Prägerische Execution; Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. LIX–LXXXIV; Rekatholisirung des Böhm. Niederlandes.

[2] Gindely's 30-jähr. Krieg, III. p. 375.

[3] Liechtenstein's title was "Subdelegirter Commissarius;" Ferdinand sanctioned both the appointment and this title.

the Jesuit Church was taken from the Brethren;[4] the Cathedral rededicated with many ceremonies. Other reactionary measures, all pointing to a radical change in Church and State, followed in quick succession. No one knew what a day would bring forth. Dark forebodings filled every mind. And yet with such finesse were things managed that men allowed themselves, in spite of their better knowledge, to be rocked in a cradle of security. For three months no open steps were taken against the Directors and other leaders of the Revolution. In secret they were watched. But of this they knew nothing. They imagined the danger to be past; came out of their hiding places; and showed themselves in the streets of Prague.

This pleasing dream was suddenly interrupted. On the twentieth of February, 1621, the nobles were summoned to an audience with Liechtenstein, in order to hear, so ran the message, a communication from the Emperor. Count Tilly, struck with pity at their impending fate, gave them a hint to flee.[5] But, unsuspicious still, they neglected this warning. At the appointed hour of the afternoon they appeared before the Governor, and were arrested. Under the same pretence those not of noble birth were induced to present themselves to the City Judges, who forthwith gave them in custody. In this manner forty-three prominent representatives of the Revolution fell into Ferdinand's power. They were all incarcerated; some in the towers of the Hradschin, others in the Council Houses of the *Alt-* and *Neustadt*. On the following day heralds passed through the streets and cited those

[4] This Church had probably been given to the Brethren after the expulsion of the Jesuits; the Bethlehem Chapel was taken away from the former immediately after the battle of the White Mountain.

[5] Count John Tzesklas von Tilly was born, in Brabant, in 1559. Having served in the Netherlands under Alva and others, he entered the Bavarian army, and soon after the battle of the White Mountain, took chief command of the forces of the Catholic League. He was made a field-marshal and, in 1630, succeeded Wallenstein as commander-in-chief of the Imperial troops. His taking of Magdeburg in the following year is notorious. He died in consequence of a wound received at the battle of Lech, in 1632.

leaders who had fled with Frederick to appear for trial within six weeks. At the same time active measures were inaugurated to capture such fugitives. Count Schlick was the only one taken. The rest escaped. On the twenty-fifth of April, by order of the Emperor, their names were affixed to gallows in the *Altstadt*, the *Neustadt*, and the *Kleinseite* of Prague.

And now was appointed a court of eleven judges, with Liechtenstein as its president. Before this court the prosecution began on the twenty-ninth of March, the prisoners being arraigned separately. Charges were brought against them involving a thousand things of which no one had ever thought.[6] The accused bore themselves with courage and manliness. Budowa, Kaplir, and Otto von Los, in particular, exhibited a heroic spirit. Schlick, exasperated by the irrelevancy of the questions which were put to him, lost patience and baring his breast exclaimed: "Divide my body into a thousand parts, and search through my bowels, you will find nothing except what is written in our Apologies. The love of liberty and of our faith put the sword into our hands. God has given the victory to the Emperor. We are in your power. The will of the Lord be done!"[7]

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[6] On the authority of Skala, cited by Czerwenka, and of the Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. LIX. 5.

[7] This incident is given in Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. LIX. 5. Gindely, 30-jähr. Krieg, IV. p. 62, categorically pronounces it to be false, and says, that the bearing of the prisoners, with the exception of Budowa, Kaplir and Los, was not manly, and that Schlick, in particular, tried to move his judges to mercy. His chief authority is the official protocols. We consider Gindely's position untenable, and for the following reasons: 1. There were forty-three prisoners, consequently forty-three hearings and as many protocols; but only eleven have been preserved; from what he finds in these he draws, as he himself confesses, a conclusion affecting all. 2. We have no faith whatever in the fairness of the eleven protocols. The spirit manifested by the Catholics, in that whole period of their final triumph, was so absolutely void of even the faintest element of justice, that neither judges nor secretaries would hesitate to give such a coloring to the sayings of the prisoners as suited their own purposes. 3. Granting that some of the prisoners did try, in an honest way, to save their lives, that is no proof at all, that, as Gindely maintains, "nur wenige eine würdige Haltung einnahmen." 4. If Count Schlick did not utter the words imputed to him by the

The prisoners were found guilty: twenty-seven to be executed; the rest to be punished in other ways; their possessions to be confiscated. This sentence was transmitted to Vienna for approval. Ferdinand consulted the Jesuits, and especially Lamormain, his subsequent confessor. They advised him to sign the document. He hesitated and referred the question to a commission, which recommended a less cruel mode of execution, and, in some cases, perpetual imprisonment instead of death, but otherwise approved of the sentence. On the twenty-sixth of May the Emperor attached his signature, adopting the recommendation of the commissioners. The ostensible crime for which so many nobles and distinguished citizens were to suffer, was rebellion; but the real object which the Court of Vienna and its Jesuitical instigators had in view, was to inaugurate the destruction of Protestantism throughout the kingdom. If the accused had been Catholics they would not have been put to death.

On the nineteenth of June the sentence was read to the prisoners in a body, at the Hradschin. This ceremony lasted from eight o'clock in the morning to two o'clock in the afternoon. Of the twenty-seven adjudged to death, about one-half were members of the Brethren's Church: of the remaining sixteen, some were condemned to life-long imprisonment, among these William von Lobkowitz and Rican; others to a limited confinement; others to exile; and still others to corporeal punishment. In vain did the wives and children of those set apart for execution importune Liechtenstein to spare them. The day of grace was irrevocably past, he said. Among them was one Catholic, Dionys Cernin, who had, on the memorable twenty-third of May, 1618, admitted, but by

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History of Persecutions, who originated those words? It is hard to believe that the authors of that work would deliberately invent such an incident. They must have had some ground for it. 5. The heroism manifested by the prisoners after their condemnation and on the scaffold, a heroism which even Romish writers do not call in question, is utterly at variance with the supposition that they showed a craven spirit at the trial.

command of his superior officer, the states to the Castle. He was included in the death-list in order to keep up a show of justice.

The prisoners were informed that the twenty-first of June was the day fixed for their execution. The time of preparation was therefore short. At first the Emperor had directed that no ministrations except those of the Capuchins and Jesuits should be allowed; the expostulations of Liechtenstein, however, induced him to permit the services of Lutheran clergymen. Priests of the Unity were prohibited from appearing. Although in the very nature of the case the prisoners who belonged to that body would have preferred their own pastors, they nevertheless welcomed the Lutheran ministers, who performed their painful duties with holy zeal. From various churches of the city there came John Rosacius, Victorin Verbenius, Veit Jakesh, Adam Clemens, John Hertwich, and David Lippach. These men of God expounded the Scriptures; comforted with all gentleness and love; were instant in intercessory prayer; and dispensed the sacramental blessings of the Lord's body and blood. The evening of the nineteenth of June, and the whole of the next day, which was a Sunday, were devoted to such exercises. On Sunday Lippach, in the St. Salvator church of which he was the preacher and which constituted one of those Protestant church-edifices that were erected soon after the granting of the charter, publicly commended the prisoners to the intercessions of his people; in the afternoon he delivered to his congregation a message from three of them—Jessenius, Rüppel, and Hauenschild—asking forgiveness of all whom they might have offended.

The condemned, without exception, bore themselves as heroes of faith. Grace was given them to rejoice in the Lord's promises, to be strong in the power of His might, to "witness a good confession." Nothing disturbed the peace of their last hours, except the odious pertinacity of the Jesuits. These crafty bigots would not be rebuffed. They came again and again. They circled around their victims

like a shoal of sharks around a vessel from which a dead body is being cast. To draw Protestants as famous as these into the maw of Romanism, the day before their execution, would be one of the most brilliant achievments in their record. So eager were they that they did not hesitate, although they knew that they were lying, to hold out the promise of pardon, or at least of a commutation of the sentence. But their efforts were unavailing, even when they called heaven and earth to witness, that they were innocent of the eternal damnation which must follow upon so obstinate a rejection of divine grace.

On Sunday evening the prisoners in the Hradschin and the Town Hall of the *Neustadt* were brought to the Council House of the *Altstadt*, where the execution was to take place. From the windows of this edifice their fellow-sufferers welcomed them with the inspired words of the forty-fourth Psalm. The night which followed was a night of song and prayer and heavenly anticipations. Exhorting one another to stand fast, to overcome the world, to leave to posterity an example of unshaken faithfulness, these patriots and confessors awaited the breaking of the fatal morning.

Toward dawn they prepared for their execution as though it were a marriage feast. They bathed and put on their finest linen; they ripped off the large ruffs worn around the neck, and otherwise adjusted their apparel for the death-stroke, so that nothing of this sort, except the removal of their doublets, would be necessary at the last moment. When they were ready they gathered at the windows and looked out.

A spectacle presented itself that might well have sent a thrill to their hearts. Fronting the *Grosse Ring* there had been built a scaffold, covered with black cloth and connected with the balcony of the Council House by a short flight of steps.[8] The executioner was at his post. Near by lay four

[8] The *Grosse Ring* is a large irregular place, or square, at the end of the Zeltnergasse, with the *Rathhaus*, or Council House on the west and the Thein Church on the east. Of the original *Rathhaus* nothing is left except a very quaint tower with a remarkable clock; the present edifice was

two-edged swords. Around the scaffold were drawn up in closed ranks squadrons of horse and companies of infantry.[9] On the *Ring* itself surged a great multitude of spectators; others thronged the windows and even the roofs of the surrounding houses. Beyond, on the eastern side, was seen the venerable Thein Church, with its two quaint towers; and on the peaked façade between them appeared the colossal cup set up by the Hussites, the symbol of that heroic struggle for religious liberty which had endured for two centuries, but was now about to end in blood, oppression and woe. As the doomed men gazed upon this spectacle the sun rose in all his glory. When they saw that, and beheld the sombre scaffold bathed in light, they rejoiced, giving thanks to God.

At five o'clock a gun at the Hradschin was fired. It was the appointed signal. As its echoes died away, Liechtenstein, his associate judges, the imperial commissioners, and the magistrates of the *Altstadt*, appeared and took seats on the balcony. Over the chair occupied by Liechtenstein hung a canopy.

And now began the work of blood. One by one the prisoners were summoned to the scaffold. In words of hope they took leave of their associates, were answered with benedictions of faith, and came forth calm, fearless, strong; their hearts full of God's promises; their lips overflowing with prayer and praise and triumphant assurance. "Never, even for a moment," says the *History of Persecutions*, "did they lose their presence of mind; and so fervent were the words which they spoke, that the very judges and soldiers frequently shed tears."[10] The Lutheran clergymen were with them still.

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erected in 1848. The scaffold was twelve feet high and twenty-two paces square. It was reached through a door leading from the Council House, probably the same that opened on the balcony.

[9] In addition to the regiment garrisoning Prague, seven squadrons of Saxon horse had been ordered to Prague, in order to prevent disturbances, and had arrived on the seventeenth of June.

[10] Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. LX. 13. In our narrative of the execution we follow this work and Pescheck. There is no lack of cotemporaneous authorities, and the last sayings of the sufferers are fully authenticated, in

Not one of these dauntless servants of the Lord flinched throughout the long and terrible ordeal. To the last they spoke peace, in the name of Christ; and on rejoining those waiting to be called, told them what their brethren had said and with what firmness they had died. Rosacius distinguished himself. His ministrations were performed with marvelous power from on high. During the entire execution drums beat and trumpets sounded, so that the people should not hear the last words of the defenders of their liberties. Such words were audible only to the occupants of the balcony and scaffold, and to the nearest soldiers.

The first victim was Count Joachim Andrew Schlick. During the interregnum he had been a Director, under Frederick, Chief Judge and Governor of Upper Lusatia.[11] While preparing for death he said to Rosacius: "I have ventured to stand up against Antichrist; I will now venture to die for Christ." He added, that in all that he had done the defence of true religion had been his sole object; that he would remain steadfast; and hoped for a different sentence from God. On Sunday, the twentieth of June, about an hour after partaking of the Holy Communion, he suddenly exclaimed: "One thing troubles me! That they intend to mutilate our bodies! If they would only not sever my

as much as these sayings were noted down, at the time, by Rosacius, his assistant, and other clergymen in attendance. Rosacius published his account at Zittau. It bears the following title: "Unverwelkliche Krone der sechs Märtyrer." There exists another narrative of the imprisonment, preparation for death, and last sayings of the sufferers, written originally in Bohemian and published anonymously, probably by Rosacius' assistant. It was subsequently translated into German. Both these invaluable works were in Pescheck's hands. In addition to his History and the Hist. of Persecutions, we have consulted, for the details which follow, Gindely's 30-jähr. Krieg; Pelzel's Böhm. und Mähr. Gelehrte; and Prägerische Execution, which last work is also cotemporaneous and exceedingly rare.

[11] Although Schlick had been a friend of the Elector of Saxony and had urged his choice as king, it was a body of this Elector's horse that took him prisoner, while seeking refuge with his brother-in-law, Christopher von Rädern, at Friedland; and it was this Elector himself who, by the advice of Dr. Hoe, his double-tongued Protestant court-preacher, at one time stationed in Prague, delivered him up to Liechtenstein.

hands!" "Ah, my lord Count," replied Baron von Bile, "what does this mean? Have you not thought yourself to be the most courageous? Prove your heroism! What though they cut us in pieces—we will not feel it! What though they scatter, or hang up, our members—our Saviour can gather and glorify them!" Schlick was comforted. Presently he said: "Oh how thirsty I am!" Bile remarked: "Here is wine left from the Holy Communion. Refresh yourself with that." "No," rejoined Schlick, "what I have partaken of in the sacrament, shall be my last food. I will wait for the cup of heavenly joy." On the following morning, when the clock struck five and the gun from the Castle was heard, he said: "That is the signal! I am to be the first! Do Thou, Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me!" While he was yet speaking one of the imperial judges entered and announced: that the hour of execution had arrived and that the prisoners should come forth singly in the order in which they would be called. The same announcement was made in all the other apartments occupied by the condemned. Immediately afterward the sheriff summoned Schlick. With an affectionate farewell to his associates he left the room attended by four German clergymen. He wore a black satin doublet; in his hand was a prayer-book. At the bottom of the stairs leading to the corridor through which he had to pass stood Sedetius and another Jesuit. "My lord Count," said the former, "there is yet time. Consider well!" "Leave me in peace!" was Schlick's answer, and waving him aside he calmly pursued his way. As he stepped upon the scaffold he lifted up his eyes to the sun, ejaculating with deep fervency: "Oh Christ, Thou Sun of Righteousness, grant that I may, through the shadow of death, come to Thy light!" Thus saying he began to walk to and fro, pensively, and yet with such dignity and firmness that several of the judges could not conceal their emotion. Once more he prayed, and then having, with the assistance of his servant, taken off his doublet, kneeled on a black cloth spread out before the executioner. One swift blow and his head fell. His

right hand was now cut off. Head and hand were thrust upon a spear and laid aside; six men, wearing black masks, carried away the body. The bloody cloth was removed and a clean one substituted. This was done in the case of each execution. Schlick was about fifty years of age.[12]

The next victim was Budowa. Of his distinguished abilities and sincere devotion to the Brethren's Unity we have spoken elsewhere. "He was," says the *History of Persecutions*, "a man of splendid talents and illustrious learning, distinguished as a writer, widely known as a traveler. An ornament to his country, a shining light in the Church, a father among his vassals rather than their master, it may well be said of him that he was a leader beloved by God and man."[13] "He belonged," adds Pelzel, "to that old cast of serious, thoughtful, inflexible Bohemians by which the nation was characterized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."[14] During the interregnum he had been a Director and under Frederick, President of the Court of Appeals and custodian of the crown. He was seventy-four years of age. After the battle of the White Mountain he took his wife and children to a place of safety on one of his domains, and then returned to Prague. There he found his house despoiled. "So be it," he said, "the Lord gave and the Lord has taken away." Paul Aretin, the secretary of one of the courts, with whom he seems to have been intimate, came to see him and asked,

[12] The report given by Klevenhiller, that Schlick was not accompanied by Protestant clergymen and had practically embraced the Romish faith, is false, as is also the other report that he was intoxicated. At this the anonymous author of the Bohemian Narrative expresses his indignation. "God knows," he writes, "how great the injustice done to the condemned in this respect; not one of them tasted a single drop of wine except in the Communion."

[13] Hist. Persecutionum, LXII. 1. So anxious was Budowa to further the spiritual interests of his vassals that he often himself preached to them, in the churches on his domains.

[14] Pelzel's Böhm. Gelehrte, III. p. 84. Gindely says, that in all that Budowa did he was actuated by religious motives, and must not be classed with those who, under the pretext of defending Protestantism, followed political ends. Rudolf II, Vol. I. p. 182.

why he had anew exposed himself to the fury of the storm after having been safely under shelter? "My heart impelled me," answered the Baron. "To forsake my country, and its good cause, would have been sinning against my conscience. I do not know the counsels of God. Perhaps the things that have transpired are now to be sealed with my blood." Rising from his seat he continued with intense earnestness: "Here am I, my God; do unto Thy servant as seemeth good unto Thee! I am weary of life: take me that I may not see the ruin which is coming on my country." At a later time the same secretary told him that a report had spread that he had died of grief. With a smile he said: "I die of grief! I have scarcely ever had happier hours than now." Pointing to his Bible he continued: "Behold my paradise! Never has it offered me sweeter food than that which I am at present enjoying. I still live; and will live as long as it may please God. No one, I hope, will see the day on which it can be said, Budowa died of grief." In the course of his imprisonment he was advised to send a petition to the Emperor and sue for mercy. "*Malo mori,*" was his illustrious reply, "*quam Patria videre mori!*"[15] At the trial he defended his course with the utmost boldness; and when condemned he said to the judges: "You have long thirsted for our blood; now you will get it; but be assured that the shedding of it, innocent as it is, will be followed by God's judgments, for whose cause we suffer."

He longed for the ministrations of a clergyman of his own Church; but his request was refused. When he heard that Rosacius was at the Castle he sent for him, wishing particularly, he said, in view of the false report that he had asked for a Romish priest, to assure him that he held firmly to the Protestant faith. His recent experiences with the Capuchins he related as follows: "Last evening (Saturday) two Capuchins came to see me. I was amazed at their boldness;

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[15] Pelzel's Böhm. Gelehrte, III. p. 84. "I will rather die than see my country die."

nevertheless I received them, and finding that they did not understand Bohemian addressed them in Latin. They informed me that their visit was one of pity. 'Of pity?' I asked, 'how so?' 'We wish to show your lordship the way to heaven.' I assured them that I knew the way and stood on firm ground. 'My lord only imagines,' they rejoined, 'that he knows the way of salvation; he is mistaken; not being a member of the holy Church he has no share in the Church's salvation!' I averred that it was not imagination on my part, but that my assurance grew out of an unshaken faith in my dear Saviour, Jesus Christ. 'I have,' I added, 'this excellent promise: whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life. Therefore, until my last moment will I abide by our true Church!' Smiting upon their breasts they said, that so hardened a heretic they had never before seen; and crossing themselves repeatedly, left me."

On the day of execution, early in the morning, two Jesuits, whom his companions had repulsed, drew near to him. "We see," said one of them speaking Latin and adopting an insinuating tone, "that my lord is learned and well versed in the sciences. But we desire to save his soul and thus perform a work of mercy." "Dear Fathers," replied Budowa, "you desire to help my soul in securing salvation? Most earnestly do I wish that you were as certain of your salvation as I am of mine. For I thank my God that His Holy Spirit has given me the assurance that I will be saved through the blood of the Lamb." "My lord," rejoined the Jesuits, "had better not boast of his salvation, lest through vain thoughts he might deceive himself; for the Scriptures say, 'Man does not know whether he deserves grace or wrath.'"[16] "Is this your work of mercy?" exclaimed the Baron; "are you, un-

[16] The Jesuit misquoted the passage, which is found in Ecc. 9: 1, and reads: "No man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before him." It refers to the uncertainty of the future with regard to experiences of this life.

happy robbers of souls, trying to fill my soul with despair? Miserable men, you do err not knowing the Scriptures!" Thereupon he expounded the true meaning of the passage, and cited others which set forth the believer's assurance, especially St. Paul's words: "I know whom I have believed;" "henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day."[17] "Hem!" said the Jesuit, with a sneer, "Paul there speaks of himself, not of others." "You lie," cried the Baron, "for does he not expressly add: 'and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing?'" The Jesuit was silenced. Budowa rose from his seat and approaching him said: "You have tried to catch me with a Scripture passage; come, here is a Bible, show me where that passage stands." Turning to his companion the Jesuit said: "Where is it" "I believe," was the answer, "in the epistle to Timothy." At this Budowa's pent up indignation burst forth. "Ass that you are," he cried in a voice of thunder, "you undertake to show me the way of salvation and do not even know in what part of the Holy Word of God to find this little passage. Depart from me, Satan, and tempt me no longer!" Overwhelmed with mortification the Jesuits left.

Not long after he was summoned to the scaffold. He bade his friends farewell, and turning to his servant said, with reference to a recent dream of which he had told him: "Now I go in the garment of righteousness; thus arrayed I will appear before God in whom I have hoped." With manly steps he came upon the scaffold, and while walking across it stroked his silvered locks and venerable beard, saying: "Thou old gray head of mine, thou art highly honored; thou wilt be decorated with the martyr-crown." Thereupon he prayed for the Church, for his country, for his enemies, and committed his own soul to Christ. From afar, with furious gesticulations, the two Jesuits whom he had discomfited, bent their angry eyes upon him. The sword fell and Budowa's grand career was closed. It has been strikingly

[17] 2 Tim. 1: 12; 4: 8.

WENZEL VON BUDOWA.

summed up in these words: "Budowa was the last Bohemian, as Brutus was the last Roman."[18]

The third one to suffer was Baron Christopher Harant, a learned man, distinguished writer and noted traveler. He deemed his condemnation grossly unjust and did not die willingly. Although he had been a Director, he had discouraged the extreme measures of his colleagues and advised them to submit to Ferdinand; and although he had subsequently, under Frederick, been induced, through the force of circumstances, to undertake the management of the royal exchequer, he had discharged the duties of this office with singular impartiality, making no distinction between Protestants and Catholics. He told Rosacius that he had been involved in the Revolution to no greater extent than many Romanists who went scot-free. Nevertheless he resigned himself into the hands of the Lord and said that His holy will should be done. His instructions to his wife he had committed to writing. These instructions he solemnly reiterated, through Rosacius, when called to the scaffold: beseeching her to be true to the Protestant faith, to guard their children against the influences of the Jesuits and have them educated by Evangelical teachers, to remember that his only comfort in death was the atonement of Christ, to meet him in heaven, and meanwhile to lead a righteous and benevolent life, treating her vassals more leniently than she had done. On leaving his apartment he prayed: "In Thee, O Lord, have I trusted from my youth; let me never be confounded." His last words were: "Lord Jesus Christ, Thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me and receive my soul!" The wishes with which he passed from earth were, in every particular, grossly disregarded. His wife, Salomena, married a Romanist, renounced the Protestant religion, persecuted her husband's brethren in the faith and committed her children into the keeping of the Jesuits.

The next on the death-list was Caspar Kaplir von Sulewicz,

[18] Pelzel's Böhm. u. Mähr. Gelehrte, III. p. 84.

a venerable sire of eighty-six years, who seems to have belonged to the Brethren's Unity. He received Rosacius with weeping eyes, but undaunted spirit. "How often," he said, "have I miserable old man called upon God, that He should show mercy and take me out of this life; but my prayer was not fulfilled, because He has set me apart to be a spectacle to the world and a sacrifice unto himself. His will be done! My death will be shameful in the eyes of the world, but in His sight glorious and precious, since it is for His honor and truth that I must suffer." He begged that the Supper of the Lord might be administered, in order to the strengthening of his faith and hope; confessed his sins, especially those of his youth; and praised God that he had been brought to know a better and holier life.

The sentiments which he expressed in regard to his public career were noble and manly. He said that he had served four emperors in succession; that the part which he had recently played had been forced upon him and his compeers; that he had not sought riches or honor, but solely the deliverance of the Evangelical faith from unjust oppression; that self-defence had become a necessity; that it was better for the states to imperil their lives than to submit in silence to gross wrongs and betray their posterity. "We have been outwardly conquered," he added. "I recognize this as the will of God. He has chosen me and my beloved associates in order that His truth may, in these last days, be honored through our blood and our inner constancy shine the more brightly. And although, after sentence had been pronounced upon us, my flesh began to tremble, I am now, through God's grace, no longer afraid to die." He further said that his aunt had given him a hint of Liechtenstein's willingness to spare his life, if he would only plead for mercy; but that he had declined, saying, that he would seek God's grace, not the grace of an earthly prince; that to sue for pardon would be equivalent to acknowledging his guilt, which he was unwilling to do; that in any case he would rather die than languish in prison.

This conversation with Rosacius took place on Saturday

evening. The next day Kaplir partook of the Holy Communion. His soul was abundantly nourished. "I am reconciled to my God; I have peace through Christ; I fear no man. Full of confidence I say with the Psalmist: 'My flesh and my heart faileth; but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever!'" Such was his joyous confession. He committed his grand-children to Rosacius and laid upon him a patriarchal blessing: "The Lord, through His glory, protect you," he said, "and preserve the Church from being utterly trampled down by the Babylonian beast!"

In the morning of the day of execution he expressed his firm assurance of forgiveness through the merits of Jesus, his resignation to the divine will, and his desire to depart and be with Christ. He directed his servants to draw a white shirt of the finest texture over his ordinary dress—remarking to Lippach, "Behold my wedding garment!"—and to throw around him a half-satin cloak. When called he exclaimed: "In the name of God! I have waited long!" Then he prayed for strength to reach the place of execution. Tottering in spite of the support of his servants, he slowly and painfully made his way to the balcony. At the stairs leading down to the scaffold he stopped and begged one of the attending clergymen to help him, so that he might not fall and give his enemies occasion to mock. The clergyman took his hand and, praying aloud, led him forward. With great difficulty Kaplir fell upon his knees, sending word to the executioner to strike immediately. But his aged body sank together, so that it was impossible to deal the blow. When Rosacius saw that he called to him in a loud voice and said: "Noble lord, you have committed your soul to Christ; now offer to Him your hoary head also and lift it up to heaven." "In the name of God," replied Kaplir; and collecting all his strength he raised his head, crying, "Lord Jesus, into Thy hands I commend my spirit!" In the next instant was heard the swoop of the sword. The sire was at rest.

The fifth victim was Procop Dworzecky. His comment

on the sentence was: "And does the Emperor expect to reap any advantage by taking off my head? Very well. So be it." The next day he said to the attending clergyman: "I have been in conflict, all night long, with the old Adam; but, thanks to God, through His aid I have overcome at last." He added that the Emperor could kill his body only, not his soul; sent a message to his wife and son to remain true to the Evangelical faith; and then broke out into this impassioned prayer: "Oh, Almighty God! To Thee have I committed my soul; keep it and be gracious; endow Thy servant with power, so that I may not, through fear, give the enemy occasion to mock. Hast Thou not upheld the holy martyrs? I firmly believe that Thou wilt uphold me." When summoned he said: "I thank my God, who calls me to himself; to Him I have lived; in Him I will die. My Saviour died and rose again, that He might be Lord both of the dead and living. Therefore I know that my soul will bear away the victory; that my body will rise; and that it will be like unto His glorious body." On passing the balcony he stopped and addressed the judges. "Tell your Emperor," he began, "that we are forced to submit to his unrighteous judgment now; but that hereafter he will have to undergo, before the throne of God, a heavier and a righteous judgment." Here he was interrupted by the drums which began to beat so furiously that he could say no more. In removing his doublet he found a small purse containing a Hungarian ducat. He presented both to the clergyman, saying: "Here are my last earthly possessions; to me they are useless; I make them over to you." He took off also a gold medal struck in memory of Frederick's coronation and requested that it might be given to him in case he should regain the throne. Then kneeling he cried: "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me and receive my soul!" When he had thus spoken his head fell.

The next to die was Baron Frederick von Bile (in German Weiss), an upright and learned man, one of the Directors in the time of the interregnum. He resigned himself wholly to

God and his last moments were distinguished by extraordinary patience.

The seventh victim was another Director, Henry Otto von Los; under Frederick he had been connected with the exchequer. He belonged to the Brethren's Church and was a man of keen intellect and noble purposes. The sentence, especially the quartering to which he was condemned, roused his indignation and yet called forth implicit trust. "My dear Emperor," he said, "strengthen your throne by shedding our blood; but remember, the day of judgment will reveal what an account you will have to give to God. I have seen barbarous peoples, but such barbarity—never! To cut a human body into four pieces! Here to cast the head, there the hands, and elsewhere the other members—what cruelty! But let them send a portion of my body to Rome, another portion to Spain, a third portion to Turkey, the rest across the sea—I nevertheless believe that my Saviour will gather and glorify them all; and with these mine eyes will I see Him, with these mine ears hear Him, with this my mouth praise Him, with this heart of mine rejoice in Him forever." Rosacius, after having attended Dworzecky to the scaffold, entered the apartment of Los, who rose hastily from his chair exclaiming: "Oh how glad I am that you have come, man of God! I sat on this chair," he continued, "lost in sad thoughts because I was not permitted to see a priest of my own Church and receive absolution and the sacrament at his hands. I began to feel sorry and still regret, that I did not accept both from you.[20] Amidst such thoughts drowsiness overcame me. I fell asleep and dreamt that the Saviour had appeared to me and said, 'My grace is sufficient for thee, with my blood I cleanse thee;' and that He had let a drop of His blood fall into my heart. I awoke and sprang from my seat wonderfully refreshed." Lifting up his hands to heaven

[20] Budowa and Los, from conscientious scruples, and believing that they must set an example of consistency to the end, did not partake of the Lord's Supper administered by the Lutheran ministers. All the rest, except Dionys, received the sacrament.

he then gave praise like one inspired: "I thank Thee, Oh blessed Jesus, that Thou hast deemed me worthy of such abundant comfort, and that I have been made certain of Thy blessed grace. Now I understand what it means, 'Believe and thou hast eaten;'[21] now I no longer fear death but die with joy." On receiving the summons he begged Rosacius to accompany him. Rosacius consented and said: "A moment ago the Lord Jesus appeared to you in a dream; in a few moments more He will appear as He is seen by the saints in His glory." Los replied: "Yes, I am certain that, even now, He is coming with his angels to meet and lead me to the heavenly marriage, where I shall drink with Him the cup of joy throughout eternity. Oh I know that death will not separate me from Him!" All the way to the scaffold he prayed silently; when he had reached it he looked up and exclaimed like Stephen of old: "Behold, I see the heavens opened!" As soon as he came to the fatal cloth, he fell on his face and again prayed silently; then rising he took off his doublet, kneeled and cried aloud: "Into Thy hands, Lord my God, I commit my spirit, have mercy upon me through Jesus Christ and receive me, that I may behold Thy Glory!" With these words he died. His body was not quartered.

He was followed by Dionys Czernin, the Catholic. When Rosacius set forth eternal life through the merits of Jesus, Czernin said: "Such is my faith also; in this faith will I die." He expected a pardon but was disappointed. A canon of the Cathedral and a Jesuit went with him to the scaffold. He paid no attention to their exhortations, refused their kiss of peace, turned away from the crucifix which they held out, and died as courageously as the rest.

The ninth victim was William Konechlumsky, aged seventy years. Of the charge which brought about his condemnation —that he had negotiated with the Margrave of Jägerndorf against the Emperor—he solemnly protested that he was innocent, and rendered up his life with unshaken confidence.

[21] "Crede et manducasti;" the words of St. Augustine.

This aged confessor was followed by Bohuslaw von Michalowitz, a man of splendid talents, zealous for God, deserving well of his country. He denied the justness of the sentence, and maintained that the resort to arms on the part of the Protestants had been the necessary result of a premeditated plot on the part of the Catholics. "God knows," he said, "that we wanted nothing except liberty of faith. Yes, we will die! God will acknowledge us as martyrs for His own cause." His trust in divine grace never wavered and his hope of everlasting life was both sure and steadfast. In the early watches of the fatal morning he repeated the promise of Christ, "Where I am, there shall my servant also be,"[22] and expressed an intense longing to depart and be with Him. When Bile was summoned, he exclaimed: "Why is von Bile preferred before me in death, seeing that I have always been preferred before him in life?" Clasping him in his arms and kissing him, he immediately added: "Lead the way, my brother, since so it pleases God, I will follow." But when still others were called and no summons came to him, he began to be seriously troubled. "What means this, Oh my God!" he ejaculated. "Thou knowest that I am ready. Hasten to take me." While he was yet speaking the clergyman, who was in attendance, saw the sheriff approaching and said: "The glory for which you long is at hand." "Praised be God!" replied the Baron, "earthly sorrows are at an end. I hasten to Christ." He came forward to meet the officer and died like a hero. Prior to decapitation his right hand was cut off.

The name of John Theodore Sixtus, an influential citizen of the *Altstadt*, was called next; but when he reached the scaffold he was pardoned.[23]

Valentine Kochan, a citizen of the *Neustadt* and a learned

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[22] John 12: 26.

[23] This pardon was secured through his nephew, Plateys, a canon of the Cathedral. Sixtus was banished. The Hist. Persecutionum says: "While we write this he is still standing, a living martyr, beneath the cross of Christ." Cap. LXXI. He died at Dresden in 1653.

Master of Arts, who belonged to the Brethren's Unity, was now summoned. In the course of his imprisonment he often bewailed the unhappy differences among Bohemian Protestants which had helped to bring about their overthrow. His own faith was strong and his anticipations of coming glory found frequent utterance in the words of St. Paul: "Our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ."[24] His wish to have his son accompany him to the scaffold that he might see him die, was overruled by Rosacius. On the way he prayed aloud; sang the eleventh verse of the sixteenth Psalm, "Thou wilt shew me the path of life; in Thy presence is fullness of joy; at Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore;" and as he came out on the fatal platform repeated the saying of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace according to Thy word."[25] While on his knees waiting for the stroke, he cried in Latin: "*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum: redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis.*"[26] These were his last words.

The thirteenth victim was Tobias Stoffek, a citizen of the *Neustadt*. During the interregnum he had been a Director, but, owing to frequent journeys, had taken no active part in the Revolution. The time of his imprisonment he spent in silent meditation and prayer. A man of gentle spirit and tender sensibilities, he shed many tears at the prospect of an ignominious death. But when the supreme moment arrived he was strong and full of courage.

The illustrious Doctor John Jessen followed—a scholar, a scientist and an orator, whose name and writings shed lustre upon the University. His efforts to win the Hungarians over to the Revolution made him particularly obnoxious to the court of Vienna, and his cruel sentence showed that the Emperor entertained toward him feelings of the greatest

[24] Phil. 3 : 20.

[25] Luke 2 : 29.

[26] "Into Thine hand I commit my spirit, Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth." Ps. 31 : 5.

bitterness. Prior to decapitation his tongue was to be cut out and afterward his body to be quartered. "Shamefully and barbarously do you treat us," he said when this sentence had been communicated; "but know, there will come those who will take the heads which you set up for a spectacle and give them honorable burial."[27] The Jesuits tried their utmost to pervert him. In every instance they were discomfited. He too, like Dworzecky, addressed the judges in the balcony, boldly asserting that Frederick would yet reign over Bohemia, but the drums forced him to desist.

And now the executioner came forward, in one hand a knife, in the other a pair of pinchers, and told him to put out his tongue. Jessen calmly obeyed. Seizing it with the pinchers the man cut it off at the roots. Jessen fell on his knees, a stream of blood pouring from his mouth. His lips moved in prayer. The sound thereof was an inarticulate moan. But it reached the mercy-seat. The next instant his soul went home to God.

Jessen's body was not removed by the attendants, but thrust into a sack and pushed aside. Later in the day it was quartered without the walls. Its four portions were fastened to four posts.

Christopher Kober, a citizen of the *Kleinseite*, was the fifteenth victim. In prison, he spoke of the glorious example set by the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and particularly by Hus and Jerome of Prague, and encouraged his companions to stand fast and rejoice that they were deemed worthy of a place in that noble army. When called he said: "I am coming in the name of my God and am not ashamed to suffer an ignominious death for the sake of His honor. I know whom I have believed." With manly mien and firm steps he crossed the scaffold. "Is it here," he exclaimed, "that I am to die? I will not die but live, and in the land of the living proclaim the wondrous works

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[27] This prediction was fulfilled in 1631, when the Elector of Saxony took Prague.

of God." Praying with great fervency he received the stroke.

Two burgomasters suffered next: the one John Schultes, of Kuttenberg; the other Maximilian Hostialek, of Saaz. Both had been Directors during the interregnum; and both now yielded up their lives with a firm trust in Christ. The head of Schultes was fastened to a post without the gate of his town; the head of Hostialek made a spectacle of in the market place of Saaz.

And now came the turn of John Kutnaur, a councilor of the *Altstadt*. He was but forty years of age—the youngest but the bravest of all that suffered. To the Jesuits he said: "We beg you, Fathers, do not try to confuse our minds. The consolations which we enjoy, are sufficient." But they persisted, until he sternly exclaimed: "Be silent! We will not hear you! Why do you trouble us and attempt what is useless?" "They are as hard as a rock," said one of them. "You are right," replied Kutnaur, "Christ the rock can not be moved and upon Him we firmly rest." He was condemned to be hung. "I do not know," he remarked to his companions, "in what mode, whether by the neck, the feet, or the ribs. This gives me no anxiety; but I am pained that my blood will not mingle with yours, dear fellow-sufferers, and that we are not permitted to die together." When summoned, those of his friends whose sentence had been commuted to imprisonment thronged around him with many tears. "Brethren," he said, "do not weep. Be men. I am merely going before. The time is short; we will soon meet again in heavenly glory." He walked to the scaffold "with the courage of a lion," and while walking sang a German hymn. With arms pinioned he was made to ascend a ladder reaching to a beam which projected from a window of the Council House. The noose having been adjusted Kutnaur turned to the multitude and cried, in a voice so clear and ringing that the drums and trumpets could not altogether quench the words: "I am neither guilty of treason, nor of murder, nor of any crime worthy of death. I

die because I have been true to my country and the Gospel. God forgive all our enemies, for they know not what they do. And Thou, Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me; to Thee I commend my soul." He ceased. The ladder was withdrawn and his soul launched into eternity.

Kutnaur was followed by his father-in-law, Simon Sussicky. When he heard the sound of the cannon he exclaimed: "Hark! It is the signal of death. Let us obey the summons and die; let us yield to our enemies who can not bear to see us live. But while we hope to suffer manfully, everlasting destruction awaits them, unless they repent." He went singing to the scaffold and was hanged beside Kutnaur on the same beam. Their bodies swung close together, face to face. "What hardened rebels these two must have been," cried some with jeering laughter. "See, even in death they are trying to hatch treason!"

Nathaniel Wodniansky was condemned to suffer in the same way. He showed himself strong in God. To the Jesuits he said: "Under the pretext of rebellion you are about to take our lives. But this does not satisfy you; you want our souls also. Would it not be better to let the shedding of our blood content you? Sharp will be the sting which we leave in your conscience." The day before the execution his son John said to him: "My father, if life should be offered you at the expense of your religion, forget not that we are to serve Christ with faithfulness unto death." "My son," replied Wodniansky, "I am glad to hear this admonition from your lips. But do you really imagine that I am in danger of denying my faith? By no means! Therefore, I exhort you, your brothers, your sisters, and your own children, to follow in my footsteps, imitating that firm confidence of which I will leave you an example." Not until he had reached the scaffold was he told that he would be hanged on a gallows erected in the middle of the *Ring*. As he was led away he apostrophized the corpses of Kutnaur and Sussicky still swinging from the beam: "Beloved associates, how sorry I am to be separated from you and brought to a place even

more ignominious than yours." "If we suffer," said the attending clergyman, "we shall also reign with Him."[28] Accepting the promise which these words convey, he patiently submitted to his doom.

Wenzel Gisbitsky, surnamed Masterowsky, a relative of Plateys, fully expected to be pardoned. This expectation all his companions shared, wishing him joy and commending to him their wives and little ones. When he came to the scaffold he looked around for the messenger of mercy; and on seeing a young man approach, turned to him with great eagerness, but found that he merely wished to assist him in removing his cloak. For a little while Gisbitsky was overwhelmed; but regaining his composure, he asked for a Hymnal, fell on his knees, and sang with a strong voice four stanzas of a hymn expressive of his trust in Christ. Then rising he took off his doublet, kneeled down again, and with a fervent prayer offered his neck to the sword.

The last to suffer were Henry Kozel, Andrew Kozour, George Recicky, Michael Wittman, Simon Wokac, Leander Rüppel, and George Hauenschild. They were attended to the scaffold by Adam Clemens, but the records give no details. The right hands of Rüppel and Hauenschild were cut off after they had been beheaded.

From five until ten o'clock did this spectacle continue. One and the same executioner, himself a Protestant who showed as much consideration as possible, performed the bloody work, hanging with his own hands three of the victims and decapitating the remaining twenty-four. With the first of his swords he beheaded eleven; with the second, five; and with the two others, eight.[29] The bodies of those beheaded, excepting Jessen's, were delivered to their families and buried the same day, without religious ceremonies but

[28] 2 Tim. 2: 12.

[29] One of these swords is preserved in the Bohemian Museum at Prague. The names of those that were executed with it, among them Budowa's, are engraved on the blade. Mydlar seems to have been the name of the executioner. His fees for the Day of Blood amounted to 634 Thaler, equivalent to about $444.

amidst the lamentations of the widow and the fatherless; the corpses of the hanged were secretly interred in the night. On the ancient Watch Tower, at the end of the *Carlsbrücke* next to the *Altstadt*, twelve heads were set up in small iron cages, six on one side and six on the other. To the same Tower were fastened the hands of Schlick and Michalowitz, as also the tongue of Jessen. Rüppel's head and hand were nailed to the Council House.

Among the condemned was Martin Fruwein, a member of the Brethren's Unity and a celebrated advocate of Prague. After the battle of the White Mountain soldiers burst into his house, and subjected him to such frightful tortures that, for nearly six months, he suffered intense pain. During the interregnum he had been a Director, and was arrested along with the rest, but confined alone in the White Tower. On the sixth of June his dead body was found in the moat below. The Catholics asserted that he had committed suicide; the *History of Persecutions* pronounces this improbable, but adds, "God knows!" If he did commit suicide, it must have been in a fit of temporary insanity brought on by sufferings that might well craze the strongest mind. His body was taken to the White Mountain, and there beheaded, then quartered. The bowels were buried; the other portions fastened to four posts; the head was nailed to the gallows in the Ross Market.

On the day following the execution, June the twenty-second, the tongue of Nicholas Dionysius, the clerk of the council of the *Altstadt*, was fastened with an awl to the gallows and in this painful posture he was forced to stand for two hours. When released, he was led back to prison, where he spent four years, and finally banished. His offence consisted in welcoming Frederick to Prague in a short speech. While he was pinned to the gallows, Joseph Kubin, John Swehla and Wenzel Boczek, were publicly whipped, three times, at three different points of the city, and then banished forever. They left Prague singing the one hundred and twelfth and the seventieth Psalms.

Those whose sentence had been commuted to perpetual imprisonment languished, for a year, in the capital and were then conveyed to the Castle of Zbirow, among them William von Lobkowitz and Paul von Rican. Doctor Borbonius, a distinguished physician, was pardoned through the agency of Liechtenstein and resumed his practice at Prague, but was subsequently banished because he refused to embrace the Catholic religion.

On the twenty-eighth of June the property of all the condemned, including such as had escaped, was confiscated. The registered value of this property amounted to more than five millions of Thaler; equivalent at present, says Gindely, to between thirty and thirty-five millions.

The executions at Prague and the sweeping confiscation by which they were followed, excited the utmost bitterness among the Protestants of Bohemia and filled them with consternation. These high-handed measures were signs of fearful things to come. In foreign lands the Bohemian fugitives, among whom was Count Thurn, were horror-struck. The Catholics rejoiced and mockingly said that the Directors had ceased directing.

That the illustrious leaders, to the memory of whose last days this chapter brings a tribute, were justified according to the inalienable rights of man, in inaugurating the Bohemian Revolution, we deem to be an incontrovertible position and repudiate every other.[30] They tried to establish the religious liberties of a Protestant nation in opposition to the rule of a Romish tyrant. This was not only lawful under their own Charter, but also became their duty as its appointed Defenders. That they, at last, shook off the Hapsburg yoke was the fault of the outrageous character of the Hapsburg government. The grievances which brought about the American Revolution were as nothing in comparison with those that

[30] Bishop Cregor says, II. p. 296: "Sie haben in der Liebe für die Freiheit ihres Vaterlandes und ihrer Gewissen sich hinreissen lassen, gegen das Gebot und Beispiel unsers Heilandes, zu weltlichen Waffen zu greifen, und dafür haben sie durch Gottes gerechtes Gericht den Tod erlitten!"

Bohemia complained of; and if its Revolution had been successful, Budowa and Schlick and Jessen would rank in history by the side of Washington and Jefferson and Adams, and the whole body of our own cherished heroes.

There is, however, another aspect of the case. What though the Bohemian leaders failed and perished—their testimony to Christian patriotism and Evangelical religion and personal faith is immortal! While the world stands it can not die. It rings through the ages. The annals of states and the records of the Church show few events which more wonderfully establish the promises of God and more abundantly glorify His power, than the Day of Blood at Prague.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Anti-Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia. *A. D.* 1621–1628.

Ferdinand and the Anti-Reformation.—Its fundamental Principle.—The Means employed.—Churches seized.—Burial Grounds desecrated.—Clergymen banished.—Sufferings of the Clergy.—Expelled by a Commission.—Schools and the University reconstructed.—Destruction of Protestant Literature—Anthony Koniasch.—Sweeping confiscations.—New Edicts against the Protestants.—Depreciation of the Currency.—A Reform Commission.—The Jesuits and Liechtenstein's Troops.—The Peasants and their Sufferings.—Edict against the Protestant States.—The Diet of 1627.—A new Reform Commission.—Exodus of 1628.—Decline of Bohemia and Moravia.

THE tragedy at Prague introduced one of the most tyrannical, wicked and unjustifiable measures known to history. Upon the neck of a Protestant nation was relentlessly forced the iron yoke of Rome. Not by an alien power, not amidst the wild turmoil of a victorious army sweeping like a tornado over Bohemia and Moravia; but by their own sovereign, slowly and systematically, with an intolerance hard as a rock and a premeditation that deserves to be called satanic. The impoverishment of the country, the sufferings of his subjects, the depletion of the population to a bare remnant, the downfall of industrial prosperity, the blight upon literature, the ruin in every other respect of an entire kingdom and its affiliated margraviate;—all these evils weighed as nothing over against the satisfaction of crushing out the Evangelical faith and elevating Romanism to supremacy. Not in vain

had Ferdinand the Second sworn his secret oath at Prague. The opportunity was now come for doing even more than that shameful and treacherous pledge implied. We have no sympathy with his apologists, whether Protestant or Catholic.[1] While it is true that he was but following out to its legitimate end the tendency given him by his education; while he may have imagined that to overthrow the Protestant religion was doing God a service; and while it is certain that he was the mere agent of schemes laid by others; such considerations do not justify his course. A monarch intrusted with the sceptres which Ferdinand swayed and living in the age to which he belonged, was bound to recognize the signs of the times and accept Protestantism as a legitimate element of Christendom. The darkness and bigotry and narrow conceptions of the Middle Ages had passed away. But he willfully shut his eyes to the light that was shining and obstinately closed his ears to the voices which were bidding the world to go forward. Nor were these the worst features of his course. Ferdinand stands at the bar of history condemned as a deliberate perjurer. Amidst the solemnities of his coronation, in the house of the God whom he professed to serve, he swore that he would uphold the Bohemian charter and maintain inviolate the religious liberty of his subjects. It is from the point of view offered by this oath that the only correct opinion in relation to the overthrow of Protestantism in Bohemia and Moravia can be formed.

According to the *History of Persecutions* it was at Rome that a plan was laid to coerce these two countries under the

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[1] "Wir haben gewiss Grund zu glauben, dass Kaiser Ferdinand überzeugt war, dass er als ein treuer Katholischer Christ gegen seine andersdenkenden Unterthanen so handeln müsse, um der Wohlfahrt seines Reiches und um der Irrenden selbst willen. . . . . Auch müssen wir nicht ausser Acht lassen, in welchem abschreckenden Vorstellungen von den Andersgläubigen Ferdinand befangen sein, und wie seine strengen Befehle durch seine Diener und Werkzeuge noch weit überboten werden mochten." Thus says Bishop Croeger, II. pp. 303 and 304. Pescheck entertains similar views, II. p. 1, etc.

sway of the Catholic Church. Opportunities to become martyrs were not to be given the followers of the Evangelical faith; they were to be persecuted in other ways until their courage would be broken and their endurance exhausted; obedience to the Catholic Church would follow as a necessary result. Whether Rome was the birthplace of this scheme, or whether it was concocted elsewhere, remains uncertain; that it sets forth the principle according to which the work was actually carried on, our narrative will show. Not fire and sword and the rack were introduced, but a Reformation, and therefore, in the Protestant sense, an Anti-Reformation.[2]

The following were the chief means employed: the Protestants were deprived of their church-edifices; Protestant clergymen were everywhere driven from their parishes; Protestant literature was as far as possible destroyed; a wholesale confiscation of property took place; the currency was depreciated; Commissions were sent through the country in order to bring the people into the Roman Catholic Church; all those who refused to deny Protestantism were banished.[3]

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[2] In 1622 the *Congregatio De Propaganda Fide* was established at Rome, in order to promote missions among the heathen and the conversion of heretics in Christian countries. It is very likely that the Anti-Reformation received aid from this powerful agency.

[3] Authorities for this chapter are: First and foremost, Hist. Persecutionum, Cap. XLIV–LVIII, and LXXXV to the end of the work. This authority says: "If all the cunning deceptions and the gross acts of wickedness, all the bloodthirsty oppressions and persecutions, that were put into practice were to be narrated, it would require a sharper wit than the dove-like simplicity of our nation is capable of, and more voluminous books would have to be written than our present undertaking will permit. For that which the Evangelist says, 'There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written' (John 21 : 25)—can be said also of Antichrist, whose evil deeds have been developed with so much craft and malice that the world can scarcely contain them. This, however, we testify before God, that we have secured the most accurate information with regard to everything which we report, even though we have not always adduced examples, partly in order to be brief and partly because amidst the still existing dispersion instances could not in every case be collected." The next authority is Pescheck's entire

Ferdinand's principal advisers in carrying out these details were Archbishop Lohelius and his clergy at Prague; Carlo Caraffa, Bishop of Aversa, the Papal Nuncio at Vienna, who ceased not to urge the Emperor forward in everything that was intolerant, base and cruel; and especially the Jesuits upon whom, in the last instance, rests the entire responsibility of the Bohemian Anti-Reformation.

It began, as we have said, with the seizure of the Protestant church-edifices. There were hundreds of them; but upon every one was laid, in the course of a few years, the rapacious hand of Rome. Such buildings were either razed to the ground or thoroughly cleansed from what was deemed to be their heretical contaminations, and rededicated with imposing ceremonies. Both the exterior and interior were purified; the former by removing images of the cup,[4] effacing inscriptions, destroying monuments, and altering even the door-knobs and flag-stones; the latter by sprinkling holy water, lashing the pulpits with whips, and beating the altars with sticks. Romish symbols, inscriptions, and images, took the place of those that had been destroyed.

On the twentieth of February, 1621, the Cathedral was rededicated, at a heavy cost which the Emperor assumed; on the twenty third of January, 1623, the colossal gilded cup adorning the Thein church was taken down and the image of the Virgin substituted. The new and splendid church of St. Salvador, erected in the *Altstadt*, on the strength of the privileges granted by the charter, was given, together with its adjoining school, to the Pauline monks. The cup on the gate leading to the Church of St. Anthony, at Königgrätz, was

second volume. He had a number of original sources at command, particularly Holyk's Päbstische Geissel, published at Wittenberg in 1673 and written by an eye-witness, himself at one time a Romish monk who was subsequently converted to Protestantism. Our last authority is of Roman Catholic origin—Gindely's 30-jähr. Krieg, IV, Chap. 9.

[4] Images of the cup, made of metal or stone, the symbol of Utraquism, were found on nearly all churches, steeples and city-gates. One such cup on the top of a tower at Leitmeritz escaped, and remains to the present day.

torn down and a picture substituted, representing an overturned chalice from which flowed an impure matter and having this inscription: "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red; it is full of mixture, and He poureth out of the same; but the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them." (Ps. 75: 8.) On the wall over the door appeared another inscription as follows: "My house is a house of prayer, but not thine, thou detested Calvin." These are but a few instances of the wanton bigotry which went rioting through the sanctuaries of God.

Nor did the church-yards escape. Memorials were ruthlessly broken; graves sacrilegiously opened; the bones of the dead shamefully dishonored. Among the tombs thus defiled were those of Zizka, at Czaslau, and of Rokycana, in the Thein church, at Prague.

The expulsion of the Protestant clergy formed the next device. It was inaugurated at Prague. The Protestant Consistory was broken up, and on the tenth of March, 1621, the Calvinist ministers, as well as those of the Unity, were banished. Out of regard for the Elector of Saxony the Lutherans received permission to remain.

Against this Caraffa vehemently protested, until Liechtenstein made known the conditions upon which their further stay would depend. They must advance to the Emperor a large sum of money, several thousand florins; acknowledge the coronation of Frederick as illegal; be reordained by the Archbishop; cease administering the sacrament under both kinds; repudiate their wives and look upon them merely as their cooks. These degrading conditions were rejected. The result was a decree, which appeared on the thirteenth of December, 1621, commanding the Lutheran clergy, except the four who had charge of German churches, to leave Prague in three days and Bohemia in eight. Nineteen of them, among whom was Rosacius, went into exile. Caraffa and the Jesuits were not yet satisfied. The German ministers who remained were an offence to them. They did not rest

until these, too, were dismissed, and along with them the German school-teachers who held to the Evangelical faith. The indignant remonstrances of the Elector of Saxony, who now began to realize into what an unfortunate position his alliance with the Emperor had placed him, were of no avail. On the twenty-ninth of October, 1622, escorted by a great multitude of their parishioners, the last representatives of the pure Gospel turned their backs upon the Bohemian capital. Several miles beyond its walls they held a service in the open fields, Lippach delivering a farewell address.

Throughout the country the clergy made experiences that were far worse.

Soon after the battle of the White Mountain many of them suffered, at the hands of the Catholic soldiery, horrible cruelties or a violent death. Paul Moller, of Zrutsch, was pierced by a bullet while preaching, and expired in his own pulpit; Martin Maresch was tortured, and his two daughters were carried off to a life of enforced shame and misery; Wenzel Jakesch, of Kaunitz, after having been subjected, for an entire month, to scandalous indignities, which were varied by the infliction of bodily torments, escaped with his life on paying five hundred florins; Paul Welwar gave a ransom of fifteen hundred florins, but died a few days after in consequence of the inhuman treatment which he had received; John Moyses and his wife, of Königmestitz, as well as Lawrence Curtin and his wife, of Netin, were burned alive; the parish ministers at Bakoven and Nimes were murdered in other ways; Paul Pscheniczka, of Bochdalow, who had reached nearly three score years and ten, was hung up in a manner too devilish to be named; a fire was kindled under him with books from his own library, and he was slowly roasted, until a soldier took pity on his excruciating sufferings and shot him dead.

From royal or free cities the clergy were expelled in 1622 and the following years, by a Commission sent out for this purpose. Although they did not suffer the cruelties practiced by the marauding soldiers, they were treated with the greatest

brutality. The most notorious of the commissioners was George Michna, a butcher's son, who had risen to be a wealthy count. At the head of a troop of horse he rode about from place to place, in the Schlan and Leitmeritz districts, reviling, maltreating and driving away from parish and from home God's faithful servants. The majority of them escaped to other countries; some hid themselves in forests or among the mountains and secretly ministered to their flocks. The vacant parishes were committed to Catholic priests; but as their number proved insufficient several churches, sometimes as many as six, constituted one charge. As a rule, the priests were worthless characters and led immoral lives.[5]

The crusade against the Protestant clergy involved a reconstruction of the schools of which they had had the oversight and the dismissal of the teachers. Nor did the University escape. On the thirtieth of April, 1622, Adam von Waldstein, in the name of the Regent, deposed the Professors who were not Romanists; a few days later commissioners entered the *Carolinum*, sealed up the archives and gave the building to two renegade members of the Faculty. Thereupon the endowments, rights and privileges of this ancient and illustrious seat of learning were made over to the Jesuit College. That University which Charles the Fourth had founded, practically ceased to exist.

Such measures resulted in a melancholy decay of learning; while popular education, that had attained to a point which it reached in few other countries, sank to the lowest ebb. A Roman Catholic historian writes:

"I do not know of a single scholar, subsequent to the expulsion of the Protestants, who distinguished himself by his learning. The University was in the hands of the Jesuits, or practically abolished. The Pope forbade promotions, so that no

[5] This fact is not only substantiated by many instances which George Holyk adduces from personal observation, but also fully granted by the R. C. writer Pelzel, who says: "Sie predigten und lehrten zwar mit vielem Eifer; allein von der andern Seite führten sie ein lasterhaftes Leben. Viele gingen nach Polen wieder zurück, da sie zuvor den Bürgern ihre Töchter oder gar Weiber verführt und entführt hatten." Pelzel, II. p. 744.

academical degrees could be conferred. A few patriots, both among the laity and the clergy, murmured openly but in vain against this state of affairs; others secretly mourned over the decline of literature. Throughout the kingdom nearly all the schools were in the hands of the Jesuits or other ecclesiastical orders, and little more than bad Latin was taught."[6]

About the same time that the University was closed, Liechtenstein dismissed the Protestant magistrates of Prague and put Catholics in their place.

The third anti-reformatory measure was the destruction of Protestant literature. This work began at Prague soon after its capture. Instigated by the Catholic clergy, the Spanish troops and those from the Netherlands burst into private dwellings and searched their libraries, carrying off all works written in Bohemian, whether they related to religion or not, and burning them in the public squares.[7] When the Reform Commissioners commenced passing through the country the same vandalism occurred. Sometimes the books were privately thrown into the flames, in the houses where they had been seized, even as—so says the *History of Persecutions*—Jehoiakim cast Jeremiah's roll into the fire on the hearth;[8] at other times they were brought to the market place, or without the walls, or to the gallows, and there publicly burned. On such occasions soldiers posted themselves around the fire in order to prevent the people from interfering.

The Jesuits were indefatigable in their search for heretical literature, ransacking houses from cellar to garret, opening every closet and chest, prying into the very dog-kennels and pig-sties. When they had been successful and the flames were consuming a pile of volumes, many of them perhaps splendidly bound, they would stand by and rejoice aloud saying: "Look, look, how beautifully these heretical books

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[6] Pelzel, II. p. 790.

[7] In this way, with the exception of from three to six copies, the entire edition, just published, of Dalimil's Chronicle, a celebrated Bohemian History in rhymes, was lost. This edition was dedicated to Budowa and William von Ruppa. Palacky's Geschichtschreiber, p. 105.

[8] Jeremiah 36: 23

with their false doctrines burn!" Many perished that had no connection with religion. If a book was written in Bohemian that was enough to condemn it. But it was against the Holy Scriptures in particular that the Jesuits raged. Of this sacred volume not a single copy upon which they could lay their hands, was spared. They told the people that it was an obscure, imperfect and unintelligible work, a well of heresies, the refuge of heretics, a book which no layman should think of reading. To such extremes did their fanaticism carry them, that they gave to it the nickname of *Wyblila*, or "Vomit."[9]

In this war upon books no one of their whole order had a record equal to that of Anthony Koniasch, who labored for thirty-seven years as a missionary in Bohemia and Moravia. He often went out alone on a hunt for heretical literature. Hardships and dangers did not quench his zeal. On one occasion he was penned up in a pig-sty, for three days, by an indignant peasant; more than once he was severely beaten. But when he had found a trail, he could as little be turned back as a blood-hound that has scented the prey. With honest pride his biographer relates that, in the course of his long career, he destroyed more than sixty thousand volumes, besides expurgating, with his own hands, several thousand more; thus assigning to him a distinguished place by the side of Caliph Omer in the popular legend.[10]

The next expedient called forth by the Anti-Reformation bore a peculiar character. At Innsbruck, on the third of February, 1622, the day after his marriage to Elenora of Mantua, his second wife, Ferdinand signed a General Pardon, which had long been promised and for which Bohemia was anxiously waiting. To all those Protestant nobles and burghers who would come forward and freely confess whatever misdeeds they had committed against the Emperor by

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[9] Holyk, cited by Pescheck, II. p. 93.

[10] "Eorumque ultra 60 facile millia Vulcano in prædam dedit." Cited in Pelzel's Jesuiten, pp. 184 and 185.

abetting the rebellion, were offered life and liberty, on condition of their presenting an exact statement of their property, both real and personal, which his Imperial Majesty would thereupon proceed to seize. Whoever failed to appear must expect no mercy.

Under the euphonious title of a General Pardon this document, therefore, inaugurated a sweeping confiscation. More than seven hundred nobles and a large number of burghers obeyed the summons; the former appearing before a Commission at Prague, the latter before the royal judges of their several cities. The confessions which these unfortunate men made were barely listened to; but the statements which they brought excited the closest attention. Domains, bonds, mortgages, and other securities, were at once appropriated. The promissory notes which the owners occasionally received in exchange were never paid. It was an unjustifiable proceeding and particularly hard upon the nobility. By one swoop the representatives of ancient and honorable lines were reduced to poverty. Their ancestral estates were parceled out among imperial generals, favorites, and adventurers who had risen to power, or among churches and monasteries; they themselves remained as stewards of the new proprietors, or lived in scanty lodgings in towns and maintained themselves as best they could, or accepted a home in the castles of their Catholic relatives. Against such an unparalleled confiscation the German princes protested; but the Emperor's answer was, that not a single baron, knight, or citizen, had been punished who had not freely and fully confessed his guilt.

Ernst von Harrach, the new Archbishop of Prague, was constrained to acknowledge that the majority of the Protestants still tenaciously held to their faith. Such a state of affairs was humiliating. He besought the Emperor to adopt severer measures. The response was prompt and determined. A number of edicts appeared, in the course of the years 1623 and 1624, having in view the absolute conversion of Bohemia and Moravia to the Catholic religion. Among other points these decrees contained the following:

Protestant worship, in every form, was forbidden under heavy penalties; in royal or free towns Catholics only were permitted to enjoy the rights of citizenship and carry on business; none but Catholics were allowed to marry; Protestants were not to be buried on consecrated ground; the last will and testament of a Protestant was to be invalid; Protestant inmates of hospitals were to be expelled unless they promised to become Catholics; refusal to attend mass was to be severely punished.

In August of 1624 and July of 1625 two additional edicts were issued in relation to such Protestant clergy as had not been driven away by the Commission. The first banished them forever as corrupters of the people; allowing them six weeks in which to prepare for their departure. The second, which was published after it had become known that a number had not left Bohemia, or had returned, and were holding religious worship in secret, ordered: that diligent search should be made for them; that they should be expelled without mercy; that whoever harbored them was to be deprived of his property and suffer death; that informers who would point out their hiding places were to be liberally rewarded.

About this time the currency of the country was depreciated by a deliberate act of the Emperor. He caused new money—copper with a little admixture of silver—to be coined in large quantities. This currency spread and was welcomed by the common people. Meanwhile gold and silver rose to an enormous premium. Suddenly, in 1624, the new money was reduced by an imperial mandate to one-tenth of its nominal value. There resulted, throughout Bohemia and Moravia, financial distress which can scarcely be described. Paul Michna, the originator of this scheme, boasted that it had broken the power of the two countries more thoroughly than if they had been subjected to the oppressions of an army for ten years.

The grand effort began in 1624. A Reform-Commission was sent through the country and instructed to force its

inhabitants into the Roman Catholic Church. Of this Commission George Michna and Don Martin von Huerta, noted for their cruelty, rapacity and wickedness, were leading members. The latter was a native of Spain, originally a tailor, who had seduced a young countess and amassed an enormous fortune by robbing Protestants, but had made himself indispensable to Ferdinand and had been raised to the rank of a baron.

The Commission began its work at Prague, and then proceeded to Kuttenberg, Jungbunzlau, Leitmeritz, Königgrätz, Bidschow, Saaz, Prachatitz, Dobrzisch, Kossenberg, and many other towns. Its path was marked by wrongs, brutality and outrages. Thousands of the best citizens went into exile; other thousands were constrained to submit, at least outwardly, to the Romish yoke. The formula of recantation read as follows:

"I, N. N., confess in the presence of God and the holy Virgin Mary and all the Saints, that I have, this day, come, without constraint or compulsion, but of my own free will and with a sincere conviction of heart, to the only saving ancient Roman Catholic Church; and with uplifted finger I affirm, vow and swear, that I will abide by this Church faithfully unto my latter end. So help me God, the holy Virgin Mary, and all the Saints!"

The Commission was assisted, on the one hand, by several canons of Prague, by Dominican and Franciscan friars, and especially by the Jesuits; on the other, by dragoons, cuirassiers, and infantry, notoriously known as "Leichtenstein's troops."

Into parts of the country where little opposition was expected, were sent either the canons, or the Dominicans and Franciscans; the towns noted for their faithfulness in upholding the Gospel were assigned to the Jesuits. These Fathers labored with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Sometimes they traversed the country alone; again they accompanied the Commission. Here they were friendly, ready to argue, anxious to persuade; there they showed themselves curt, rude, imperious. If they failed, the soldiers were summoned.

That they subsequently took to themselves the chief credit of having romanized Bohemia and Moravia, is evident from the writings of Balbin, one of their own order and an eye-witness of the Anti-Reformation. "I could name," he says, "more than three hundred of our Fathers each of whom converted several thousand heretics; one of them sixteen thousand."[11] The most glowing tribute he pays to Adam Krawarsky, telling with a full heart of his untiring labors, his burning zeal, his unbounded success. In order to show that there is good ground for such laudation Balbin adds, that Krawarsky, shortly prior to his death, wrote "with a trembling hand," by order of his superiors, a summary of those conversions which constituted the immediate outcome of his mission in Bohemia and Moravia, and behold their number was thirty-three thousand one hundred and forty!

The unreal character of such conversions was forcibly shown, in the presence of the Pope himself, by Valerianus Magnus, the famous Capuchin, while listening to the boastful language of certain Jesuits who asserted that the credit of reforming Bohemia and Moravia belonged to their order. "Holy Father," he exclaimed, "give me soldiers, as they were given to the Jesuits, and I will convert the whole world to the Catholic faith!"[12]

Leichtenstein's troops were mostly foreigners, selected not for their bravery in the field, but for their skill in harassing unarmed citizens, tormenting defenceless serfs, terrifying women and children. Permitted to indulge in all manner of licentiousness they vied with each other in everything that was low, brutal and disgusting. The peasants, when it became evident that in spite of the banishment of their pastors they meant to be true to the Gospel, suffered more than any other class. They were driven to mass by the soldiers with drawn sabres; imprisoned in dungeons, stables and foul places; exposed to the inclemency of the weather and left

[11] Balbin's Bohemia Sancta, cited by Pescheck, I. p. 107.
[12] Pelzel, I. p. 788.

without food. Many died; many were prevented from emigrating. In some regions their sufferings were so great that they rose against their persecutors. But such insurrections were speedily quelled and frightful was the vengeance which followed. The work of the Commission continued until 1626.

In the following year, on the twenty-ninth of May, Ferdinand issued a proclamation announcing that almost the entire kingdom and margraviate had returned to the bosom of the only saving Church. Many thousands of his subjects had, indeed, emigrated, but he chose to construe this as a proof "of their continued loyalty, in that they preferred to leave their fatherland rather than oppose their King."[13] Others took a different view of the case, denouncing such emigrations as an instance of unparalleled obstinacy. The real motive, faithfulness to Christ and His Gospel, few Catholics could be brought to acknowledge.

On the thirty-first of July an edict appeared, setting forth, that in order to further the salvation of his people, perpetuate peace, and satisfy his own conscience, the Emperor required all Protestants still in the country, either to become Catholics or emigrate. To this end a new Reform-Commission, with unlimited power, was appointed, consisting of the Archbishop, the Abbot of Strahow, Valerianus Magnus, Martinic, Mitrowic and Thalemberg.

A few months later Ferdinand came to Prague, convened the Diet, and announced that the Bohemian Charter was revoked; that the crown was no longer to be elective; that his son Ferdinand was to be his successor; that the use of the Bohemian language in the public courts was abolished; that the Archbishop, the abbots and prelates were to constitute a fourth estate and outrank the three others. In abject submission the Diet, once so proud and free, now thinned out and powerless, listened to these arbitrary deliverances. The dissatisfaction caused among the old Catholic aristocracy by the creation of the third estate did not venture to make itself

[13] Czerwenka, II. p. 644, on the authority of Kutzmany's Urkundenbuch.

heard; the fact that the Emperor again graciously acknowledged Bohemia as a kingdom and promised to maintain its rights according to a new code, was no equivalent for the ancient privileges which he had taken away. On the twenty-fourth of November Ferdinand the Third was crowned.

Meanwhile the Commission directed its attention chiefly to the Protestant states—the barons, knights and representatives of the royal cities. A term originally of six months, afterward by a new edict (December the sixth) extended to one year, was set apart as the period in which they were to come forward in order to be instructed in the Catholic faith. If they declined "accommodating themselves," they were required to sell to Catholics whatever real estate had been left them and go into exile. No exception was made even in the case of widows, who, moreover, were not allowed to take their children with them. The consequences of this final stroke of tyranny were various. Some wavered; others denied their faith and became Catholics; others feigned submission; still others suffered the loss of all things for Christ's sake. Of these the number was very large. In 1628 a general exodus took place. According to the testimony of Slawata, more than thirty-six thousand families left Bohemia and Moravia. Among them were sturdy husbandmen, skilled mechanics, able artists, learned scholars, rich merchants, and no less than one hundred and eighty-five noble houses of which many counted twenty or even fifty male representatives alone.[14] Both countries suffered fearfully; and were still further depleted by subsequent emigrations which continued, more or less, until 1652, long after Ferdinand's death. The population of Bohemia dwindled to less than one-third of its former number; from about three millions to about eight hundred thousand.[15] Indeed Balbin expresses his astonishment that it retained any inhabitants at all; while Pelzel mournfully writes: "History scarcely presents another

[14] Schlesinger, p. 546.

[15] *Ibid.* p. 629. This does not mean that more than two millions actually emigrated, but that Bohemia lost that number through the Thirty Years' War, the Anti-Reformation and the exodus of its people. Upon what

instance of a nation's being changed and subverted in the short space of fifteen years, in the way in which Bohemia was during the reign of Ferdinand the Second."[16] In some parts it resembled a country through which the pestilence has walked, leaving entire villages desolate; in others, old landmarks and venerable memorials had passed away, and in their stead were seen the symbols of Rome's final triumph. A returning exile would hardly have recognized his native land. Aliens trod ancestral halls that knew them not. Industry was blighted. It seemed as though the whole nation were struggling for breath.

The scars left by the wounds which Bohemia received in the Anti-Reformation are seen even at the present day; the idolatrous emblems of the religion which it was forced to accept still appear. In this latter respect no contrast can be greater than that offered the traveler as soon as he crosses the boundary from Saxony. Groves, hills, and valleys, but especially the villages, abound with crosses and shrines, with rudely painted pictures of the Saints and gaudy images of the Virgin. It appears scarcely credible that Bohemia, at one time, was a Protestant country.

Its affiliated provinces Lusatia and Silesia, escaped the Anti-Reformation: the former altogether, because it was mortgaged to the Elector of Saxony, in order to repay him for his assistance in the war; the latter for a season, because he had exacted a promise from the Emperor that religion should there be free. Hence the exiles flocked to both these countries, as also to Saxony, Prussia, Holland, Poland, Hungary and Transylvania. At a later time, the Emperor broke his pledge in relation to Silesia, and sent the Reform-Commission and Leichtenstein's troops into that country likewise.

authority Gindely, in his Comenius, p. 483, asserts that the number of exiles amounted to scarcely one hundred thousand, we fail to understand. This assertion is contradicted by Slawata's official figures and by every other source that we know of. Talvi, p. 195, says: "In 1617 Bohemia had 732 cities and 34,700 villages; when Ferdinand the Second died in 1637, there remained 130 cities and 6,000 villages; and its three millions of inhabitants were reduced to 780,000."

[16] Pelzel, II. p. 788.

CHAPTER XLIX.

The Overthrow of the Unitas Fratrum in Bohemia and Moravia. *A. D.* 1621–1628.

Churches taken from the Brethren.—Cemeteries profaned.—Literature destroyed.—Schools closed.—Experiences of the Bishops and other Ministers.—Zerotin's Efforts on their behalf.—Experiences of Amos Comenius.—Final Departure of Nobles and Clergy.—The Prayer on the Mountain Top.—The Membership.—Unhistoric Views respecting a Spiritual Decline.—Albert von Wallenstein.

In its original seats the Unitas Fratrum was overthrown by the storms of the Anti-Reformation. Although the account of this calamity is included in the general history given in the last chapter, we here present a few details of the experiences made by the Brethren in particular.[1]

Their churches at Prague were among the first to be seized; the Bethlehem Chapel immediately after the capture of the city, the Jesuit church at a later time. A thorough purification of these edifices took place. The floors were strewed with gunpowder which was ignited, so that smoke and flame might counteract "the horrible heresy" of the Picards. Of the many other churches and chapels the majority, no doubt, were appropriated by the Catholics, while some were torn down, or allowed to fall into ruins.[2]

[1] Sources are: Hist. Persecutionum, and Pescheck, *passim;* Benham's Comenius; Gindely's Comenius; Regenvolscius, Lib. II. cap. 11.; Criegern's Comenius.

[2] The church which the Catholics are still using at Zauchtenthal, in Moravia, is said to be one of those which were taken from the Brethren in the Anti-Reformation. It is a large stone building painted white, with a tower in front and a small belfry at the rear end of the roof.

Zerotin himself caused the church which he had built at Brandeis, to be destroyed, so that it might not be desecrated by Romish worship.[3]

To profane the cemeteries of the Brethren was an outrage in which the Catholics seemed to take particular delight. On a domain of the Barons von Swihow, at Horazdowic, stood an old convent which had been in the possession of the Unity for many years and formed the burial place of several of its ministers. In 1621 this convent was seized and given to a monastic order. Like ghouls the friars pressed around the graves. First were unearthed the remains of Jacob Weliky, an influential and honored priest who had died in 1600. Seizing an iron rod Severin Dudek, the warden, with loud maledictions, beat them in pieces. They were then burned together with the bones of John Popel, John Japhet, and Matthias Chobar. In the baronial vault lay the body of Theobald von Swihow, who had been one of the Defenders. It was torn from its leaden coffin, thrust into a box and cast into a hole, which workmen who were repairing the convent filled up with rubbish. From the same vault were carried off gorgets, rings and other valuables.[4]

The rich literature of the Brethren perished almost entirely. Their Kralitz Bibles, their Hymnals and Confessions and Catechisms, the many other works which they had issued, were cast into the flames by thousands. When Spanish mercenaries sacked Fulneck in 1620, the library and manuscripts of Amos Comenius were burned in the public square. At the present day some of the most famous writings of the Brethren exist only as antiquarian relics. Upon this point Gindely expresses himself as follows:

"Nearly all the memorials, whether printed or in manuscript, which belong to the period stretching from the beginning of the fifteenth to the second half of the seventeenth centuries and treat

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[3] Two portions of the walls of this church are still to be seen; the one forming a section of the rear end of a modern house built on its site, the other, a section of the garden-wall.

[4] Hist. Persecutionum. cap. CV. 5.

of, or refer to, the history of the Brethren, may well be esteemed as the most precious literary relics of former times. * * * The writings of the Brethren in particular seem to have been devoted to annihilation. We are not astonished that, as a general thing, but one or two copies of works in manuscript have come down to us; but that printed works, circulating by hundreds and thousands scarcely two and a half centuries ago, have in part altogether disappeared and in part are extant in not more copies than if they were manuscripts;—this is so remarkable a fact that it becomes credible only because it cannot possibly be denied."[5]

The schools which gave to the Unity so wide-spread a reputation, its College at Eibenschütz, its theological institutes, its recently established *Gymnasium Rosarum*, with forty to fifty free scholarships and a throng of students, all came to an end.[6]

Interesting particulars concerning the ministers have been preserved. Amidst the outrages perpetrated by the Catholic troops, several of them lost their lives. In Moravia, Wenzel Wotic, an aged priest at Bistritz, and Paul Capito, of Napagedl, were murdered by Polish soldiers on their march to Austria (February, 1620). Into the hands of the wild hordes that ravaged the country after the capture of Prague, fell Elias Severin, of Przibitz, who was fearfully tormented so that for two years he lingered in constant and often excruciating pain until death came to his relief; John Beranek, of Zdanitz, a man aged more than seventy years, who was burned alive (March the seventeenth, 1622); and Gallus Celech, of Czerochow, who died in consequence of the cruelties practiced upon him. The treatment which Adam Pisek received, was particularly shocking. He had charge of the parish of Bitesch, on one of Zerotin's Moravian domains. Deeming the well-known loyalty of that Baron to be a sufficient safeguard, he made no attempt to flee when a body of mercenaries arrived in the village, but showed them hospitality. No

[5] Gindely in his Preface to the Quellen. p. VI.

[6] This Gymnasium was founded by Peter Wok von Rosenberg, at Sobieslaw, soon after religious liberty had been granted. Michael Gehler, of Görlitz, was its Rector. Pescheck, II. p. 92. (Ger.), on the authority of Otto's Oberlaus, Schriftstellerlexicon.

sooner, however, did they discover that he was a preacher, than they began to beat him, and when he escaped to the vestibule of the chapel hastened after and killed him. Stripping his body they left it lying stark naked and prevented his parishioners from burying or even covering it. The parsonage they plundered and its library, which filled three apartments, they set on fire. Not until they had gone to another part of the country were Pisek's remains committed to the grave.

The first to be banished were the three assessors of the Consistory, Bishop John Cyrill, John Corvinus, and Paul Fabricius, and the incumbent of the Bethlehem Chapel, Adam Hartmann. None of them left Bohemia. Cyrill concealed himself at Slaupna, an estate of Baron Sadowsky, among the Giant Mountains; Corvinus and Fabricius probably did the same; while Hartmann found some other retreat. Soon after Hartmann's departure from the capital his wife was cast into prison where she languished for three-quarters of a year. She had with her an infant son but two months old, Adam Samuel, who subsequently became a celebrated bishop. On being released she set out to join her husband, not knowing that in his anxiety on her account he had ventured back to the vicinity of Prague. They met accidentally in a village near the city and fled to Thorn.[7]

In 1622 a general persecution of the clergy began. Besides Cyrill there were three Bishops in Bohemia and Moravia: Jacob Lanetius, the President of the Council, Matthias Koneczny, and Gregory Erastus. God himself delivered Koneczny. He died at Brandeis on the Adler, on the eighth of February, 1622, aged fifty-two years. His last words were: "Just in time am I called away."[8] Lanetius and Erastus found retreats on the domains of Charles von Zerotin. Of the ministers who stood under these Bishops not a few

[7] J. Müller's MS. Notes based on Jireck's Handbuch zur Böhmischen Literaturgeschichte.

[8] Regenvolscius, p. 321.

followed their example and hid themselves, unwilling to leave the country as long as it was possible to do anything for their parishes. Zerotin espoused their cause. In March, 1623, he went to Vienna in order to appeal to the Emperor. Indignantly breaking away from the courtiers who wanted to persuade him that their imperial master was but manifesting a fatherly solicitude for the salvation of his people, the Baron sought an interview with Ferdinand himself. This interview was noteworthy. It showed the dignity and power of a good cause even in the extremity of its misfortunes; and the shame and weakness of a bad cause however complete its triumph.

Zerotin began the conversation by reminding the Emperor that he had repeatedly promised to reward his fidelity and allow him the free exercise of his religion at all times and places; he complained that this promise had not been kept; he urged that his Majesty's good name could not be maintained and that his government could not prosper, if such pledges as had been given to him were broken and the innocent treated like the guilty. The Emperor replied, that he remembered and acknowledged his promises; but to carry them out did not lie within his power; they were objectionable to his Holiness the Pope, whom he was bound to follow in all matters affecting the conscience; he could not act otherwse; his own conscience constrained him. The Baron rejoined, that he too had a conscience and begged that he might not be forced to act contrary to it. Ferdinand protested that he did not intend anything of the sort; but that the preachers should be allowed to remain in the country was out of the question. On the other part Zerotin protested that he could not do without religious services and hence must have preachers. Finally, the Emperor referred him to Cardinal Dietrichstein, the Governor of Moravia. The curt decision of this prelate was that the Emperor allowed no interference whatever in the affairs of religion.[9]

[9] There are two sources upon which the account of this interview is based: the one a letter from Vienna in Sölt'l's Denkwürdigkeiten aus den Zeiten des Religionskrieges in Deutschland, 1842, given by Pescheck, II.

Although greatly disappointed Zerotin did not lose heart. On returning to Namiest he gave shelter to twenty-four Moravian clergymen until the following year (1624), when Count Magnis and Canon Plateys, two Reform Commissioners, appeared and banished them. Not even this experience, which brought the Anti-Reformation to his very home, could stop him in his course. He continued to support and, as far as possible, shield the two Bishops as well as other ministers who sought his protection, although when danger grew imminent they were often obliged to flee to the mountains or hide in forests and caves. Among the refugees was Julian Poniatowski, the Rector of the school at Jungbunzlau, who acted as Zerotin's librarian.[10] During all this time his chaplain, Paul Hronow, conducted religious worship in public. A number of Bohemian ministers were protected on the estates of George Sadowsky and a few other noblemen. In some instances such ministers imitated the example of Hronow.

After the sacking of Fulneck, Amos Comenius continued to labor in his parish for nearly two years. In the autumn of 1622 to he was obliged to flee to Brandeis on the Adler. Soon after he lost his wife and child. The cellar of the house that he occupied is still to be seen. This dwelling stood at the foot of the Klopot Mountain which even at the present day is wooded to the top; in the time of Comenius the forest must have been dense, affording a perfect hiding place. Here he wrote, in 1623, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Palace*

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pp. 53 and 54 (Ger.); the other Hist. Persecutionum cap. LXXXVIII. At first sight it would appear as though they referred to two different interviews. We, however, deem it improbable that Zerotin, after having once been refused by the Emperor, should have visited Vienna a second time and appealed to him again, and rather believe that both sources refer to the same interview and supplement each other.

[10] Julian Poniatowski was a Pole of noble descent, who abjured Romanism and a monastic life, and joined the Brethren. He was a learned theologian, a philosopher and an astronomer, the author of several theological works. His death occurred at Namiest on the sixteenth of February, 1628.

of the Heart. It is the most celebrated of his Bohemian works—an allegory representing a pilgrim going out to see the world, led by a guide whom its queen has sent, and finding that there is no real satisfaction, or joy, or peace, except in God through Christ.[11]

In 1624, while still at Brandeis, Comenius married his second wife, Dorothea Cyrill. She was a daughter of the Bishop, who did not venture to leave his hiding place in order to attend the wedding.[12]

In March of the following year, however, he and his two colleagues Lanetius and Erastus, braving every danger, secretly met in the house of a faithful adherent, one Horn, at Daubrawitz, among the mountains, near the source of the Elbe. The oppressed state of the Unity was the subject of their consultations and prayers. It would seem that they had been hoping against hope for a favorable change; but now they were convinced that the Brethren would be forced to go out from the land of their fathers. They therefore commissioned Comenius, John Chrysostom, and Matthias Probus to visit Poland and Hungary in order to secure new homes for the exiles. This mission was successfully accomplished in 1626. Not long after the return of the envoys Bishop Lanetius, the venerable President of the Council, died at Kralitz, November the seventeenth, aged seventy-two years. Comenius took up his abode at Slaupna.

The edict of 1627 in banishing the nobles, put an end to the further protection of the clergy. It is true that Zerotin was not touched by that decree. But he declined to accept

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[11] This work, which constitutes a model of Bohemian style, was translated into German and extensively read in Germany also. In modern times John Nowotny has issued a new German version. The Labyrinth of the World was the forerunner of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.

We visited Brandeis in 1879. Near the cellar of Comenius' house a monument has been erected to his memory. It is a stone obelisk, showing his bust in relief, with the inscription: "Dem Johann Amos Comenius das dankbare Volk, September 5, 1865."

[12] Müller's MS. Notes. Benham, p. 37, says this marriage took place at Lissa in 1628. The name and family of Comenius' first wife are not known.

what was denied his brethren; sold, at an enormous sacrifice, his splendid domains, excepting Prerau, to his brother-in-law, Wallenstein; and accompanied by the clergy whom he had sheltered, left the country (1627).

Toward the end of January of the following year (1628), George Sadowsky, Erastus, Cyrill, Comenius, and many others, set out from Slaupna. When they reached the top of the mountain-chain separating Bohemia from Silesia, at a spot where they could look back upon their native land, they fell on their knees, Comenius offering an impassioned prayer, that the Lord would not entirely withdraw His word from Bohemia and Moravia, but preserve a seed of righteousness to glorify His name. Rising and striking up a hymn, they pursued their way to Poland, strong in their fathers' God.[13]

As regards the membership of the Unity but few particulars have been preserved. That the Reform Commission encountered in such ancient seats as Jungbunzlau, Brandeis and Leitomischl, a resistance in keeping with the heroic associations of the past, is certain. That the Brethren generally were the staunchest confessors amidst the sorrows and temptations of the Anti-Reformation, seems a legitimate deduction from the fact of their having contributed to the Bohemian exodus a quota of exiles which was three or four times larger, in proportion to their entire number, than the contingent of their sister churches.[14] Nor did the majority of such as

[13] This hymn was probably the one which originated among the Brethren in the time of the Anti-Reformation. It is instinct with faith in God, based upon those evidences of His protecting care which the Scriptures unfold in the case of Jacob, David, Elijah, and others. Croeger, II. p. 342, etc. There are two other traditions in relation to the prayer of Comenius: the first, that it was offered on the frontier mountains of Moravia, near Troppau; the second, that the incident took place on the castle-hill at Fulneck in 1622, when he fled to Bohemia. The narrative in the text is undoubtedly the correct one.

[14] Gindely's Comenius, p. 483. "Was die Böhmischen Brüder insbesondere betrifft, so stellten sie ein im Verhältniss drei bis viermal stärkeres Contingent zur Auswanderung." Plitt, followed by Bishop Croeger, asserts that the majority of the Brethren apostatized. He cites the Hist. Persecutionum as authority. But in the passage referred to, that work speaks

remained in the country accept Romanism from conviction. They merely succumbed to a power which it was impossible to resist. In doing this many, no doubt, were unfaithful, preferring ease and prosperity to exile and impoverishment for Christ's sake. But it may well be assumed, that many others were kept from following their brethren into foreign countries by circumstances beyond their control. It is true that Balbin speaks with enthusiasm of the success which Adam Krawarsky had among the members of the Unity, converting five thousand to the true Church in the region round about Trebnitz, pressing forward to their original seats on the barony of Senftenberg and inducing them "piously to admire and firmly to love the mysteries of the Catholic religion."[15] But such testimony is worthless. It is disproved by the history of the Hidden Seed and the uprising which followed the Edict of Toleration. At that time it appeared, that neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed Confession, but the religious principles of the Unitas Fratrum, had struck the deepest roots in the consciousness of the Bohemian people.[16] For there came forward not less than one hundred and fifty thousand Bohemians and Moravians who claimed to be, not Lutherans, not Reformed, but Bohemian Brethren.[17] If the principles of the Church retained for a century and a half

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of the Protestants generally, not of the Brethren. Moreover, if it be a fact, that the population of Bohemia melted to one-third its number, then it is quite impossible that a majority of its Protestant inhabitants should have fallen away. At the time the book was written its authors had no means of ascertaining the truth; in fact all the statistics which they give are unreliable.

[15] Balbin, quoted by Pescheck, II. 101 and 103.

[16] Lemme, p. 19.

[17] "Protestantism in Bohemia and Moravia," by Frederick Emmanuel Kleinschmidt, published in *The Messenger*. Vol. V., 1868. p. 356. Kleinschmidt was a Moravian clergyman who, between the years 1860 and 1870, itinerated in Bohemia and Moravia as an evangelist in the interests of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. He says: "This change took place in 1781, and the result of this edict of Toleration was the public acknowledgment of 100,000 souls in Bohemia, and of about half that number in Moravia, that they were not Roman Catholics. The greatest

such a hold upon the people, it is clear that Balbin's narrative is of no historic value whatever.[18]

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part of them lived in the neighborhood of those very towns which had been the chief seats of the Ancient Brethren, as Leitomischl in Bohemia, and Prerau and Fulneck in Moravia. Judging from this fact and also from the books they had in their possession, and other circumstances, it is clear that the most of these people were the descendants of the Ancient Brethren. They belonged, almost without exception, to the lower orders. When they came forward, asserting they were not Romanists, and were asked what they professed to be, they declared themselves to be Bohemian Brethren. This fact," Kleinschmidt adds in a note, "was communicated to the writer by the historian, Dr. Gindely, of Prague, who referred to his having inspected the official records of that period."

The Edict of 1781 restricted toleration to the Augsburg and Helvetian Confessions, and denied it to the Brethren. A limited period was set in which those who wished to enjoy the benefits of the Edict were invited to enroll themselves as adherents of one of the two Confessions thereafter to be tolerated. It was during this period that the uprising of Bohemian Brethren took place.

[18] The Anti-Reformation is generally set forth by Moravian writers as a just judgment of God upon the Unitas Fratrum, because of its gross spiritual decline. This view is based upon the testimony of Comenius given chiefly in his Prefatory Letter and Concluding Address accompanying the Eighth Book of Lasitius, which he published in 1649 (In German, Comenii Erste Liebe). If the testimony of Comenius be correct then the deductions may be legitimate. But in our judgment, such testimony is unwarranted by the facts of the case and melts away as soon as historic criticism is applied. In our lectures in the Theological Seminary we have set forth at length the reasons for our position. We cannot enter fully upon them here, but will merely say, that while we do not charge Comenius with intentionally bearing false witness, we claim that his testimony was given at a time when the fact, that at the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the Protestant powers, and especially Sweden, left Bohemia and Moravia to their fate, had plunged him into a morbid state of mind which rendered it impossible for him to be an impartial authority. He saw everything through the medium of his bitter disappointment; looked upon everything from the darkest point of view; made assertions concerning a decline among the Brethren not warranted by facts, contradicted by Regenvolscius who had the same opportunity of knowing the truth as Comenius, disproved by his own History. In comparison with the stern, puritanic, heroic days of the Unitas Fratrum, the time of their religious liberty may have presented a decline; but nothing that would at all justify the rhetorical language and extravagant statements of Comenius, or the presumptuous conclusion, that God sent the Anti-Reformation upon the Brethren as a punishment for their sins. Czerwenka, II. p. 624, refers to a decline because, as he says, the Brethren

During the period which we have been considering the Thirty Years' War went against the Protestants, particularly after its greatest general had come to the front. This was Albert von Wallenstein, or more properly, Waldstein, born September the fifteenth, 1583, at Prague, a child of the Brethren's Church, to which both his parents belonged and in which he was educated until the death of his father. After that his uncle sent him to the Jesuit College at Olmütz, where he joined the Catholic Church. Through Charles von Zerotin, who had married his sister, he was recommended for military service in which he distinguished himself. Ferdinand's cause he espoused with great enthusiasm and success and received the domain of Friedland as a reward. He grew enormously rich, partly by his first marriage, but chiefly through speculations in confiscated estates. In 1622 he was created a Count, in 1623 a Prince, and in 1624 Duke of Friedland. In the following year he raised and maintained an army, at his own expense, of which he became the absolute commander and with which he helped to defeat the Protestant forces.

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themselves speak of it; but forcibly adds: "We in our day can only look up to the devoted faith of the members of the Unity as it showed itself even in the period of the Revolution." The position that there was a gross decline and a consequent judgment ought therefore to be given up. There would be just as much reason for saying that the St. Bartholomew massacre was a punishment sent upon the Huguenots.

CHAPTER L.

The Bohemian and Moravian Branches of the Unitas Fratrum re-organized, with Lissa as a Centre.
A. D. 1628–1636.

The exiled Brethren hold together.—Emigrate to Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, Prussia and Silesia.—Poland their chief Refuge.—The Reformed of Cujavia join the Unitas Fratrum.—Bishop Mikolajewski.—Lissa and its History.—The Leszcynski Family.—The Unity re-organized at Lissa.—Other Centres.—Two Provinces.—The Exiled Ministers.—Bishop Paliurus.—Gustavus Adolphus.—Prague again in the Hands of the Protestants.—Martini.—Death of Sigismund and Election of Vladislaus.—Bishop Cyrill.—Synod of 1632.—New Bishops.—Justinus, Prokop, Comenius, and Fabricius.—Synod of 1633.—New Bishops.—Orminius and Rybinski.—Collection in Switzerland.—Lutherans at Lissa and Martini's Persecutions.—Death of Leszcynski and Zerotin.

THE expatriation of the Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia was an event which brought out in beautiful relief the character of their Unity. Its principles had been incorporated, as Gindely well says, "with their flesh and blood." To these principles they tenaciously clung; and reorganization was their common purpose. Hence they did not, like many of their fellow Protestants, scatter into all parts of Germany, but held together as far as possible and took their way to countries in which they might reintroduce the system of their fathers. Such countries were Poland, where their Church still exercised no mean influence; Hungary, where the Peace of Vienna

(1606), which secured the rights of the Protestants, was in force, however often the Catholics attempted to break it; Transylvania, whose enlightened Prince Rakoczy was himself an adherent of the Evangelical faith; Prussia, where Protestantism prevailed; and Silesia in which dukedom were several large estates owned by members of the Unity. The compact mass of the Brethren coming into these countries, exiles for conscience' sake but intent upon maintaining their venerable usages, awakened respect and sympathy.[1]

Poland offered particular advantages. In that kingdom an important occurrence had recently taken place. The Reformed of Cujavia, in consequence of the oppression they were suffering at the hands of the Romish Bishop Rozrazewski, conceived the plan of uniting with the Brethren. The first overture was made at the Synod of Ostrorog, in 1620, and met with favor; seven years later the union was consummated, at another synod held at Ostrorog, in December of 1627. On that occasion Daniel Mikolajewski, the senior or superintendent of the Reformed, and Jacob Gembicki, their consenior, together with the seven Cujavian parishes that remained to them, formally and in a body joined the Unitas Fratrum, which thus gained several thousand members. At the same time Mikolajewski was consecrated to the episcopacy by Bishops Martin Gratian Gertich and John Turnovius.[2] From such an increase of power among the Polish Brethren the exiles reaped their share of good.

The most important benefit which Poland conferred upon them was a new and prosperous seat for the government of the Church.

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[1] Gindely's Comenius, p. 483.

[2] Lukaszewicz, pp. 146 and 147; Fischer, II. p. 157; Regenvolscius, pp. 120 and 322. Plitt, whom Croeger follows, totally misunderstands the occurrence and lets the entire Polish branch of the Unitas Fratrum unite with the Reformed Church. He further teaches, that the exiled Brethren did not re-organize. Hence according to his view, the Unitas Fratrum, in all its parts, came to an end in 1627. Even Burkhardt in his Zinzendorf u. die Brüdergemeine, p. 3, asserts the same thing, although he says nothing

In the Prussian province of Posen, forming a part of the territory unrighteously wrested from Poland in 1772 and 1793, there is a town called Lissa, with nearly twelve thousand inhabitants, and a history stretching back to the tenth century. At that time it constituted a small village known as Lesczyna, which name was gradually changed into Leszno, or Lissa.[3] This village was the centre of a domain presented by Mieczslaw of Poland to Baron Philip von Perszten, or Bernstein, who belonged to the escort of the Duke's Bohemian bride and is said to have stood sponsor at his baptism (965). Perszten remained in Poland, becoming the progenitor of an illustrious family which, in the fourteenth century, adopted the patronymic of Leszcynski. "Whoever," says Balbin, "knows nothing of the House of Leszcynski, knows nothing of Poland."[4]

In 1534 Lissa was raised to the rank of a town, and in 1548, increased rapidly through the influx of the Brethren whom Ferdinand the First had banished from Bohemia.[5] The decree of the Polish King, forbidding them to remain in his dominions, did not materially hinder the prosperity of the place. Many of them returned; others were added to their

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about a union with the Reformed, but represents the Polish branch as succumbing, in the year named, to the machinations of the Jesuits. This whole view of the case is unhistoric. We refer to it merely in order to explain why the history which we give, from 1628 to 1722, will be found to differ, in its leading points, from that commonly presented by Moravian writers.

[3] Lissa is situated in a wide plain, about forty-two miles south-west of the city of Posen. Its original name means "a hazel-bush." Lissa is the name given to the town by the Germans.

[4] Balbin's Epitome, Lib. II. Cap. 7.

[5] Tradition says that the exiled Brethren reached Fürstenwalde, a village near Lissa, on the twenty-sixth of August, 1548, and there set up a temporary camp. In memory of their safe arrival it became customary to undertake, on that day, a pilgrimage to that village, where religious services were held. This custom is still kept up in a modified form. The twenty-sixth of August is the day for an annual picnic and popular festival at Fürstenwalde. Religious services have, long since, been dropped and few know the origin of the festival.

number; and in 1552 the proprietary, Count Raphael the Fourth Leszcynski, together with his whole family, joined their communion. Under his auspices a German parish was organized, about 1555, a church-edifice built, and a school established. At a later time a Polish parish grew into existence. The Leszcynski family became warm adherents and powerful patrons of the Unity. Raphael the Fourth was succeeded by his son, Count Andrew, and Andrew by his son, Raphael the Fifth, who had been educated at German, French and Italian universities, was an accomplished scholar, and a godly man. Even the Catholic King esteemed him and constituted him Palatine of Belz.[6] He was the proprietary at the time of the Anti-Reformation; and while he welcomed the Brethren to all his domains, they instinctively turned to Lissa and made that town their rallying-place.

Thither came, on the eighth of February, 1628, the two remaining Bishops of the Bohemian and Moravian Provinces, Erastus and Cyrill, the latter in company of his son-in-law, Amos Comenius. Bishop Gertich had previously established his seat at Lissa (1624), and in his house both Cyrill and Comenius found a home.[7] These three Bishops, in conjunction with their colleague Turnovius, who seems to have been a resident of Thorn, re-organized the Executive Council, of which Gertich became the President. They set up the archives that had been brought from Bohemia. They opened a publication office (1629), which was put in charge of Matthias Theodore Krokocinsky, and after his death (1632), of Daniel Vetter, whose assistants were Krokocinsky's sons.[8] They established a Bohemian parish in addition to the two already existing and inaugurated, with hearts full of gratitude, the

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[6] Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XXVI.

[7] Criegern's Comenius, p. 30.

[8] Müller's MS. Notes. Krokocinsky had had charge of the Kralitz press in Moravia; he was present at the marriage of Comenius at Brandeis, and came to Lissa in 1627. His press was the one which had been in use in the Polish Province since 1605. It was supplied with Greek and Hebrew type, and was the first in Poland to print in antique letters.

worship of God in the language of the exiles. This memorable occasion is described by Comenius as follows:

"Our chief place of refuge was Lissa, a city pointed out to us by the finger of God himself. It constituted a Segor, whither all godly Lots took their way; a Pella, whither the Lord brought us out of Jerusalem, when His judgments burst upon that city. At Lissa we enjoyed a public and peaceful worship, rejoicing like Jonah beneath his gourd, when it sheltered him from the great heat of the sun, and like Paul, when he was saved from shipwreck and hospitably entertained by the inhabitants of Malta. We opened our worship at Lissa with souls famishing for the want of God's Word and with voices that rang out for joy. Many gentry and common people and nearly fifty of our ministers were present."[9]

Count Leszcynski had done his part to make Lissa an ecclesiastical centre. In 1624 he had changed its school into a gymnasium or college, and by a patent, dated September the twenty-eighth, 1626, had given it a handsome endowment, constituting John Rybinski its first Rector and appointing three other teachers.[10] After Ostrorog, which had so long been the chief seat of the Polish Province, fell into the hands of the Catholics (1637), Lissa became the centre of the entire Unitas Fratrum. The Polish archives were united with the Bohemian; the library was presented to the gymnasium; and the Theological Seminary transferred to Lissa. The town grew so rapidly that, in 1631, it was constituted a city.[11]

Wlodawa, one of Leszcynski's estates, on the Bug, in Lithuania, and Shocken, a domain of Count Andrew Rej, who was a member of the Unity, formed other important rallying-places. These two noblemen alone received on their possessions several thousand exiles.[12] The rest settled in the

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[9] Comenius' Manualnjk, Amsterdam, 1658 (A Hand-Book of the Marrow of the Holy Bible).

[10] Lissaer Gymnasium, pp. VI and XXX, etc.

[11] It numbered two thousand male heads of families and had a population of over ten thousand.

[12] Lukaszewicz, p. 148.

parishes of their Polish brethren. But they did not amalgamate with them. In every instance they began a separate organization.

Such an influx of heretics alarmed the Catholic clergy. They prevented the Brethren from gaining access to the royal cities; and in the spring of 1627 held a synod at Petrikau in order to devise repressive measures. One of these was a petition to the King, to be presented at the next Diet, beseeching him "not to permit heretical ungodliness and blasphemies to bring the wrath of God upon the fatherland." [13] Inspite of such efforts new churches were built, in course of time, at Lissa, Orzeszkowa, Sieroslaw, and other places.

The chief seats in Hungary were at Skalic, a frontier town fifty-four miles north-west of Neitra, where a church was erected in 1650; at Lednic, to the north-east of Skalic; and at Pucho, on the Waag. In Transylvania the most important centre was at Saros-Patak, the residence of Prince Rakoczy; in Silesia there were parishes at Karolath, Kuttlau, Militsch, and Freistadt.

It thus appears that there existed two Provinces: the one, the Polish, with perhaps seventy parishes; the other, the Province of Bohemian-Moravian exiles, with about one hundred parishes scattered through Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, Silesia, and Prussia.[14] All these parishes kept up the ancient order, ritual and discipline; established parsonages as in Bohemia and Moravia; and in every other way maintained intact the system of the Unity.[15]

Besides the two Bishops more than one hundred ministers came to Poland.[16] The names of a few of them have been preserved. At Lissa labored Paul Fabricius, John Felin, John Joram, Matthias Theodore Krokocinsky, Matthias Prokop, and Daniel Vetter,[17] together with Martin Krusius, a

[13] Lukaszewicz, p. 148.

[14] Gindely's Comenius, p. 483.

[15] Regenvolscius, p. 67.

[16] Lukaszewicz, p. 148.

[17] Daniel Vetter, or Strejc, was the fourth son of George Strejc and spent

Bohemian teacher, who was subsequently ordained to the priesthood; at Thorn, Adam Hartmann; and in a parish near Sendomir, John Prokopius. Of the clergymen who went to Hungary the following are known: Fabin Mezricky, at Frencin; John Ephraim Hradicky, John Sapor, and Laurin, at Puchow; John Solin and the notorious Nicholas Drabik, at Lednic; John Efronius and Paul Vetter, at Skalic.[18]

Synods were held, as of old, at which the affairs of the Unity and its schools were discussed, measures adopted to counteract the persecutions of the Jesuits, and steps taken to relieve the temporal necessities of the exiles.[19] The episcopal succession was carefully kept up. On the seventh of March, 1629, Bishop Gertich, the President of the Council, died at Lissa, aged sixty-one years. His successor was Bishop Turnovius. But he too was called to his eternal rest, a few weeks later, on the eighth of April, soon after his return to Thorn from the funeral of his colleague. In the following July the Synod convened at Lissa and elected Paul Paliurus; on the sixth, the anniversary of John Hus, he was consecrated by Erastus, Cyrill and Mikolajewski.[20]

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his youth at Namiest and Kralitz, where he learned the art of printing. In 1620 he was appointed instructor in the Bohemian language to King Frederick's son. Subsequently he accompanied him to Holland, where he left his service and took up his abode at Leyden. Thence, in company of John Salmon, he undertook a voyage to Iceland. On his return to Holland he published several Bohemian books, and subsequently went to Lissa where he was ordained to the priesthood and took charge of the publication office in 1632.

[18] Müller's MS. Notes. John Felin was transferred from Lissa to Puchow in 1650, and died in 1662; Hradicky died at Puchow in 1658 and was buried on the second of June, Mezricky preaching his funeral sermon; Krokocinsky died at Lissa in 1632; Sapor in 1649.

[19] The proceedings of the Synod, from 1632 to 1636 are given in the Dekreten.

[20] Paliurus, who in conjunction with Mikolajewski presided over the Polish Province, was born in Moravia and educated at German and Swiss universities. His first appointment was as Rector of the school at Lobsenia; subsequently he labored, for twenty years, with great faithfulness in the parish at Grebocin. The translation of the Polish Bible, published at

The cause of Protestantism seemed to have succumbed to Ferdinand's power and helplessly awaited the execution of his Edict of Restoration; but in 1630 it suddenly revived. Like an eagle from his northern eyrie Gustavus Adolphus came swooping down upon Germany. The battle of Leipzig (September the seventh, 1631) changed the whole current of the war. Crushing was the defeat of the imperialists. The Elector of Saxony, who had formed an alliance with the Swedish King, sent an army into Bohemia; Prague was taken; the Regent, the Archbishop, the Catholic nobles, fled in dismay; the Jesuits were banished; the Consistory was restored; once more the true faith spread its benign influences throughout the capital.

On the twenty-first of November, the day after the arrival of the Elector, a thanksgiving service took place in the Thein church. To the same sanctuary were reverently conveyed, in a common coffin, the twelve skulls which, for ten years, had made the Bridge Tower a ghastly spectacle; and after a memorial oration by Martini, removed for secret burial.[21]

Samuel Martini, of Drazovin, a bigoted Lutheran and implacable enemy of the Brethren, was appointed Administrator of the new Consistory, in which body, through his influence, they were not represented. Nor was the Bethlehem Chapel restored to them. Nevertheless the news of what had transpired at Prague, filled their hearts with joyful praise and awakened the hope of a speedy return to their native country.

Such expectations were not fulfilled. For six months only did Protestantism maintain itself at Prague. On the twenty-fifth of May, 1632, Wallenstein, whom the Emperor by the most humiliating concessions had induced to re-enter his service from which the suspicions of the Catholic princes had

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Dantzic in 1632, has been incorrectly ascribed to him. That Bible was a mere revision undertaken by Mikolajewski and John Turnovius, of an older version. Fischer, II. p. 184.

[21] The skulls were interred in the St. Salvator church.

driven him, entered the city in triumph. Again were the Evangelical clergymen banished; once more did the Archbishop and the Jesuits return.

Prior to these unfortunate changes, on the thirtieth of April, of the same year, Sigismund the Third, the Jesuit King, died at Warsaw, after a reign of forty-five years. Although the policy which he followed during this long period, constituted the real origin of the decline and fall of Poland, the prospect immediately after his death began to brighten. He was succeeded by his oldest son, Vladislaus the Fourth, a conscientious and tolerant monarch who tried to prevent the evils which he had recognized and mourned over in his father's time. When swearing to observe the *Pacta Conventa* and while repeating the words, "I will maintain peace with the Dissenters," Albert Radziwill, the Chancellor of Lithuania, interrupted him and said: "Your Majesty surely has no such intention!" Vladislaus replied: "What I swear with my lips, I swear with the full intention of carrying out."[22] It is true that he could not prevent the machinations of the Jesuits and that the Protestants continued to suffer oppression; but as far as his power went he faithfully promoted the best interests of his subjects whatever their faith.

In the same month in which he ascended the throne of Poland, Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of Sweden, fell at Lützen (November the sixteenth, 1632). This was a severe blow to the Protestant cause. In as much, however, as his Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, continued the war, the Brethren still hoped that it would eventually bring about their restoration to the seats of their fathers. Of such hopes the frequent Synods which they held and at which they prepared their Church for a return from its exile, were an evidence.

One of the most important convened at Lissa in the autumn of 1632. The first subject of deliberation was the episcopacy. While in the act of preaching, Cyrill, on the thirtieth of May, 1632, had been stricken with paralysis and gathered to his

[22] Lukaszewicz, p. 157.

fathers.[23] Three Bishops survived: Erastus, Mikolajewski, and Paliurus. To this number the Synod resolved to add four more; three for the Bohemian-Moravian Province, and one for the Polish. For the former were consecrated, on the sixth of October, by Erastus and his two colleagues: Laurentius Justinus; Matthias Prokop, a man of singular rectitude and simplicity; and Amos Comenius, whose fame was spreading far and wide: for the latter, Paul Fabricius, the ex-assessor of the Prague Consistory.[24] The duties of President, since the death of Turnovius, had been discharged by Erastus; now he was formally appointed to this office. Comenius was constituted archivist, or *notarius*, and superintendent of schools. As new members of the Council, and therefore as Assistant Bishops, were set apart Hartmann, Stadius and Sapor. Hartmann, who had charge of the church and school at Thorn, and Stadius, who lived at Lissa, were commissioned to prepare young men for a theological course at foreign universities.[25]

Publications formed another subject which engaged the attention of the Synod. Comenius was intrusted with the editing of the *Ratio Disciplinæ*; Stadius with the preparation of a Bohemian Concordance; Hartmann and Joram with the further translation of the *Loci Communes Theologici*, begun by Bishop Koneczny. To Hartmann was also assigned the collection of additional materials for the *History of Persecutions*. The original Bohemian manuscript of this work was

[23] He died at the age of sixty-three years. His brethren mourned for him with deep sorrow and published a volume containing memorial poems in Polish, Greek, German, Bohemian and Latin: Lachrymae super insperato ex hac mortalitate obitu, etc. Lukaszewicz p. 148.

[24] Justinus was born in 1570 and became a minister of the Bohemian Province; in the Anti-Reformation he found a refuge in Hungary, where he took charge of a parish. Paul Fabricius was born in 1590 at Straznic, in Moravia; when driven from Bohemia he settled at Meissen, in Saxony, whence he came to Lissa.

[25] In 1635 Hartmann, at the particular request of Prince Radziwill, who was charmed with a sermon which he heard him preach, accepted, with permission of the Council, a position in Lithuania; but as it did not prove to be what he had expected, he relinquished it in the following year.

in the hands of the Synod which resolved to publish a Latin translation.[26]

Another important Synod took place at Ostrorog in 1633. The episcopacy again claimed attention. Two Bishops had passed away since the last meeting: Paliurus, on the twenty-seventh of November, 1632, at Ostrorog, aged sixty-three years; and Mikolajewski, on the fourth of April, 1633, at Dembritz, aged seventy-three years. Both of them belonged to the Polish Province, and in their stead were consecrated, by Erastus and his colleagues, on the seventeenth of April, Martin Orminius and John Rybinski.

Previous to his consecration Orminius, a native of Wieruszewo, had labored with great faithfulness and success in various parishes of Cujavia, Prussia, Great Poland and Lithuania. Rybinski, a son of Bishop Matthias Rybinski, received his preparatory training at Lissa and Thorn, and completed his studies at Heidelberg and other German universities. After spending some time in Belgium, where, in 1618, he was present at the famous Synod of Dort, he visited France and England, and returned to Poland in 1623. He became the first Rector of the College at Lissa; and after his ordination to the priesthood, in 1625, filled besides the office of Polish preacher. His scholarship was of a high order; his proficiency in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and several modern languages extraordinary. In 1629 he left Lissa and labored as a pastor at Kwilcz, Grembocin, and Ostrorog.[27]

The temporal condition of the exiles caused anxious deliberations. It was growing worse. Many of them had been obliged to sacrifice all their property and could find no means of support. A legacy of four thousand Schock Groschen left, in 1630, by the Baroness Esther Sadowsky for distribution among them, proved timely but had been exhausted.[28] To the aid

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[26] Dekrete d. B. U., cited by Czerwenka, II. p. 651; Regenvolscius, pp. 232 and 237; Müller's MS. Notes; Plitt's Bischofthum.

[27] Fischer, II. pp. 343 and 344. Lissaer Gymnasium, pp. VI. and VII.

[28] Gindely's Comenius, p. 532. Four thousand Schock Groschen were equivalent to about $36,000.

which the Polish Brethren had been giving, there must necessarily be a limit. The Synod therefore fell upon the idea of soliciting the Reformed churches of Switzerland for help. An appeal was prepared by the Bishops in the course of which they said:

"The offerings which you will give, will be distributed with such care that each recipient will consider himself obligated to thank you through us. There are more than one hundred ministers engaged in the work of God and about four thousand others, who need assistance. Among them may be found widows and orphans; also families of rank and formerly of such wealth as renders it almost incredible that their state should suddenly have become so distressing, or that they should be left in it by their relations, unless upon the supposition that hatred of their religion and the spirit of Antichrist can extinguish even natural affection."[29]

With this letter John Abdon, a clergyman, and Paul Strakowski, a layman, were sent to Switzerland. They brought back an insignificant amount, equivalent to but a few hundred Polish florins. Hence a number of the exiles were constrained to leave Great Poland and seek work in Little Poland and Lithuania. In the following year (1634) the plague broke out and carried off not a few of them. At a later time the necessities of the survivors and of the Unity in general were again relieved through a legacy, left by Baron Nicholas Kocourovsky, formerly of Kuttenberg. His entire estate fell to the Church.[30]

Meantime a body of Lutherans, whom persecutions had driven from Silesia, arrived at Lissa. The Brethren gave them a warm welcome. But they failed to reciprocate; declined the use of the church generously offered them; and insisted upon having one of their own. Count Leszcynski yielded to their importunities and instructed Comenius to draw up a concession, which defined their relation to the Brethren on the broad and liberal basis of the *Consensus Sendomiriensis*. But even now the Lutherans stood coldly aloof.

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[29] Lukaszewicz, p. 149 and Note 1, where the entire letter is given.

[30] Gindely's Comenius, p. 532.

Martini, who had found a refuge in Saxony, adopted a still more reprehensible course. The afflictions weighing upon him and all the exiles in common, did not soften his bigoted heart. In quick succession he published three polemical works against the Unity (1635, 1636 and 1638); and not satisfied with this, induced the Elector to banish all those of its members settled in his dominions who would refuse to accept the Lutheran liturgy. Some yielded; others forsook their new homes and joined their brethren at Lissa.[31]

In bright contrast with such outrages practiced by Protestants upon Protestants, was the tendency of the Synod which met in that town, on the twenty-fifth of November, 1636.

A Scotchman, John Dury, deeply impressed with the injury done to the cause of religion by the dissensions and divisions prevailing among its followers, conceived the idea of bringing about a union of all Evangelical Churches. To this purpose he devoted more than fifty years of his life, traveling over the Continent of Europe and consulting both with princes and theologians. Of these latter many favored his undertaking, which was warmly sustained by several bishops of the Anglican Church also.[32]

That the project enlisted the ardent sympathy of Comenius, may well be supposed. It was brought before the Synod, which body, in view of its great importance, appointed a day of prayer and fasting throughout the Unity; resolved to advocate it, especially among men of influence; and determined, in case a general congress of Protestants should convene, to send accredited deputies.[33]

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[31] Benham's Comenius, pp, 45 and 46; Regenvolscius, p. 203. About this time the Polish and the German congregations of the Brethren worshiped in the church built in 1555; the congregation of Bohemian exiles in the chapel of the College; the Lutherans in their new church. Thirty clergymen in all were living at Lissa.

[32] John Dury, often called Duraeus, was born at Edinburgh either in 1595, or 1596: began his work in 1628; and died at Cassel, September the twenty-eighth, 1680.

[33] Gindely's Comenius, p. 493.

In the same year in which this Synod convened the Unity lost two of its most illustrious nobles. The one was Count Raphael the Fifth Leszcynski, who died at Lissa, in the full assurance of eternal life. Comenius delivered the funeral sermon, in the course of which he said:

"The Count was a pious and godly man, who held to that pure Evangelical faith which is firmly founded on God's Word and set forth in our Bohemian Confession, whereof he was a mighty patron. He faithfully promoted the glory of God, protected, supported and in every way furthered the interests of the Church and the School. The public worship of God he never neglected without cause, much less a participation in the holy Supper of the Lord; to the servants of Christ he listened with pleasure, loved and honored them. In short, whatever his hand found to do in propagating the cause of God and extending the Evangelical faith, he did with a joyful and willing mind; and received a rich reward. I will not multiply words. But this may truthfully be said of our beloved Count and Lord, that he was an upright Eliakim, God's faithful servant, a father among his subjects, a strong pillar of his own noble House, of his country, and of the Church of God."[34]

On leaving Moravia, Baron Charles von Zerotin had taken up his abode at Breslau, in Silesia. There he spent the remaining years of his illustrious life, occasionally visiting his estate of Prerau. In the autumn of 1636 he felt that his end was drawing near. Not in a strange land, but on his native soil, he wished to die. For the last time he journeyed to Prerau. From the top of its castle a large part of Moravia can be seen. Zerotin ascended the tower and once more looked upon the country which he loved so well. The valley of the March stretching far away to the Hungarian frontier, the fruitful plain of the Hanna, with Brünn in the distance, the Sudetic mountains, the Carpathian range, Olmütz, Prossnitz, Fulneck, and many other towns where his brethren had lived and labored, lay before him. As he stood and gazed upon this familiar landscape his heart went out in prayer to God, invoking upon Moravia the richest blessings for all time to come. Soon after he died, on the ninth of October.[35] His remains

[34] Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XXVI.

[35] Chlumecky's Zerotin, p. 864.

CAROLUS LIBER
BARO a ZIEROTIN
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were conveyed to Brandeis on the Adler and entombed in the family vault.[36]

[36] In view of the fact that the remains of so many distinguished men of the Unitas Fratum are resting in neglected graves, or scattered and even destroyed, it is a blessed thing to know, that they are in God's keeping and will, through His power, be brought to light on His great day.

Zerotin's body was encased in a copper casket on which was engraved a lengthy Bohemian inscription. After the casket had been deposited, the vault was sealed; and for eighty-eight years the remains slept there undisturbed. In 1724, when his name and career had been almost forgotten at Brandeis, one of its inhabitants, allured by dark sayings of solid silver coffins hidden in the vault, broke it open and found a zinc casket. When this became known, the vault was officially explored, at the bidding of the magistrates and the Catholic priest. Eleven zinc and two copper coffins appeared, containing eleven bodies, among them those of the parents of Charles Zerotin, as also a large number of jewels and other valuables. The question as to who should own these coffins and jewels—that they should be left in the vault was an idea which no one seems to have entertained—brought on a law suit between the Catholic priest at Brandeis and a descendant of the Zerotin family, that dragged through twenty-three years and at last resulted in the following decision: Count Lewis von Zerotin was to receive the jewels and other valuables upon paying 500 florins to the church at Brandeis; this church was to receive the zinc and copper coffins. On the twelfth of May, 1747, this decision was carried out. The bones, stripped of everything, were placed in one common coffin made of oak and remained in the vault. About 1767 this coffin fell to pieces, the bones dropped out, and lay scattered through the vault. It was open and accessible to all. At a later time the stones of which it was constructed attracted attention; it was torn away; with its stones four small houses were built; and what was left of the bones of the Zerotin family—many bones were stolen, others lost—was buried in a private garden. Chronik von Böhmen, II. pp. 483–486.

On our visit to Brandeis in 1879, we found no traces whatever of the vault, but in an orchard, the property of a peasant, on the other side of the garden-wall mentioned in a previous note, a small obelisk surmounted by an urn, and showing the following subscription, which is evidently of modern origin: "From the bones of the fathers will come forth a blossom that will diligently bloom, and out of their deeds will grow a glorious fruit."

Charles von Zerotin left no descendants. His two daughters, Bohunka and Helena, died before him; his wife Catharine von Wallenstein survived him. She was buried at Trebic. Her illustrious brother met his violent death at Eger, February the twenty-fourth, 1634, two years prior to the decease of her husband.

CHAPTER LI.

The Labors of Amos Comenius and the History of the Unitas Fratrum from the Synod of 1636 *to the Peace of Westphalia. A. D.* 1628–1648.

Comenius and the Lissa College.—His views on Education.—His Correspondents and Didactic Works.—His Janua Linguarum, Sermons, and Pansophia.—A great literary Scheme.—Visits England.—Offered the Presidency of Harvard College in Massachusetts.—Lewis de Geer.—Comenius at Elbing.—Death and Election of Bishops.—The Colloquium Charitativum at Thorn.—Comenius appointed President of the Council.—The Peace of Westphalia and its Results.

On his arrival at Lissa, Amos Comenius found employment in the College, of which, in the course of a few years, he became the Rector.[1] At his instance the Synod of 1635 devised for it a more complete system of instruction. Abraham Scultetus' work on Ethics was introduced as a text-

[1] A complete account of the labors of Comenius would fill a volume; we present them merely in so far as they form a part of the history of the Unity. From this point of view the most important source is Gindely's Comenius.

The Rectors of the College prior to Comenius were: Rybinski, 1624–1629; Andrew Wengierski, 1629–1633; and Michael Henrici. The year in which Comenius took charge is not known, but Henrici's rectorship continued for only a short period.

Andrew Wengierski, whom we have so frequently cited by his *nom de plume* of Regenvolscius, was born in 1600, and descended from a noble but impoverished Polish family. He received his education at Lissa, Thorn and several Dutch universities. In 1629 he returned to Poland, and was appointed Rector of the College, as also preacher of the Polish congregation. Subsequently he entered the service of the Reformed Church, and became Superintendent of the Lublin District in Little Poland. In 1644 he lost

book; Comenius' *Janua Linguarum* became the basis for the study of languages; in their daily intercourse the students were to use the Latin tongue; religious exercises were to take place every morning in the chapel.[2] An interesting relic is the laws of the College, evidently drawn up by Comenius. They show that the Christian religion elevated its tone and shaped its character.[3]

While connected with this school he began to develop his views on education. He was moved to do this both by the defects of the existing system and an intense love for his native country and Church. Amidst a thousand discouragements he ceased not to hope that the Bohemian exiles would return; that the Unity of the Brethren would be resuscitated in its ancient seats; that from the ruins of old forms would issue the dawn of a new time for the Church universal. To prepare the rising generation for this better era was his steadfast purpose. He meant to lay the foundation of an educational system, simple in its structure, suitable to the minds of children, exercising their faculties, fitting them for the most important avocations of life and preparing them for their eternal mission. "This noble patriot and distinguished philanthropist," says Zoubek, "was convinced that if Bohemia and Moravia were to be rejuvenated, their schools must, first of all, be entirely remodeled. From the school there should proceed a new people; from the family a new school."[4]

The fundamental idea underlying his projected reform may be defined in his own language as follows: "Children must learn not only words, but also objects along with the

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all his property in consequence of the invasion of the Cossacks. His valuable library was totally destroyed; a part of it was thrown into a well, another part was used as fuel for the fire at which the marauders roasted their meat. He died at Orzeszkowo, in 1649. Lissaer Gymnasum, p. vii; Krasinski, II. p. 288.

[2] Zoubeck's Comenius, p. xxvi, etc.; Dekrete d. B. U., cited by Czerwenka, p. 615; Criegern's Comenius, pp. 34 and 35.

[3] Lissaer Gymnasium, Beilage VI, p. xxxi, where these laws are given in full.

[4] Zoubek's Comenius, pp. xix and xx; Reichel's Geschichte, p. 94.

words. Not the memory alone ought to be cultivated, but likewise the reasoning powers, the will, the affections. This should be done from childhood up. Children should be taught to think clearly and to order their thoughts properly; at the same time an affectionate intercourse with them should be kept."[5] Comenius thus became in matters of education, as Laurie calls him, "a Sense-Realist—the first great and really consistent Realist."[6]

He began to labor in two ways. He opened a correspondence with learned men in various countries; and composed several educational works. Among his correspondents the most enthusiastic was Samuel Hartlib, a merchant, scholar and philanthropist of London, the intimate friend of John Milton who addressed to him his treatise on Education;[7] among his works the most important were "The Great Didactic," "The Mother's School," and "The People's School," all written in Bohemian, because they were primarily intended for his countrymen.[8] That work, however, which gave the best exemplification of his educational principles and contributed most largely to his fame, was the *Janua Linguarum*

[5] Zoubek's Comenius. Benham's Comenius, p. 39.

[6] Laurie's Comenius, p. 36.

[7] Hartlib was born about the beginning of the seventeenth century. His father was a Polish merchant of German extraction settled at Elbing in Prussia; his mother an English woman, daughter of an English merchant of Dantzic. "Everybody knew Hartlib," writes Masson in his Life of Milton. "By the common consent of all who have explored the intellectual and social history of England in the seventeenth century, he is one of the most interesting and memorable figures of that whole period." Laurie's Comenius, pp. 39 and 40.

[8] In 1653 the Didactic was reproduced in Latin by Comenius himself, and published at Amsterdam in 1657. It was translated into German, Polish and Croatian. The Bohemian MS. was discovered at Lissa in 1841, but the Austrian censors of the press forbade its publication, because Comenius was a Bohemian exile! It finally appeared in 1849, through the exertions of an association connected with the Bohemian Museum at Prague. The Mother's School was translated into German and Latin, and appeared in 1633, 1653 and 1657; the Bohemian original was not published until 1856. Daniel Benham issued an English translation in 1858. The People's School appeared in Latin, in 1657, at Amsterdam; the Bohemian text has not yet been discovered.

Reserata, or "The Gate of Languages Unlocked." It appeared at Lissa in 1631, and consisted of one thousand sentences, presenting a summary of the essential parts of the Latin language and, at the same time, a bird's-eye view of the whole field of human knowledge. A vocabulary was appended. This book met with a success which is almost unparalleled, and made the name of Comenius known throughout Europe, in various parts of Asia, and in the English Colonies of America. At the instance of the Synod of 1635 he prepared a Latin and Bohemian edition; others translated the work into German, Polish, Swedish, Dutch, English, Spanish, Italian, French, Hungarian, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Mongolian.[9]

Comenius' growing fame was a source of satisfaction to the Brethren. It spread a halo around their Church, whose activity, sufferings and endurance began to excite universal attention and sympathy.[10] In order to give him as much time as possible for his literary labors the Synod of 1636 enacted: that as Bishop he was to watch over the discipline and preach to the Bohemian congregation at Lissa; as Rector to have the general oversight of the College; while all the other duties of his office were to be committed to the Assistant Bishop Martin Gertich.[11]

In his sermons Comenius admonished the Bohemian exiles as a father and comforted them as a friend. In one of these discourses he says:[12]

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[9] In some of these editions the sentences are presented in parallel columns in two languages; in others in three; in still others in four; each language having a vocabulary. We have in our library an edition of 1667, in Latin Bohemian and German; another, of 1644, in Latin, German, French and Italian. Besides these editions the Malin Library contains one of 1643 in Latin only; one of 1656 in Latin and English; one of 1667, in the same languages; and one of 1805, in Latin and German.

[10] Gindely's Comenius, p. 484.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 487.

[12] Twenty-one of his Bohemian sermons, on the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, preached in 1636 at Lissa, were published at Amsterdam, in 1661; the extract which follows is taken from the fifth of these sermons. Criegern's Comenius, pp. 38 and 39.

"O flock driven from your native fields for Christ's sake, let your hearts rejoice! Amidst the trials which have come upon His truth in your fatherland, you have endured to the end. Let the cross of Christ, which you are deemed worthy to bear, be more precious to you than all the kingdoms of the world in their glory and riches. Behold, He to whom you have been faithful, your blessed Lord, will give you, in fellowship with himself, the everlasting kingdom! Have you been robbed of your earthly country?—the heavenly awaits you. Are you looked upon as the footstool and refuse of mankind?—He is preparing for you a place with Him on His throne. Are you suffering hardships, hunger, thirst?—He will provide for you the table of bliss that you may eat and drink in His kingdom. Blessed therefore is he who abides in Christ; blessed he who stands fast amidst every temptation."

In 1635 Comenius informed the Synod, that he was engaged in preparing a Christian *Pansophia,* that is, a work on "Universal Knowledge" from a Christian point of view. The Synod heartily wished him success. His Pansophic project, which was intimately connected with his didactic labors, embraced three things: first, an encyclopedic grouping of human sciences and arts in their totality; second, that philosophy which was to elevate the knowledge of these sciences and arts to the highest idea, to the centre of all things, to God; third, a practical part which should bring all the affairs and relations of men into order and develop them to a complete harmony. These three things, in an inseparable union and mutually supplementing each other, should be carried into practice through an appropriate and well-ordered system of schools.[13] On this subject, at Hartlib's request, Comenius wrote him a long epistle. Hartlib, without the consent of Comenius, published it at Oxford in 1637, under the title *Porta Sapientiæ Reserata,* or "The Gate of Knowledge Unlocked." It caused a profound sensation among the learned of Europe; many approved of the plans which it set forth, others criticised them. In order to meet the objections of the latter Comenius issued an additional treatise giving a more complete exposition of his views.[14] At the same time it was

[13] Zoubek's Comenius, p. xxvii.

[14] Conatuum pansophicorum dilucidatio in gratiam Censorum facta, published in 1638. The title which Comenius himself gave to the epistle published by Hartlib was *Prodromus Pansophiæ,* or "Precursor of Pansophy."

apparent to him, and to all who thought with him, that his Pansophic ideas "could be carried out only by a community or college of learned men, and that this college would have to be a permanent institution for the furtherance of science, and for the authoritative promulgation from time to time of scientific *status quo*." [15]

The immediate result of these Pansophic publications was a large increase of students in the College at Lissa, who flocked from all parts of Poland to enjoy the instructions of so great a celebrity as Comenius had now become, and an invitation from the Government of Sweden to visit that country and reform its schools. This invitation he declined. He hoped rather to secure a wealthy patron through whose aid he could devote himself to a magnificent literary scheme, which he now devised, and employ a number of assistants in carrying it out.[16] But this hope, in so far as the Polish nobility was concerned, was not fulfilled. Hence in 1641 he resigned his rectorship and, with the concurrence of the Executive Council, accepted an invitation which Hartlib had worked out for him from the British Parliament, to come to England.

Comenius reached London on the twenty-first of September, and found that the King, Charles the First, had gone to Scotland and that Parliament had been prorogued for a few weeks. On reassembling in October, this body treated him with great distinction, told him that a Commission of learned men would be appointed to confer with him, and proposed to set apart the revenues and buildings of a college in London, or Winchester, or Chelsea, to which men might be called

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[15] Laurie's Comenius, p. 41.

[16] Of this scheme a draft, in Comenius' own hand-writing, is extant. He says: "I propose to render the study of the sciences, of philosophy and religion, more accessible to all, and to make it more useful in molding human affairs." To this end he projected the following series: Eight works treating of the Latin language; a Pansophic work comprising the entire treasures of human knowledge; a Panhistoria, comprising Biblical History, Natural History, the History of Inventions, of extraordinary Instances of Virtue, of Religious Ceremonies, and Universal History; and a work devoted to Universal Dogmatics.

from various parts of the world and in which they could prosecute their researches, thus carrying out his Pansophic scheme.[17] The hopes of Comenius rose high. In imagination he saw his loftiest ideals realized. But suddenly the prospect grew dark. News reached London of the breaking out of the Irish rebellion and the massacre of the Protestant colonists. The relation between the King and Commons became more and more constrained; and the sittings of the famous Long Parliament began. England was on the eve of mighty convulsions. National affairs absorbed every mind. Comenius was forced to confess that times so troubled did not admit of the projects which he had in view, and left the country greatly disappointed (1642).

In the previous autumn Lewis de Geer, a rich merchant and philanthropist of Nordköping, in Sweden, had offered to become the patron of his literary enterprises. This offer, by permission of the Executive Council, Comenius now accepted. While on the way to Lissa in order to consult with his colleagues, prior to his going to Sweden, he met, probably in Holland, with Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Colony, who tried to induce him to come to America and accept the presidency of Harvard College, which had been founded at Cambridge in 1638. This overture Comenius declined, as also an invitation which reached him from France to visit that country.[18] In August he went to Sweden, where he consulted with his patron, was presented to Queen Christina, the celebrated daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, and

[17] Laurie's Comenius, pp. 42 and 43.

[18] Gindely's Comenius, p. 493. Our authority for the interesting fact that Comenius received an offer of the presidency of Harvard University, as it is now called, is Cotton Mather in his Magnalia Christi Americana, or the Ecclesiastical History of New England, London, 1702. Fourth Book, containing the History of Harvard College, p. 128, where he says: "That brave old man, Johannes Amos Commenius, the Fame of whose Worth hath been Trumpetted as far as more than Three Languages (whereof every one is Endebted unto his *Janua*) could carry it, was agreed withal by our Mr. Winthrop, in his Travels through the Low Countries, to come over into New England and Illuminate this Colledge and Country in the Quality of President: But the Solicitations of the Swedish ambassador, diverting him

formed the acquaintance of Axel Oxenstierna, John Skyte, the Chancellor of the University of Upsala, and John Matthiä, Bishop of the Lutheran State Church; in the following October he began his literary labors, selecting as his place of residence Elbing, a Prussian town on the Baltic Sea. These labors were carried on, in conjunction with four assistants, for well-nigh two years.

Meantime an unusual event was maturing in Poland. Distressed by the frequent complaints which the Protestants brought against the Catholics and the stormy scenes that in consequence disgraced the Diet, Vladislaus the Fourth suggested the idea that an understanding and even some kind of a union might be brought about between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. This project received the support of his Chancellor, George Ossolinski, and was strongly urged by Bartholomew Nigrinus, a religious adventurer, by birth a Socinian, then a Lutheran, next a Calvinist, and finally a Catholic, who assured the King that nothing would be easier than to reconcile the Evangelical Faith with Romanism. Vladislaus consulted the Primate of Poland, Archbishop Matthias Lubienski, and Pope Innocent the Tenth, who both gave their sanction; while a Catholic Provincial Synod, convened at Warsaw in 1643, warmly espoused the scheme. A Colloquy, to take place on the tenth of October, 1644, at Thorn, was accordingly decided upon. To this Colloquy, known as the *Colloquium Charitativum*, the Primate issued letters of invitation. The letter asking the Unitas Fratrum to take part, was addressed to the Rector of the Lissa College. He referred it to the President of the Council, who convened the Synod. This meeting Comenius was summoned to attend.[19] It opened, at Lissa, on the fifteenth of April, 1644. His presence was important. New bishops were to

another way, that Incomparable Moravian became not an American." At that time Mr. Henry Dunster was President, who "fill'd the Overseers with uneasie Fears," an account of "his unhappy entanglement in the snares of Anabaptism."

[19] Benham's Comenius, p. 69.

be consecrated. In his prime and in the midst of his brilliant career Rybinski had died, at Obrzycho, on the thirteenth of September, 1638; while Erastus, having reached more than three-score years and ten, had been called away at Lissa, on the eighth of May, 1643; and Orminius had finished his career on the last day of the same year, at Lissa. In order to fill these vacancies Martin Gertich and John Bythner or Büttner were chosen. They received consecration at the hands of Laurentius Justinus and Comenius. The former had succeeded Erastus in the office of President.[20]

In response to the invitation to send representatives to the *Colloquium Charitativum*, the Synod pledged the co-operation of the Unitas Fratrum, provided its own faith was not to be interfered with.

On the twenty-fourth of August a Union Synod of the Brethren and Reformed took place at Orla. Letters were read from the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Courland, from several Silesian Princes and Prussian cities, and from a number of Protestant Universities, giving their views with regard to the proposed Colloquy. In the opinion of all assembled more time was necessary in order to prepare for it; and a resolution passed asking the King to appoint a later day. To this request he assented and fixed upon the twenty-eighth of August, 1645. Active preparations were now made on all sides. In spring (1645) the Brethren and the Lutherans convened their synods simultaneously at Lissa. The Synod of the Brethren opened on the twenty-third of April, and elected fourteen lay and the following five clerical delegates: Bythner, Comenius, John Felinus, Benjamin Ursinus, George Vechner. Two days later this Synod proceeded, in a body, to the Lutheran church and presented to

[20] Fischer, II. p. 344; Quellen, p. 453; Plitt's Bischofsthum; Regenvolscius, p. 323 and 392. Martin Gertich, a nephew of Bishop Martin Gratian Gertich, was born at Lasswitz in 1691; and educated at Beuthen and Thorn. In 1640 he was appointed German preacher at Lissa, ordained Assistant Bishop and, as we have said, associated with Comenius. Bythner, the son of Bartholomew Bythner, was born in 1602, educated at Thorn, and subsequently had charge of the parishes at Milenczyn, Karmin and Debnica.

the Lutheran Synod a memorial proposing union at Thorn, "as one host," against the common foe. In due time an answer was returned. It was fraternal in its character. Union with the Brethren was desirable; their memorial would be submitted to the Theological Faculty at Wittenberg for its judgment; if this should prove to be favorable the Lutherans would convene a synod at Fraustadt and establish a perpetual fellowship with the Brethren; at Thorn, in any case, the Lutherans would make common cause with them.

The opinion of the Faculty was not favorable. Under no circumstances could the proposed union between the Lutherans and Brethren be allowed, not even temporarily at Thorn. Thus, with ranks that were divided, the Protestants came to the Colloquy.

It opened on the appointed day. There were present twenty-five Catholic delegates, under the leadership of the Bishop of Samogitia; twenty-three delegates, with Gorajski, the Castellan of Kulm, and Bishop John Bythner at their head, representing the Unitas Fratrum and the Reformed Church conjointly; and twenty-eight on the part of the Lutherans. By order of the King, George Ossolinski, the Chancellor of Poland, presided, with John Leszcynski, the Castellan of Gnesen, as vice-president. The meetings were held in the Town-Hall. Vladislaus had given the most minute instructions in relation to the manner of conducting the Colloquy. First each Church was to present its doctrines; then an understanding was to be reached as to the truth or falsity of these doctrines; and finally the ceremonies, or rituals, of the four Churches were to be discussed. However moderate the purpose may be called which these points aimed at, it was not reached. Three months were spent in fruitless and often childish disputes. The Colloquy closed on the twenty-first of November, in a side room of the Town-Hall, and in the presence of a handful of members. Thirty-six sessions had taken place.[21]

[21] Lukascewicz, p. 165–173; Fischer, II. p. 544–247; Krasinski, II. chap. XI.

In the very nature of the case a union, or even an understanding, was impossible. Protestantism and Romanism could coalesce as little as fire and water. The two elements are radically discordant. Indeed an agreement just to both parties was never seriously thought of. The Catholics favored the Colloquy because they imagined that they would gain an easy victory over the Protestants, to whom they were willing to grant a few unimportant concessions, if they would return to the mother-church; the Protestants were ready to take part, in the hope that their status in Poland would be restored.

Much against his will Comenius had been persuaded to accept his election as delegate. Although ardently desiring union among all Christians, he had no confidence in the success of this movement, no sympathy with the sectarian spirit animating the Protestants even while preparing for the Colloquy, and no belief in the sincerity of the Catholics. He therefore did not take an active part; left Thorn on the eighteenth of September; and returned to Elbing deeply wounded by a letter which he had received from Lewis de Geer censuring him for his absence. It was only at the earnest solicitations of Hotton, de Geer's agent, that he consented to keep up his connection with the latter and resume his literary labors at Elbing. Such labors engaged his attention until 1648, when Bishop Justinus, the President of the Council, died at the advanced age of seventy-eight years. Comenius was appointed his successor and removed to Lissa.

In 1635 the Elector of Saxony, true to his ignoble policy, had withdrawn from the Thirty Years' War, given up the idea of reestablishing Protestantism in any of the Austrian dominions, and concluded a separate treaty with Ferdinand the Second; and now, in the same year in which Comenius returned to Lissa, the general Peace of Westphalia brought that war to a close (October the twenty-fourth). Ferdinand the Second no longer figured in its eventful history;[22] but if he had still been on earth and swayed the negotiations at

[22] He died February 15, 1637.

Osnabrück, the Peace could not have been more disastrous to Bohemia and Moravia. These two countries were unconditionally left in the power of his successor, Ferdinand the Third, as bigoted a Romanist as himself. There was not made a single stipulation in favor of their exiled sons and daughters. The claims of the Brethren were neglected; the promises given to Comenius, that Sweden would care for the restoration of the Unitas Fratrum to its native seats, were broken. His heart was almost crushed. The whole Church lamented with him.

The feelings by which Comenius was agitated in this dark period of his life, are forcibly expressed in several of his writings. At the close of his History he says:

"Will those be able to justify their actions before God, who forgot the Evangelical cause and the ancient compacts, failed to help the oppressed, and even incited the enemy against their own brethren and neighbors, saying, as the children of Edom said of Jerusalem, 'Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof?'"[23]—He refers to the course of the Elector of Saxony in 1635.—"Others"—the Swedes, French and Protestant Germans —"when they concluded peace, forgot that the Bohemians, who first fought so manfully against Antichrist and continued the struggle for centuries, deserved to have Protestants contend for them, in so far at least, as to prevent the light of the Gospel from being utterly extinguished, as it now is, in those very places where it was first kindled and put upon a candlestick."[24]

As soon as Comenius heard of the conditions of the proposed Peace, he wrote, either to Oxenstierna or Bishop Matthiä—the letter has no address—in the following pointed words:

"The oppressed of my people and of our neighbors entertained the hope that you were instruments raised up by God to make an end of our spiritual slaughterers. In regard to this point they received numberless promises from those who exercise influence among you. It was said, that either by the power of the sword, or through peaceable negotiations at the end of the war, we would be remembered and together with all the exiles

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[23] Psalm 137, 7.

[24] Comenii Hist., § 127, p. 45. In his Introduction to the 8th Book of Lasitius, p. 5, he also speaks, in bitter terms, of the Peace of Westphalia.

restored to our former state and condition. Now, however, we see that we and they have been forsaken. What can the unfortunate exiles now expect of you? Where are all your solemn promises? What has become of your protestations that you were seeking nothing except the liberty of the oppressed? Are a few casks of gold a worthy reward of such efforts, while so many thousands, yea myriads, of souls are left in the claws of Antichrist? Where among you is the zeal of Moses who, when Pharaoh was willing to let the people go but wanted to keep their flocks and herds, said: 'Our cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be left behind?'"[25]

Again, on the eleventh of October, a fortnight prior to the signing of the Articles of Peace, he addressed a letter to Oxenstierna in which he said:

"As pleasant as it formerly was for my countrymen, who are persecuted for the Gospel's sake, to hear what your Excellency commissioned me and others to make known to them, namely, that we would never be forgotten—so discouraging it now is to learn, that we have been forsaken and sacrificed in the negotiations at Osnabrück. Of what use is it to us, deprived as we now are of the fruits of the Peace, that next to God we looked upon you as our liberators, that you won the victory by the help of our tears, if, although it lay in your power to deliver us from our captivity, you surrender us anew into the hands of our oppressors? Of what use is it that we have been admonished by you concerning the sacred Evangelical compacts which our forefathers made and which were consecrated with the holy blood of martyrs, when you manifest no anxiety that our Kingdom should be reopened to the Gospel? . . . . I write in the name of many, and constrained by their lamentations, I kneel at your feet, at the feet of your Queen and of the Directory, and adjure you, by the wounds of Christ, not utterly to forsake us who are persecuted for Christ's sake."[26]

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[25] Gindely's Comenius, p. 506.

[26] Gindely's Comenius, pp. 506, 507 and 541.

CHAPTER LII.

The Unitas Fratrum from the Peace of Westphalia to the Destruction of Lissa. *A.D.* 1648–1656.

Comenius publishes the Eighth Book of Lasitius.—Writes the Testament of the Dying Mother.—His labors as Presiding Bishop.—The Condition of Poland.—Comenius in Transylvania.—Nicholas Drabik, the false Prophet.—Loss of the Church at Lissa.—The Russians come to the Aid of the Cossacks.—War with Sweden.—Destruction of Lissa.—Czarniecki's Army in Great Poland.—The Sufferings of the Brethren.—Their martyred Ministers.—The Membership scattered—Retreats in Silesia.—Experiences of Comenius.

AMIDST the sorrows of the present Comenius sought comfort in the past. He had found in Zerotin's library at Breslau, the manuscript History written by Lasitius. This work he began to study; and in 1649 published its Eighth Book, as also extracts from the other Books together with a summary of their contents. He prefixed an Introduction and added a lengthy Conclusion. The entire publication was to be a memorial of the life and works of the fathers.[1]

[1] The title of the work is: Lasitii Historiæ De Origine et Rebus gestis Frat. Boh. Liber Octavus. (Lissa.) 1649. This Eighth Book contains an account of the constitution, discipline and usages of the Brethren. A second abbreviated edition appeared in 1660 at Amsterdam. In 1869 the Bohemian translation which came out at Lissa simultaneously with the Latin, was republished at Prague by the Amos Comenius Association. A German translation of the Introduction and Conclusion was published at Frankfort and Leipzig, in 1743, under the title: J. A. Comenii Erste Liebe. This work omits whole paragraphs of the original and is quite unreliable.

Under date of November the first, 1649, Comenius had written to Oxenstierna and condoled with him on the death of his wife; at the same time, as his letters in relation to the Peace had given great offence to the Chancellor, he had begged him to excuse their severe language because it had come from an agonized heart. Now he sent him copies of his new work, in the hope of arousing the sympathies of the Swedish court on behalf of the Brethren. Gifts, to a very moderate amount, for distribution among the exiles, were, however, the only result. "From that time," says Gindely, "a tone of lamentation makes itself heard throughout all the correspondence of Comenius."[2]

Nothing renders more transparent, the depth of his sorrow and the fullness of his faith, than a short work which he issued in the following year (1650). It is entitled: "The last Testament of the dying Mother, the Brethren's Unity, who, seeing that her trunk and branches are decaying, divides among her sons and daughters the treasures which have been intrusted to her by God." He represents the Unity as a mother, who calls her children and sisters—the other Protestant Churches—around her death-bed in order to speak to them words of affectionate admonition. Keeping up this image he addresses the Brethren's Church; the Romish, the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches; all the Churches conjointly; and finally the Bohemian nation. His words are instinct with love and set forth in rich colors the beauty of his catholic spirit.[3]

Comenius did not allow his feelings to interfere with his work. It was of the most laborious character. Laying aside his literary activity he devoted himself to the interests of the Unity and of the Bohemian exiles. He faithfully discharged

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The extravagant assertions contained in the Introduction and Conclusion regarding a spiritual decline among the Brethren, led to that unhistoric view of which we have spoken in a previous chapter.

[2] Gindely's Comenius, p. 507.

[3] Published in Bohemian at Lissa, 1651. Reichel's Geschichte, p. 124–144, and Crœger II, p. 395–412, give the German translation in full.

the duties of his episcopal office; brought about a close fellowship between the Polish and Hungarian parishes; secured for the exiles financial aid from England, Sweden and Holland; cared for the impoverished nobles who were unable to support themselves; secured positions, especially as teachers, for young Bohemians; and induced the University of Oxford, where the sufferings of his countrymen had excited the deepest sympathy, to create stipends for Bohemian students. There were few European countries in which exiles could not be found in the capacity of private tutors, public teachers, artists, or clergymen.[4]

About this time the condition of Poland was alarming. The last days of Vladislaus the Fourth, who died in 1648, were distracted by a revolt among the Cossacks, under Chmielnicki, which spread from the Ukraine over the entire southeastern section of the kingdom, and grew more terrible the farther it progressed. In the autumn John Casimir, a brother of Vladislaus, was elected to the throne. But he showed himself incompetent and became extremely unpopular. His bigotry filled the Protestants with suspicion, irritated as they were by the failure of their attempt, both at the Diet of Convocation and the Diet of Election, to establish their rights through additional guarantees. His scandalous relations to the wife of his Vice-Chancellor, Radziejowski, turned this powerful noble into a bitter foe. His foolish aspirations after the Swedish crown brought war and misery upon Poland.

In spring of 1650 Comenius accepted an invitation from the widow of Prince Rakoczy and her son Sigismund to reorganize the schools of Transylvania. On the way to that country he visited the Hungarian churches, spending the Easter festival at Skalic. Their ministers earnestly warned him against Nicholas Drabik. This man had cast off the restraints of the ministry and given himself out as a prophet. Since 1643 he had been forecasting the future; dethroning

[4] Gindely's Comenius, p. 508. A number of Bohemians settled permanently in England, and their descendants, often with anglicized names, are still to be found.

monarchs; raising up new dynasties; distributing kingdoms; and readjusting the political systems of Europe. He was an impostor and a knave. And yet he had gained an unfortunate influence over Comenius whose mystical bent of mind, intensified by his sorrows and hopes, led him to believe that in so extraordinary an age God might see fit to restore the gift of prophecy. The expostulations of the Hungarian clergy were of no avail. He remained firm in his convictions that Drabik might be inspired from on high.

Comenius spent but a short time in Transylvania. Soon after his return to Lissa, however, the Princess Rakoczy wrote to the Executive Council and begged that he might be allowed to come back, as she wished to establish a college. She offered inducements which inclined the Council to grant her request. In the autumn Comenius took up his residence at Saros Patak. There he remained for nearly four years, organizing the college which proved only a partial success, discharging his duties as presiding Bishop, and engaged in literary labors. The most celebrated work which he wrote in this period, was his *Orbis Pictus*.[5]

While he was residing in Transylvania his brethren at Lissa passed through trying experiences. Raphael the Fifth Leszcynski was succeeded, as lord of that town, by his third son, Boguslaw, who was pursued with representations on the part of his Catholic friends, that his political advancement was impossible if he remained a Protestant. At last, about 1652, in order to gain the important offices of Hereditary Treasurer and General of Great Poland, he joined the Romish Church. The Catholics rejoiced. To them Lissa, which place had been growing and thriving until, in the language of Comenius, "its marvelous prosperity left all other towns of Poland far behind," was a perpetual eye-sore.[6] It constituted the strong-

[5] The Orbis Pictus, or the Pictured World, was a work of the same character as the Janua, but improved and profusely illustrated with wood-cuts. It was published at Nurnberg in 1658, and met with great success, passing through many editions, some of which are of recent date.

[6] Lissaer Geschichte, p. 9.

hold of the hated Unity and the most influential centre of Polish Protestantism. For years it had excited their envy; now they already saw it within their grasp. Great therefore was their indignation when Count Boguslaw renewed the religious privileges granted by his fathers. But the Romanists were not to be foiled. They fell back upon an expedient which had often proved successful. The Bishop of Posen laid claim to the church-edifice owned by the Brethren, on the plea that it had originally been Catholic property. This was false and Leszcynski resisted his claim. But the tribunal before which the case was brought, decided against the Count. The Brethren were forced to give up their sanctuary. By his permission, however, they immediately began to build another. Its corner-stone was laid in 1652 and the edifice was finished in 1654.[7]

In the latter year two events of political importance took place. The Czar of Russia came to the aid of the revolted Cossacks; and Queen Christina resigned the Swedish crown in favor of her cousin, Charles the Tenth Gustavus, and retired to Rome after having joined the Catholic Church.

Against such a transfer of the crown, John Casimir protested, asserting that he was the rightful successor because his father had, at one time, been King of Sweden. The result was a declaration of war on the part of Charles the Tenth (1655), and the invasion of Great Poland by an army of seventeen thousand men under Fieldmarshal Wittenberg. With these invaders the Palatines of Kalisch and Posen made common cause. This was owing to the intrigues of Radziejowski.[8] Soon after a second Swedish army appeared. At its head was Charles himself, and in a very short time he conquered the

[7] Lissaer Geschichte, p. 11. This building occupied the site of the church of St. John, now belonging to one of those Reformed parishes which are known as the *Unitätsgemeinden*, or "Congregations of the Unity," of which we will speak in a later chapter. According to the Lissaer Geschichte, the Brethren had a second church-edifice at Lissa, but we have found no further account of it in any of the sources.

[8] Krasinski, II. p. 276, shows that the accusation of Lukaszewicz, that the Protestants mainly caused the defection, is incorrect.

entire kingdom, excepting Polish Prussia and the parts overrun by the Cossacks and Russians. John Casimir fled to Silesia.

Such marvelous success demoralized the Swedish troops, who began to plunder churches, convents and nunneries; to murder priests and monks; and to commit other outrages. The course pursued by General Wrzesowitz, a native of Bohemia, was particularly barbarous. He avenged upon the Polish Catholics the sufferings of his countrymen in the Anti-Reformation. That these enormities were instigated by the Evangelical party, as Roman Catholic writers assert, is false; that, on the contrary, the Protestants espoused the cause of Charles the Tenth, can not be denied and in view of the wrongs which they had, for years, been suffering, was but natural. They knew that if he became King of Poland, their privileges would be secured. It is probable, too, that the Brethren, and especially the exiles from Bohemia, were among his most ardent adherents. From one point of view such conduct may be regarded as treasonable; but from another it was the necessary outcome of unjustifiable persecutions and of a latent hope that Sweden would, in the end, be instrumental in restoring the Brethren to their homes.

It was not long before the Poles awoke from their disloyal lethargy. The haughty bearing of Charles offended them. The outrages committed by his army roused their indignation. The reverses of Casimir excited their sympathy. Toward the end of 1655, at Tyszowce, a little town in the palatinate of Lublin, several nobles entered into a confederation against the Swedes. This confederation John Casimir was invited to join. He did so, with a vow to the Virgin, that if prospered, he would, as a thank-offering, convert, in other words, persecute the heretics.[9] The magnates immediately began to raise troops in order to drive the invaders out of the country.

Amidst such a crisis—Poland overrun by foreign foes and divided against itself—that blow was struck from which the

[9] Krasinski II. p. 279.

Unitas Fratrum never recovered. God's ways are past finding out; His footsteps are not known.

One of the places garrisoned by the Swedes was Lissa. They were no doubt admitted—it is said by the advice of Comenius—while Count Leszcynski was absent in Polish Prussia, whither he had gone to see Charles the Tenth, in the interests of the town and state. In the beginning of April, 1656, he returned, but found that his well-meant course had evoked no little indignation among his fellow nobles. He was decried as an enemy of his country and told that he could retrieve his character only by leaving Lissa. On the twenty-third he accordingly proceeded to Breslau. Four days later, on the twenty-seventh, being Saturday after the Easter Festival, a body of confederate troops, under Opalinski, approached and demanded admittance. This was refused; again, it is said, upon the advice of Comenius. The Poles attacked the town, but were repulsed by the Swedes with the assistance of the citizens. In a little while the assault was renewed. The Swedes were drawn into an ambush, driven back in confusion, and pursued to the very gates. Forty citizens fell. The Poles, whose loss was about one hundred, retired to Storchnest; setting fire on their retreat to several barns and wind-mills.

The next morning found the inhabitants strangely discouraged. The burial of their dead depressed them still more. Many began to speak of leaving the town. Three hundred wagons, in part crowded with women and children and in part laden with goods, were actually sent away. About two o'clock the report spread, that a body of infantry was marching upon Lissa. An unaccountable panic immediately broke out. The whole population grew wild with fright. Casting away their arms the citizens gathered their families around them, snatched up their valuables, and fled in hot haste. The Swedish garrison, which consisted of several hundred horse, made no attempt to quell this panic, but evacuated the town and proceeded to Fraustadt. By six o'clock in the evening Lissa was deserted. The Polish troops took possession of it, ate and drank their fill, and then retired. The next day, April

the twenty-ninth, they appeared again and were accompanied by thousands of peasants, with carts and wagons, from the neighboring villages. In a short time the whole place was sacked; and while the peasants hastened away, their carts and wagons groaning under the weight of their plunder, the troops set fire to the town. For three days the conflagration raged, sweeping away the Town Hall, the College, every church, including the new sanctuary of the Brethren, and with a few exceptions, every private dwelling. Seventy windmills, in the immediate neighborhood, were laid in ashes. It was a fearful destruction; an appalling catastrophe; the beginning of the end of the ancient Brethren's Unity.

Meantime the Polish troops pursued the fugitives. Many were robbed; others mutilated in the most horrible manner; still others murdered; many women were ravished.[10]

But the afflictions of the Brethren did not end with the loss of their ecclesiastical centre; still heavier trials awaited them. There came into Great Poland, at the head of an army made up principally of Wallachians and other foreigners, the celebrated General Czarniecki. He was a Pole defending his country against the invader, and did not intend to oppress the inhabitants. But his soldiers, who had as yet received no pay, fell upon them without mercy, plundering towns, villages and domains; and treating the Protestants, especially the Brethren, with the greatest barbarity. The whole country was thrown into confusion. Law grew powerless; licentiousness reigned supreme. Thousands fled before the storm. Many fell victims to the ferocity of the soldiers or the hate of their Romish neighbors. A number of Brethren were put to death

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[10] Lissaer Geschichte, pp. 12 and 13; Lukaszewicz, pp. 177 and 178; Benham's Comenius, pp. 100 and 101. These sources do not agree in all particulars. Our narrative is based upon all of them, but especially upon a contemporaneous record, in Latin, given by Lukaszewicz in a note. This we suppose to be an extract of the account written by Comenius himself and entitled Excidium Lesnense anno 1656 factum fide historica narratum, the manuscript of which Müller recently discovered at Lissa. The narrative was published, but is no longer extant in print.

at Shocken. The ministers suffered the worst cruelties. Two instances are on record.

At Little Lubin John Jacobides, the priest of the parish Debnica, and two of his acolytes, Alexander Wartenski and Valerian Zduncyk, while on their way to Karmin in order to look after Bishop Bythner, were seized, cut down with spades, and thrown into a hole, where they miserably perished; at Swiercznek, the head of Samuel Kardus was forced between a door and the door-post, and slowly crushed amidst excruciating torments.[11] The clergy that escaped, among them Bishops Bythner and Gertich, fled to Silesia; many of their people scattered, some going to the same province, others to Saxony, Brandenburg and Holland. For two whole years the Brethren did not venture to hold public worship in Poland. Their churches were either closed, or destroyed. In Silesia the refugees met with a hospitable reception at Carolath, a domain of Baron Schöneich, at Ursk, the estate of Baron Kaunitz, and at Militsch.[12]

When Lissa fell, Comenius, having hastily buried some of his manuscripts, took refuge in the house of a nobleman on the confines of Silesia. Thence, after a brief rest, he proceeded to Breslau and from Breslau to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where he arrived, to use his own words, "almost in a state of nudity." Not deeming himself safe at Frankfort, he pushed on to Stettin and Hamburg. In this latter city he was prostrated, for two months, by a severe illness. Meantime he received an invitation from Lawrence de Geer, a son of his former patron and a resident of Amsterdam, to come to that city, where all his wants should be cared for. This invitation Comenius accepted as soon as his health was restored. He reached Amsterdam in August, utterly impoverished. The conflagration at Lissa had devoured his whole property, including his library and most important manuscripts. Those which he had buried, he subsequently recovered; but they seem to

[11] Fischer, II. pp. 285 and 286.
[12] Lukaszewicz, pp. 178 and 179.

have been of little value in comparison with what he lost. His entire Pansophia, nearly completed, and a Latin-Bohemian and Bohemian-Latin Thesaurus, or Dictionary, which he had projected in early manhood and at which he had been laboring for more than forty years, were destroyed.[13]

[13] Comenius says in his letter to Montanus: "The loss of this work I shall cease to lament only when I cease to breathe. Nothing of it remains except the first rudiments of the work, which were preserved elsewhere—a collection of all the roots of the Bohemian language, with a large selection of derivatives and compounds." Benham's Comenius, p. 102. The Archives of the Unity were saved and conveyed to Ursk.

CHAPTER LIII.

The Resuscitation of the Church in Poland. Further Labors of Comenius. A. D. 1657–1662.

Return of the fugitive Ministers.—Discouraging Condition of the Parishes.—Lissa rebuilt.—A general Resuscitation in Poland and yet a Decline of the Unity in general.—Meeting of the Bishops.—Death of Bishop Gertich.—The Government of the Church.—Contributions from England and elsewhere.—Polish and Bohemian Bibles printed.—What Comenius did for the Church of the Future.—Confession of Faith.—Biblical Manual.—Hymnals.—Enlarged Edition of the Ratio Disciplinæ.—Comenius commends the future Unitas Fratrum to the Church of England.—His Parænesis addressed to the same Church.

As soon as the storm that swept over Poland had somewhat abated, the devotion with which the Brethren clung to their Church again became apparent. Their Polish parishes had now met with the same fate as those in Bohemia and Moravia; while a large part of their Bohemian exiles had, a second time, been made homeless. Everything was against the Brethren. They might well have given up all hope of reorganizing. But instead, they shook themselves from the dust with the manly determination to "build the old waste-places and to raise up the foundation of many generations." In 1657 their fugitive nobles returned; in 1658 some of their clergy. Two years later, in 1660, when the Peace of Oliva had been concluded, the rest came back, longing to resume their appointed work.[1]

Nothing could have been more discouraging than the condition of things as they found them. In some places the

[1] Lukaszewicz, p. 179.

churches were half ruined; in others, totally destroyed. The membership remaining in Poland had greatly decreased; not a few had been killed during the war; many, in sheer despair of better times, had become perverts to Rome; while those who had continued faithful were impoverished. Here was a parish whose church the Catholics seized on the plea that it had originally belonged to them; there was another in which they forcibly prevented reorganization. More distressing than all this, however, was the fact that they refused to acknowledge the returning Poles as their countrymen and proscribed them as traitors who had made common cause with the Swedes.[2]

In spite of such discouragments the Bishops and ministers labored patiently to restore the Unity. Lissa rose from its ashes and grew more prosperous than before the war. Aided by contributions from England, Prussia, and other Protestant countries, the Brethren's church was rebuilt and dedicated on the eighteenth of September, 1658.[3] The influences proceeding from this centre made themselves felt throughout the country. Many parishes were reorganized. In some cases several were combined under one pastor; in others, public worship was held occasionally by visiting ministers.[4] The prospect began to brighten. In Hungary, Transylvania, Silesia and Prussia the Brethren had remained undisturbed; in Poland, to some extent at least, they renewed their days as of old. Their membership in that country still numbered thousands;[5] their Synod frequently met; their College at Lissa was rebuilt and, on the nineteenth of February, 1663, publicly reopened with Adam Samuel Hartmann as its Rector;[6]

[2] Lukaszewicz, pp. 179 and 180.

[3] Fischer, II. p. 291. The tower of this church was finished nine years later, in 1667. Lissaer Geschichte, p. 14.

[4] Lukaszewicz, p. 180.

[5] Statistics are, as a matter of course, wanting; but from Fischer, II. p. 334, it appears that up to 1690, there were connected with Kurcewo, which seems to have been the centre of a net-work of parishes, several thousand members. And yet this was but one centre, whereas we know of a number of others.

[6] Fischer, II. p. 350; Lissaer Geschichte, p. 15; Lissaer Gymnasium, p. xv. Hartmann had been the Rector prior to the destruction of the town.

so greatly did their prosperity revive that Comenius in a letter to Nicholas Gertich could speak of "the halcyon days" which the Polish parishes were enjoying.[7]

And yet the Unitas Fratrum as such had received a fatal shock. It began to decline and lose its independent character. In 1627 the Reformed of Cujavia had united with the Brethren: now the Brethren leaned, more and more, upon the Reformed of Lithuania and Little Poland. The result was a process of assimilation which, little by little, deprived the Unity of essential characteristics.[8] Such a process, however, developed very slowly. The history of the Unitas Fratrum in its ancient and, to some extent, independent form, may be said to stretch down to its renewal at Herrnhut.

It would appear that, soon after the destruction of Lissa, the three Bishops, Comenius, Bythner and Gertich, had a consultation at Breslau, in Silesia.[9] Thereupon, as narrated in a former chapter, Comenius went to Hamburg and eventually to Amsterdam. Bythner seems to have taken up his abode at Brieg, twenty-seven miles south-east of Breslau, where a large colony of fugitive Brethren gradually gathered.[10] Gertich's place of residence is not known. He died on the tenth of December, 1657. Comenius and Bythner thus became the sole survivors of the episcopacy. Associated with them were Assistant Bishops: Daniel Vetter with Comenius at Amster-

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He reentered upon the duties of his office in the autumn of 1662, probably about the time that the Synod, at its convocation at Parcice, determined to reopen the College. With this purpose in view collections were instituted. There are few seats of learning which have outlived as many calamities as the College at Lissa. It still flourishes after a most checkered existence of more than two centuries and a half.

[7] Letter, dated November the sixteenth, 1666, to Bishop Nicholas Gertich. Gindely's Comenius, pp. 549 and 550; Benham, pp. 112 and 113.

[8] The Brethren, from this time on, were often called "Reformed," or "the Reformed of the Bohemian Confession."

[9] Biography of Nicholas Gertich, in Herrnhut, No. 52, 1884; Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XI.

[10] Herrnhut, *ibid;* Gindely's Comenius, pp. 534 and 538; Benham, p. 108. In his financial statement, adduced by Gindely, Comenius says: "Brieg is now the principal seat of the dispersed Brethren."

dam; Nicholas Gertich with Bythner in Silesia. Although the Executive Council could not conduct its business as of old; yet Comenius, as its President, kept up a regular correspondence with Bythner, and these two Bishops statedly consulted with their Assistants. In this way the government of the Church was carried on as best it could.

Nothing affected the venerable Presiding Bishop more deeply than the impoverished state of the churches. At the consultation with his colleagues at Breslau, he proposed to ask aid of England. This suggestion was accepted, and in 1657 he sent Adam Samuel Hartmann and Paul Cyrill to that country. They met with a cordial reception. The Privy Council, with which body they had an interview, sanctioned their undertaking; the Faculties of the Universities at Oxford and Cambridge warmly recommended it. In 1658 and 1659 five thousand nine hundred pounds sterling were sent to Comenius. The only condition attached to this generous gift was—a condition which he had undoubtedly himself suggested—that one thousand pounds should be reserved for the publication of Bohemian and Polish Bibles, "and of other wholesome books required specially at the present time." The remainder was applied as follows: three thousand nine hundred and twenty pounds, or about nineteen thousand six hundred dollars, were distributed among the Polish and Bohemian Brethren; nine hundred and eighty pounds, or about four thousand nine hundred dollars, among the Bohemian exiles in general.[11] Aid came from other sources also. Lawrence de Geer, Stephen de Geer, the Board of Marine at Amsterdam, and the Earl of Pembroke—a mystic and a great admirer of Comenius—all sent their offerings; so that, in 1666, the Bishop again had in hand six thousand Thaler. This amount also he distributed among the impoverished Brethren of Poland and the exiles from Bohemia, allowing the former

[11] Gindely's Comenius, p. 530, etc., and Beylagen, I. pp. 537–540; Benham's translation, pp. 107–111. Gindely gives from an original MS. in the Bohemian Museum a detailed statement, written by Comenius himself, of the distribution of the money.

seven-twelfths, and the latter five-twelfths of the sum total.[12] It is evident that the distribution of such gifts served to cement the bond of sympathy and love by which the Brethren were held together.[13]

The amount reserved for publications Comenius applied so judiciously that he was enabled to send to Poland two thousand copies of the Polish, and to scatter broadcast among the Bohemian exiles three thousand copies of the Kralitz Bible. There remained a balance sufficient to pay for the printing of several other works.[14] In 1661 he caused the Unity's press, which, after the destruction of Lissa, had been set up at Brieg, to be transferred to Amsterdam. This press became an important agency in furthering the interests of the Church.[15]

While Comenius cared for the Brethren of the present, he kept in view the Church of the future also. That such a Church would appear, either in the homes of his fathers, or in a strange land, he confidently hoped; and in order to prepare for its coming, published several works which were to preserve the doctrines, ritual and constitution of the ancient Unity.

The first was a Confession of Faith; the second a Biblical Manual in Bohemian for the use of the exiles, "as a shield of faith for their defence and a staff of hope for their support."[16] Both these works were issued in 1658. In the following year he republished the Bohemian, and in 1661, the German Hymnal; in order, so he says in the preface to the latter, "that pious Christians of our Church, whether they sit at

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[12] Letter of Comenius, in Gindely's Comenius, p. 550.

[13] It appears, however, from the letter written to Nicholas Gertich by Comenius, that he was not pleased with the large claims which the Polish Brethren occasionally made.

[14] Gindely's Comenius, Beylagen, p. 530.

[15] Gindely's Comenius, p. 539, where Comenius says: "As our printing office was destroyed in the dreadful warfares in our native land, we set up one for the use of the Church, which cost 886 imperials." Also Criegern's Comenius, p. 54.

[16] Benham's Comenius, p. 43. Of the Biblical Manual (Manualjk), which work has become very scarce, there is a copy in the Malin Library, No. 841.

home or wander in foreign lands, remembering the words of the Psalmist (119: 54), 'Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage,' may hold fast to God and rejoice in the Lord."[17]

The most important of such publications was an enlarged edition of the *Ratio Disciplinæ* (1660). This work comprised, first, a Dedication to the Church of England; second, a concise History of the Unitas Fratrum; third, the *Ratio Disciplinæ;* fourth, copious Explanatory Notes; and fifth, a Parænesis, or Exhortation, "to the Churches, in particular the Anglican, piously solicitous about the best form of ecclesiastical government."[18] Both the Dedication and the Exhortation deserve special notice. In the former Comenius speaks "as a prophet;" in the latter as "a Church-father."[19]

The Dedication is addressed "To the Anglican Church heretofore driven about by manifold storm-winds, but now seeing before her a haven of rest." After showing from history, that the tribulations and judgments of the past were all overruled for the good of Christ's Church, he goes on to say:

"In these our days we see that God permits nations to clash against nations, and kingdoms to fall upon kingdoms; so that the whole earth trembles for fear, and cities, churches, schools, yea all public and private affairs, are in a state of destructive confusion, over which the pious mourn. Nevertheless the same God who brought the world in all its beauty out of a shapeless mass, and for the sake of His Church has thus far preserved it with such power and ruled it with such wisdom, will know how to draw out of the existing tribulations something better than we can conceive. For, according to His own promise, the Gospel will be brought, by those Christians who have been justly chastened, to the remaining peoples of the earth; and thus, as of old,

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[17] Comenius gave the following title to the German Hymnal: "Kirchen-, Haus-, und Herzens-Musika, oder der Heiligen Gottes auf Erden Erlustigungs-Kunst in Singen und Gott lobend bestehend." Malin Library, No. 461.

[18] From Zoubek it would appear that the Exhortation was originally published separately, in 1660, entitled "Parænesis Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ ad Anglicanam de Bono Unitatis et Ordinis," and dedicated to Charles the Second. The copy in the Malin Library, No. 806, issued in the same year, 1660, combines the History, the Ratio, and the Parænesis in one volume.

[19] Reichel's Geschichte, pp. 107 and 108.

our fall will be the riches of the world, and our diminishing the riches of the gentiles (Romans 11 : 12). Such meditations upon the wonderful counsels of Eternal Providence alleviate the pain which I feel at the destruction of the Church of my people, whose discipline and laws are here described."

In a subsequent paragraph he says:

"I do not wish to be understood as meaning that, because of my loneliness and speedy departure, I am announcing to the Church of my people that its end is come. I know that the Church universal, founded on the Rock of Eternity, can not be overwhelmed. But experience clearly teaches, that particular Churches are sometimes destroyed by the hand of God stretched out in wrath; yet does this come to pass in such a way, that, according to His good pleasure, other Churches are either planted in their stead, or the same Churches rise in other places. . . . We must not suppose that Elijah sinned when he gave utterance to his lamentation that he, he only, was left of the prophets of the Lord; for in the midst of his loneliness and sorrow he was divinely encouraged and directed to substitute and appoint a successor in his room (1 Kings 19: 14–16). The same consolation I confidently expect of the Divine Goodness; and even though the Lord should let me go out of the world without such comfort, I will nevertheless, with the last of the seven martyred Maccabean brethren, beseech Him: 'That in me and my brethren the wrath of the Almighty, which is justly brought upon all our nation, may cease,' (2 Maccabees, 7 : 38). But should this wish also, namely, that in me the wrath of God may cease, not be fulfilled, and 'last of all, after the sons, our mother die also' (2 Maccabees 7 : 41), what shall I do then?"

In answer to this question Comenius goes on to explain that it is usual for such as have no direct heirs to leave their possessions to others, and that he now proposes to do this. Hence he continues:

"To whom shall I leave our possessions? And have we any possessions, when everything seems to be lost? Yes, through God's gift and grace we still own some things that may be willed to others; nor are friends and enemies wanting to whom such things may be left.

To our enemies we leave what they have taken from us, or may yet deprive us of—our earthly goods, churches, lands, schools, and the like, and last, if the Lord of all things should see fit, the lives of our remaining brethren; even as it pleased the Crucified Christ to allow his garments to be divided among the soldiers and himself to be robbed of life.

But to you, our friends (the Church of England), we leave and commit, according to the example of the same Divine Master, that which is far better, our dear mother, the Church herself. Whether God will deem her worthy to be revived in her native seats, or let her die there and resuscitate her elsewhere, in either case do you, in our stead, care for her. Even in her death, which now seems to be approaching, you ought to love her, because in her life she has gone on before you, for more than two centuries, with examples of faith and patience. . . . . When the Lord allowed the country, city and temple of his ungrateful people to be laid waste, it was nevertheless His will that the base of the altar should remain in its place, so that their repenting and returning posterity might be able to build on the same spot (Ezra 3: 3). Now if we have received from God anything true, precious, just, pure, lovely and good, any virtue or any praise—wise and pious men, as will appear, have said that our possessions are of this sort—we certainly ought to take care that such gifts may not perish with us, and that amidst disorder and confusion as these now exist, the foundations of our Unity may not be so entirely ruined as to make it impossible for our posterity to find them. Hence we herewith leave the gifts which we have received, to you and deposit them with you." [20]

These extracts beautifully show that Comenius entertained an almost prophetic hope of the renewal of the Unitas Fratrum; that he commended this Church of the future to the Anglican Church; and that, like a seer inspired to utter what he does not himself understand, he unconsciously indicated the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands as the great work which would be intrusted to the renewed Unity.

In the Exhortation, with which the work closes and which is again addressed to the Anglican Church particularly, he holds up the principles of the Unitas Fratrum for imitation. As a brief summary of his argument we give the following:

The constitution of the Church of the Brethren is not schismatic, but apostolic; not a mere outward form, but animated by an inner spirit which streams forth on all sides; not disturbing the State, but accommodating itself to the State, without thereby relinquishing the independence of the Church. That constitution comprises something of every form of government: the monarchical, in the Episcopate; the aristocratic, in the Executive Council; the democratic, in the Synod. The second of these

[20] Dedicatiorium alloqvium, §§ 13, 16, 17, 19, 20 and 21.

forms Calvin instituted through the Presbyteries; the first, the Episcopate, Bucer adopted in England. Whether it was wise to separate these three forms, the disputes which arose through the separation, will show. Perhaps if Solomon's words had been heeded, "A threefold cord is not easily broken," such ruptures would not have taken place.

The Church of the Brethren possesses a remedy for possible evils. This remedy is her discipline, by which simony, avarice, pride, contentions, false doctrines, are suppressed, and godliness is furthered. She is an example of Christian simplicity, in that she avoids doctrinal disputes, and controversies of every kind, works for peace, or labors for a reformation of the Church universal.

Four characteristics will distinguish the Church universal, when it will have been so thoroughly reformed, as to represent the Kingdom of Christ upon earth—a kingdom in which all its people will take part in the blessings of salvation, all its teachers be guides to Jesus, and all its rulers watch over the order established by God. These four characteristics are: The unity of the Spirit; a well regulated ecclesiastical government; good discipline; and being filled with the Spirit of Christ.

Comenius then proceeds, at considerable length, to develop these characteristics, illustrating them by examples taken from his History of the Unitas Fratrum, to which work he continually refers.[21]

That which he aimed at in republishing the *Ratio Disciplinæ*, came to pass. It was this work, in the form in which it proceeded from his pen, that incited Count Zinzendorf to devote himself to the resuscitation of the Unitas Fratrum and made him familiar with its constitution and principles.[22]

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[21] Parænesis, *passim*.

[22] Zinzendorf himself says, Büdingische Sammlung I, pp. 640 and 641: "I could not peruse the lamentations of old Comenius, addressed to the Anglican Church—lamentations called forth by the idea that the Church of the Brethren was come to an end, and that he was locking its door—I could not read his mournful prayer, 'Turn Thou us unto Thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned, renew our days as of old,' (Lament. 5: 21,)—without adopting the resolution: I will, as far as I can, help to bring about this renewal. And though I have to sacrifice my earthly possessions, my honors, and my life, as long as I live, and as far as I will be able to provide, even after my death for such a consummation, this little company of the Lord's disciples shall be preserved for Him until He comes."

The last publication brought out by Comenius in the hope of such a renewal, was a Catechism, dedicated "To the godly sheep of Christ, scattered here and there, in particular to those at F. G. G. K. K. S. S. and Z." These initials designate Fulneck, Gersdorf, Gedersdorf, Klöten, Klandorf, Stechwalde, Seitendorf, and Zauchtenthal, towns and villages of Moravia, from all of which descendants of the Brethren came to Herrnhut and took part in building up the Renewed Unity.[23]

[23] The title of this Catechism is: Die Uralte Christliche Catholische Religion, in kurtze Frag und Antwort verfasset." Amsterdam, 1661. It is found in Ehwalt, p. 441, etc.

CHAPTER LIV.

Perpetuation of the Episcopacy. Death of Comenius. The Hidden Seed in Bohemia and Moravia.
A. D. 1662–1670.

Correspondence between Bythner and Comenius about the Episcopacy.—Synod of Milenczyn.—Nicholas Gertich and Peter Figulus.—Document from Comenius.—Consecration of the new Bishops.—Further Labors of Comenius at Amsterdam.—Lux in Tenebris.—Unum Necessarium.—Death of Comenius.—His Work and Character.—Hidden Seed in Bohemia and Moravia.

THE perpetuation of the episcopacy engaged the serious attention of both the surviving Bishops. On the fifteenth of January, 1658, Bythner wrote to Comenius and informed him that Martin Gertich had died in Silesia. In the course of his letter he said:

"I beg you to consider the propriety, or rather, the necessity of appointing a third bishop, in place of the deceased, selecting for this office either a Bohemian or a Pole; so that our order may be maintained and the succession which has been uninterruptedly kept up in our Church for two centuries, may not, when we die, cease and become extinct."[1]

This succession lay near to the heart of Comenius and, under date of August the twenty-third, he warmly endorsed what his colleague had written.

"We certainly will not allow that good thing which our Church has enjoyed, to die with us. We will rather pray and labor that it may be revived through the power of Him who alone can awake from the dead. . . . . See, my beloved brother, how far we have declined. Of yours (the Polish

[1] Rieger, VI. pp. 739 and 740.

Bishops), you alone are left; of mine (the Bohemian-Moravian Bishops) I alone remain. Nevertheless as long as there is a possibility of preventing the fall of our order, we must do what we can. Let it not appear as though we tempted God, who, in ways that are wonderful, kills and makes alive, lays us in the lowest pit and delivers from it."[2]

Although the two Bishops were in such accord, their purpose could not at once be carried out. Comenius having in view a speedy election, urged the convocation of the Synod at Brieg; Bythner deemed this impracticable on account of the war. As soon, however, as the Peace of Oliva had been proclaimed, the negotiations were resumed. Among the points discussed, was the question whether an episcopal consecration performed by one bishop would be valid. Comenius decided that it would be valid, although not canonical. "For," he wrote, "the canons require, as you well know, that a bishop must be ordained by three, or at least by two bishops."[3] Accordingly, being too infirm to undertake a journey to Poland, he proposed to send Daniel Vetter, his Assistant Bishop, and let him act in his stead.

To this plan Bythner objected. He urged, that at an episcopal consecration a mere Assistant Bishop would not command the proper consideration; that the act would be far more impressive, if Comenius himself, in some way even though indirectly, would take part in it; that this could be done by sending to the Synod a document formally sanctioning the consecration; that such a course would be in accordance with the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*,[4] which provided that if, on account of persecutions or other causes, several bishops could not meet in order to unite in an episcopal consecration, they were to send written commissions to one bishop and authorize him to perform the act alone.[5] This proposition Comenius

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[2] Rieger, VI. 740; Gindely's Comenius, p. 534.

[3] Letter of September the twenty-eighth, 1660, Rieger, VI. p. 741.

[4] The reference which he gives is to Lib. 8, Cap. 27.

[5] Letter of Bythner, dated November the fourth, 1661, Rieger, VI. pp. 742 and 743.

not only accepted, but in his reply showed its correctness by citing additional testimony.

The two Bishops having thus agreed upon the mode of consecration, Bythner called a meeting of the Synod. It opened on the second of November, 1662, at Milenczyn, in Poland, now Mieltschin in the Province of Posen, about fifteen miles south-east of Gnesen. After a full discussion of the case it was resolved to elect two bishops; one for the Polish branch, the other for the Bohemian-Moravian *in spem contra spem*, as the phrase ran, that is, "in hope against hope" of a resuscitation of this latter branch.

For the former the choice of the Synod fell upon the Assistant Bishop Nicholas Gertich, a nephew of Bishop Martin Gertich and a grandson of Bishop Martin Gratian Gertich.[6]

Nicholas Gertich was born at Lasswitz, on the seventeenth of December, 1624, and educated at the gymnasia of Lissa and Beuthen, and at the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. After his ordination to the priesthood, in 1647, he labored at Lissa until the destruction of that town, when he fled to Silesia. There he was offered the position of second chaplain to George the Third, Duke of Brieg, who, although his subjects were Lutherans, had embraced the Reformed faith and established what may be called a small court-church. This position Gertich accepted.[7]

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[6] The list of bishops given by Regenvolscius and Gindely, ends with Bythner and Martin Gertich (1644); the subsequent succession to the transfer of the episcopacy to the Renewed Unitas Fratrum is set forth by Bishop Daniel Ernst Jablonsky in a document sent, in 1717, to Dr. William Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at this prelate's special request. This document, entitled "De Ordine et Successione episcopali in Unitate Fratrum conservato," was subsequently published as an Appendix to his "Jus Ecclesiasticum," by Chancellor Pfaff; a copy of it, furnished by Jablonsky, is in the Herrnhut Archives, and the substance of it is found in the Acta Fratrum in Anglia, p. 112–115. Comp. Koelbing's Nachricht, p. 26.

[7] Fischer, II. p. 345; Biography in Herrnhut, No. 52, 1884, which Biography says that Gertich was born about 1610, at Lissa. The date given above is found in Fischer on the authority of Lukaszewicz.

For the Bohemian-Moravian branch, as the eventual successor of Comenius, was chosen Peter Figulus, or Jablonsky, by birth a Moravian. In 1628, when still a little boy, he accompanied Erastus, Cyrill and Comenius on their flight from Slaupna to Lissa. Comenius took a deep interest in him, and gave him his daughter Elizabeth in marriage, on the nineteenth of October, 1649. In the same year he was ordained to the priesthood. He accompanied his father-in-law on several of his journeys and transacted literary business for him in Sweden. In 1654 the Countess Dönhoff von Pomerellen, at Dantzic, appointed Figulus her chaplain; three years later he took charge of the neighboring church of Nassenhuben. During his ministry at that place the entire parish united with the Brethren. In 1658 he joined Comenius at Amsterdam, where he spent two years, and then returned to Nassenhuben. At the Synod of Milenczyn, the day before his elevation to the episcopacy, Bythner ordained him an Assistant Bishop.[8]

The fifth of November was set apart for the solemn rite of consecration. It took place in the presence of the whole Synod. First of all, the following document, sent by Comenius, was read:

"Grace be with you through the Holy Ghost.

Dearly Beloved Brethren in the Lord:—With all my heart do I wish that it might have pleased Divine goodness to grant unto the Church in our time and in this country such tranquillity as it enjoyed in the days of our fathers; so that each of us, with the flock intrusted to him, could live in security and serve the Lord. But since these are times not of refreshing but of chastening, it becomes our duty to manifest faith and patience toward God, however heavy the cross which He may see fit to lay upon us. Nor is it proper that I and the brethren of my Bohemian people should be envious of you in Poland, because the Father of

[8] Fischer, II. p. 345; Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XXXV. From this latter authority it appears, that Jablonsky was the original name of the family, but that Peter Jablonsky, in the course of his exile, adopted the name of Figulus. This latter his older son, John Theodore, and his descendants, retained; his younger son, Daniel Ernst, the Bishop, and his descendants, resumed the former.

spirits chastens you more gently than us. We will rather bear witness to the fellowship of joy which pervades our hearts, that you are allowed to abide with your churches in your fatherland and to set them an example in doctrine and life; while we see neither the end of our dispersion nor a limit to our exile. Nevertheless we will do what we can in commending each other, through diligent intercessions, to God and in performing works meet for repentance.

"Beloved brethren, when by God's permission you will assemble in His name, how gladly would I be with you in the flesh, beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ! Most especially would I rejoice to be present at that solemn rite whereby new pillars will be erected to support the ministerial office in your churches which still remain, and in ours which are scattered. This must be done, so that the order which we have received from our fathers may not become extinct with us, your two surviving Bishops, and that the succession which our ancestors so highly esteemed and which they secured with so much trouble and maintained with so much labor, may not be interrupted. I remember those happy days when our churches were governed by four, five, or even six bishops; now, amidst the decline of all our affairs, the number of your overseers has been reduced to two. If these last pillars were to fall in death, everything else would fall with them. This must be prevented.

"Therefore proceed in the name of the Lord, and choose men to whom may be publicly committed the care of the churches. In what way this can and must be done, in order that it may tend to edification, is, I take for granted, well known to you. Nevertheless I will inform you, that I have recently published the sacred canons and usages of our Church, so that the divine gifts granted to us may not perish with us.[9] Now in as much as this book has been well received,—the Latin edition having been republished at Geneva and an English translation having appeared—you may rest assured that the eyes of the Churches will be directed toward the remnant of our Unity, in order to see whether we are true descendants of forefathers so distinguished. Therefore let us give diligence that we may never leave the right road of good order and holy fellowship.

"The question arises, in what manner those whom you will lawfully choose, can receive a valid ordination; for according to ancient ecclesiastical statutes a bishop must be consecrated by three, or at least by two bishops, whereas there is but one among you. This question I answer as follows: The object of that ecclesiastical statute is to prevent the doing of anything 'by partiality.' If it were left to one man alone to fill ministerial

[9] Comenius refers to his new edition of the Ratio Disciplinæ.

offices, especially the episcopal, he might 'prefer one before another,' and if he were not tenderly conscientious, be a 'respecter of persons.' This evil, however, does not threaten us; because among us a bishop is not appointed by one man, but chosen by many. Now if a bishop has been lawfully elected by all (the accredited members of the Synod), why should he not afterward, in the name and presence of all, be consecrated by one bishop? It is from the Church that the consecrator has received the authority to ordain; and it is in the presence of the Church as a witness that he faithfully exercises this authority. Such a position holds good, in particular, when other bishops are absent, by reason of persecutions, illness, or other hindrances, and yet in the spirit are present, giving their sanction and imparting their benediction. In the ancient Church there are wanting neither canons in regard to such a proceeding nor examples of it; as my beloved brother and colleague will, if necessary, explain to you.

"Standing upon this ground, why should I not appropriate to myself the words of the Apostle, in the fifth chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, although they were originally used in a different connection, and say: 'I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present,' concerning those men whom Christ will lead you unanimously to elect to the episcopal office, that in your presence and by your overseer who is with you, my colleague in the episcopate, they shall be consecrated according to apostolic usage, with the laying on of hands and prayer, in the name and by the power of Jesus Christ our Lord? I also herewith send to them a consecratory blessing, according to the authority which Christ and His Church have given to me. But especially do Thou, Oh Thou Chief Shepherd and Bishop of the Bishops, Jesus Christ, own and consecrate these Thy servants, grant unto them the gift of the Holy Ghost, that they may go and bring forth fruit, and that their fruit may remain!

Amen. Amen. Amen.

"In the way of a conclusion and seal to this my letter, let there be read aloud the last part of the Apostolic Epistle to the Hebrews, even the seventeenth verse of the thirteenth chapter:

'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account; that they may do it with joy, and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you!'

"Also what is said in the twenty-first verse of the brethren from Italy: 'They of Italy salute you.'

"For while I write, there are visiting me two of those ancient saints (the Waldenses) from whom our forefathers received not only an edifying example of faith and patience, but also the authority of the apostolic succession; thus kindling their light at

the light which that people had.[10] At the present time the Lord is chastening them even more severely than He chastens us. He has permitted a cruel persecution and dispersion to come upon them. Therefore, dear brethren, cry most fervently to God on their behalf; then may we hope that we will be included in their intercessions rising from the midst of the blood, the sweat and the sighs of martyrdom.

May God graciously hear the fiery aspirations, the prayers and supplications of all His saints!

Amen. Amen. Amen.

Farewell! Pray for me in my old age and poor service of Christ, even as I daily intercede with the Lord on your behalf.

Given at Amsterdam, with a weak hand, this second day of April, 1662, in the seventy-first year of my age.

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS."

When this document had been read, Bythner consecrated Gertich and Figulus to be Bishops of the Unitas Fratrum. The Synod adjourned with praise and thanksgiving to God.

Two years later, in 1664, Bythner transferred his seat from Brieg to Schocken. But there he met with so much enmity on the part of the Catholics, that he removed to Lissa (1667).

Gertich continued to labor at Brieg until 1664, when his patron, George the Third, died, and the dukedoms of Brieg and Liegnitz having been united, he was transferred to Liegnitz where he subsequently rose to be first chaplain. In addition to the duties of this position he attended to his episcopal work.

Figulus carried on his pastorate at Nassenhuben for two years longer, and then accepted the office of court-preacher at Memel, in which town he also ministered, it would seem, to a congregation of Bohemian Brethren.[11]

Comenius remained at Amsterdam, laboring not only for his brethren, but likewise for mankind in general. At that time Amsterdam was noted as the centre of religious toleration.

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[10] One of the Waldenses visiting Comenius was the celebrated Jean Leger, the historian of his people. The above letter of Comenius is found in Rieger, VI, p. 743–749.

[11] Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XXXV; Lukaszewicz, quoted by Fischer, II. p. 345, who, however, doubts the correctness of Lukaszewicz's statement. Memel is a Prussian seaport at the north end of the Kurische Haff, where the Dange flows into the Baltic Sea.

Nothing equal to it could be found anywhere else in Europe. Protestants and Catholics, Arminians and Calvinists, Unitarians, Cartesians, and followers of other philosophical systems, went their several ways unhindered. Although Comenius showed himself to be outspoken in his faith and firm in his adherence to the Holy Scriptures, he enjoyed general esteem and was venerated as a benefactor of his race.[12] A circle of literary friends gathered around him. It was commonly said, that his residence in Amsterdam conferred honor upon the city; and as a token that this honor was appreciated the City Council adopted a formal resolution asking him to republish his didactic works. So flattering a request he hastened to fulfill. In 1657 appeared his *Opera Didactica Omnia*, in four folio volumes, dedicated to the magistrates of Amsterdam.

Comenius was not exempt from the experience which all great men make. His fame provoked envy; and envy watched for an opportunity to traduce and vilify.

Such an opportunity now presented itself. Amidst the mental conflicts into which he was plunged by the destruction of Lissa and his own exile, the tempter drew near and induced him to commit the mistake of his life. He received a letter from Nicholas Drabik demanding that he should translate his prophecies into Latin and publish them to the world. Comenius hesitated; but Drabik threatened him with the judgments of God if he should refuse to comply. At last, after consulting some of his friends who encouraged him to undertake the work, he reluctantly consented and, in 1657, issued a volume entitled *Lux in Tenebris*, or "Light in Darkness," embracing not only the prophecies of Drabik, but also those of Christopher Kotter and Christiana Poniatowski, both of whom were deceased.[13]

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[12] In 1660 and 1661 he published several energetic treatises against Zwicker, a Socinian, who had the audacity to say publicly of him that he was in sympathy with the belief of the Socinians.

[13] The first edition came out in 1657, with additions published in 1659; a new and smaller edition appeared in 1663; and a large and complete one in 1665, with the portraits of the seers. All these editions are in the Malin Library. Others appeared at various times. The work is very rare.

Kotter was a fanatic who claimed to have visions relating to the fall and restoration of Bohemia. He lived at Sprottau, in Silesia. Comenius became acquainted with him in 1626 and wrote down his prophecies, which the divines of Brandenburg accepted as supernatural.[14]

Christiana Poniatowski, the daughter of Julian Poniatowski and ward of Comenius, was a godly and simple-hearted woman, subject to attacks of illness that threw her into a mesmeric state, in which her diseased imagination developed what she honestly believed to be revelations from God.[15]

The appearance of the *Lux in Tenebris* was the signal for pouring upon Comenius a torrent of ridicule and reproach. In this ignoble effort two Dutch Professors, Arnauld and Des Marets, took the lead, and were joined by all his enemies and opponents. His own clergy in Hungary were deeply mortified and implored him to break off his connection with Drabik. And indeed a public examination to which they subjected this imposter, and at which he grossly contradicted himself, shook the confidence of Comenius not a little; nevertheless he could not persuade himself that Drabik was an intentional deceiver.[16]

If the circumstances of the age in which Comenius lived, the startling events of the Thirty Years' War, the fearful

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[14] Kotter was imprisoned in 1627 and finally banished. He died in Lusatia, in 1647.

[15] Her revelations related to political events and a speedy restoration of the Protestants to Bohemia. She wrote to Wallenstein and foretold his violent death, at which prediction he scoffed. In 1629 she fell into a cataleptic state, was supposed to be dead, and laid out for burial. The next morning she awoke. After that her visions ceased. She continued to believe in their reality, but did not speak of them, in order to avoid offence. In 1632 she married Daniel Vetter, became a faithful wife, the mother of five children, and died of the consumption in 1644.

[16] Of the examination instituted by the ministers at Skalic, Lednic and Pucho, a full report was given to Bishop Bythner by Felin, in July, 1660, the MS. of which is now in the Bohemian Museum and has been reproduced by Gindely in his article on Comenius, pp. 519–529. In 1671 Drabik was arrested as a traitor to the imperial government, and after having confessed that his revelations were a gross imposture, burned alive, amidst slow torments, at Pressburg. He was eighty-three years of age. Comenius did not live to see this fearful issue.

plagues which added to its horrors, the upheaval of social order, and the convulsions that shook kingdoms, be taken into account; if the profound impression be remembered which the Camisard prophets of both sexes produced in France; if the perplexity be weighed into which learned theologians were brought by the men in other parts of Europe who claimed to be seers; if to all this be added a mystical bent of mind and a constant swaying between hopes and fears, in the case of Comenius himself;—his "amiable fanaticism," as John George Müller aptly calls it, excites, at the bar of an unprejudiced judgment, neither wonder, ridicule, nor blame. We regret the error, but revere the man.

Moreover for the harm which may have been done by the publication of the *Lux in Tenebris*, there was made full compensation in the last work which he issued and which brought his literary career to a beautiful close. This work is entitled: *Unum Necessarium*, or "The One Thing Needful, namely, to know what Man needs in Life, in Death, and after Death: all of which John Amos Comenius, a Sire, in his seventy-seventh year, exhausted by the Unnecessary Things of Earth, and striving for the One Thing Needful, sets forth for the Consideration of the World."[17] This treatise delineates his real character, gives expression to his sterling faith, makes transparent the purity of his heart, and burns with that enthusiasm for the good and the true which warmed his whole life. He has left no richer legacy. It is a solemn farewell spoken to the world by a grand old man; it is an aged saint's anticipation of coming glory.

[17] The Unum Necessarium appeared in 1668, and was dedicated to Rupert the Palatine of the Rhine. Various subsequent editions have appeared. A part of the work was translated into Bohemian and published in 1765. In 1690 a German translation was issued at Lüneburg, and another, in 1755, at Frankfurt and Leipzig. In the tenth chapter of this work Comenius speaks of the sorrow and trouble which the Lux in Tenebris caused him. He says that he was led into an unusual labyrinth; that it was, and is, not easy to escape from it; that all he can do, is to commit this whole matter into the keeping of God; that as often as he sees God do, or hears Him say, what he does not understand, he must be permitted to exclaim with David: "I was dumb; I opened not my mouth."

Two years after the publication of this work, while engaged in preparing for the press his Pansophic manuscript, which he had reproduced, the hoary exile was called to his heavenly fatherland, where he found a solution for all the enigmas of his earthly wanderings, and now sees no longer through a glass darkly, but face to face.

Comenius died on the fifteenth of November, 1670, in the seventy-ninth year of his age; on the twenty-second his remains were buried in the French Reformed church of Naarden. The figure 8, designating the number of the grave, which was near the chancel-railing a little to the left of the pulpit, constituted the only epitaph on his tombstone. That church now forms a part of the military barracks of Naarden. No memorial of any kind marks the tomb of one of the greatest men of the seventeenth century. His mortal dust sleeps beneath the floor of a room used for making cartridges and filling shells.[18]

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[18] For many years, the day on which Comenius died, the church in which he was buried, and the grave inclosing his remains, remained unknown. About 1872, Mr. de Roeper, a lawyer of Naarden, since deceased, found among his father's papers the church-register, the sexton's account book, and other documents relating to the French Reformed parish. That register contained a record of the burial of Comenius and the number of his grave. After a very long search Mr. de Roeper at last met with an aged woman who remembered the church. It proved to be a part of the barracks. By permission and with the aid of the commanding officer he instituted a careful examination and finally discovered the tombstone marked 8, corresponding with the number given in the record, which reads as follows: "No. 8. Johannes Amos Commenius. C'est apparement le fameux Autheur du Janua Linguarum; enterré le 22 November, 1670." The tombstone was removed and is now in the possession of Madame de Roeper. In 1879 we visited this lady, who still takes a deep interest in the investigations commenced by her late husband; saw the stone, which is a large square slab of slate; and were admitted to the barracks where her secretary and a Moravian clergyman of Zeist, both well acquainted with the locality, pointed out the part of the floor beneath which is the grave of Comenius. A rough, unpainted table, with benches on both sides, stands on the spot. In 1742 Matthaeus Brouveridus Van Nidett, the author of several learned works, and in 1750 Mons. Louis Guerre, Capitaine des Invalides, and an Elder of the French Reformed Church, were buried in the same grave with Comenius. From the sexton's account book we learned, that he received from

It is sad to think of such a grave. And yet, in the hearts of every generation since his death, have the works which he performed in the interests of education, science, philosophy and religion, built a more enduring monument than bronze or marble can produce and given him a name that is immortal. He could look back upon his life with the glorious conviction, that he never undertook anything which had not the good of his fellow men and the honor of God in view. Well may Herder call him "a noble priest of humanity." His was a sublime purpose—to bring mankind to a consciousness of itself, of what it is, of its unity and dignity; and in harmony with the Divine will to lead the whole race, and every individual member of it, to happiness enduring forever.[19] In some respects he was in advance of his time; some of his aspirations are yet to be fulfilled. Indeed, as Criegern correctly says, the grand principles which he enunciated may well serve to instruct and admonish all ages. Protestants and Catholics unite in honoring him. Even the Jesuit Balbin recognizes his worth and speaks in his praise. It is left to writers like Pierre Bayle, in his Historical and Critical Dictionary; Adelung, in his History of Fools; and others of the same class; to defame Comenius and turn his loftiest aims into ridicule.[20]

What he did for the Church of his fathers has been set forth in the course of our narrative, but may be summed up in these words: he was the Jeremiah of the Ancient and the John the Baptist of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum.

Comenius was a man of patriarchal appearance and imposing

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the Domine, fifteen florins for his services at the funeral of Comenius. Naarden is situated on the Zuyder-Zee, twelve miles south-east of Amsterdam; it constitutes the key to the water communications of Holland and is strongly fortified.

[19] Zoubek, p. xliii.

[20] As a specimen of Adelung's treatment of Comenius the following may serve: He says, that Comenius was a charlatan, of very limited understanding and equally limited learning, who did not really mean to improve the system of education, but to make himself prominent through his chimerical Pansophia and use it as a bait for catching money. Adelung's Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit appeared at Leipsic, in 1785.

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS.

figure. His chin was long; his forehead high; his eye soft and sad; his whole countenance showed that he never forgot the sufferings of his people and that as regarded himself he felt what he once wrote: "My whole life was merely the visit of a guest; I had no fatherland." His character is beautifully outlined by Palacky: "In his intercourse with others Comenius was in an extraordinary degree friendly, conciliatory and humble; always ready to serve his neighbor and sacrifice himself. His writings as well as his walk and conversation show the depth of his feelings, his goodness, his uprightness and fear of God. He never cast back upon his opponents what they meeted out to him. He never condemned, no matter how great the injustice which he was made to suffer. At all times, with fullest resignation, whether joy or sorrow was his portion, he honored and praised the Lord." [21]

In the period following the Anti-Reformation to the death of Comenius, a "Hidden Seed" of the Unitas Fratrum remained in Bohemia and Moravia. This seed consisted of such Brethren as, for various reasons, did not emigrate. The bigotry of Ferdinand the Third, who reigned from 1637 to 1657, was intense; and he continued to suppress every vestige

[21] Comenius, nach Palacky, pp. 40 and 41. His literary activity was astonishing. He wrote at least one hundred works; probably more. A correct list of them has not yet been produced.

With his wife, Elizabeth Cyrill, Comenius had five children, one son, Daniel, and four daughters. His wife died in 1648. On the seventeenth of May, 1649, he married Johanna Gaiusowa, at Thorn, with whom he appears to have had no children. This, according to our narrative, was his third marriage; according to Gindely and the Lissaer Gymnasium, he was married but twice. From the union of his daughter Elizabeth with Peter Figulus, sprang Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, his grandson, through whom the episcopal succession was transferred to the Renewed Unity. Gindely's Comenius, pp. 535 and 536; Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XXXV.

Several pictures exist of Comenius. A very fine portrait adorns the wall of the room in which the Chief Executive Board of the Unitas Fratrum meets, at Berthelsdorf, in Saxony. This portrait was secured from his grandson, Bishop D. E. Jablonsky. It has been engraved. Another picture of him is the work of the celebrated English-Bohemian artist Wenzel Hollar. A good bust of Comenius has recently been produced by Reichel, of Neuwied in Prussia.

of Evangelical religion. His successor, Leopold the First, walked in his footsteps, forbidding even family-worship in such houses as were suspected of Evangelical tendencies, and allowing no Protestant to settle and acquire property in any part of Bohemia or Moravia. Nevertheless, in secret, especially among the peasantry, the faith of the Brethren was maintained. To extinguish absolutely the spark of life which still glowed, both the government and the Romish clergy found to be impossible.[22] A detailed history of this Hidden Seed, in the first fifty years of its existence, can not, however, be given. We can only say, in general, that religious worship was, as far as possible, kept up by stealth, sometimes in the cottages of peasants or castles of lords, and sometimes in the recesses of forests or mountains.[23] The Brethren of the Hidden Seed were, moreover, visited by ministers of their Church from Silesia and Hungary, who dispensed the sacraments. Such ministers came, in particular, from Skalic. Comenius too did what he could to foster the Hidden Seed, by secretly sending to Bohemia and Moravia copies of his Catechism, Hymnal, and other works relating to the Unitas Fratrum. For this service, which was exceedingly perilous, he employed, about 1663, John Kopulansky.[24] The offerings transmitted by the Brethren in Bohemia to their exiled friends, formed another bond of union between the two.[25]

In 1650, 1652 and 1670, new emigrations took place.

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[22] Church Register of Augustin Schulz, minister of the Bohemian parish in Berlin, in the eighteenth century.

[23] Holyk has described religious meetings held by secret Lutherans, at which he was himself present; the meetings of the secret Brethren were conducted in the same way. Daum's Verfolgungen, p. 77, etc.

[24] Cranz, pp. 88 and 89.

[25] Lukaszewicz, p. 150, who mentions among the means of support upon which the exiles had to depend, "das was ihnen heimlich ihre Glaubensbrüder in Böhmen und Mähren dann und wann zusandten."

CHAPTER LV.

The Polish, Hungarian and Silesian Remnant in the Half Century prior to the Renewal of the Unitas Fratrum.
A. D. 1671–1722.

John Casimir resigns.—Michael Korybut and John Sobieski.—Death of Figulus and Nicholas Gertich.—Bishop Hartmann.—Bohemian Element disappears at Lissa.—Death of Bythner.—Bishop Zugehör.—Elector of Brandenburg favors the Brethren.—Scholarships at Berlin, Frankfort, and Heidelberg.—Bishop Hartmann in England.—Scholarships at Oxford.—A Bishop proposed for England.—Death of Hartmann.—Bishop Jülich.—Death of Zugehör.—Bishops Daniel Ernst Jablonsky and John Jacobides.—Jablonsky's Work.—The State of Poland.—Lissa's second Destruction.—Struggle of the Protestants for their Rights.—Jablonsky publishes these Rights.—A General Union Synod agreed on.—Synods of the Brethren at Heiersdorf and Züllichau.—Bishops Opitz and Cassius.—Synod at Thorn.—Jablonsky and the Archbishop of Canterbury.—Collections in England ordered by the Privy Council.—General Union Synod at Dantzic.—Other Synods.—The Tragedy at Thorn.—Lissa rebuilt.—The Brethren in Poland, Hungary and Silesia disappearing.—The Unitätsgemeinden and their Episcopate.

THE peace with Sweden, as well as that with Russia and the Cossacks, cost John Casimir a part of his territory. He grew weary of reigning, laid aside the crown and retired to France. His successor was Michael Korybut. As usual the rights and privileges of the Evangelical party were ratified at the Diet of Election (1669); but this was an empty form of which neither the Catholic clergy nor the royal tribunals took any further notice. For four brief years Korybut occupied the throne and then died (1674). He was followed by John

Sobieski, whose brilliant achievements against the Turks made him the hero of his time. Although averse to religious persecutions and desirous of giving the Protestants their full due, he could neither put a stop to the Romish reaction nor hinder the unjust oppression which it produced.

Amidst such circumstances the Polish Brethren endeavored, in the years following the decease of Comenius, to maintain their Church.

Figulus having died at Memel, on the twelfth of January, 1670, and hence preceded Comenius to eternity—whose heart was deeply stricken by this loss which frustrated his hope of a successor in the Bohemian-Moravian episcopate—and Nicholas Gertich having passed away at Liegnitz, on the twenty-fourth of May, of the following year; the sole Bishop who survived, was John Bythner. In 1673 the Synod gave him a colleague in the person of Adam Samuel Hartmann. He was consecrated by Bythner, at Lissa, on the twenty-eighth of October.[1]

Hartmann was an eminent scholar and labored with singular zeal to preserve the remnant of the Unitas Fratrum. Born at Prague, on the seventh of September, 1621, the son of that incumbent of the Bethlehem Chapel whom Leichtenstein had banished, he studied at the Universities of Frankfort, Wittenberg and Leipzig, was ordained to the priesthood and installed as Rector of the College at Lissa, in 1653. In addition to his classical and theological lore, he had mastered five modern languages. On his elevation to the episcopacy he resigned the rectorship, in order to devote himself entirely to the interests of the Church.[2]

Meanwhile Lissa went on prospering. In one respect, however, its character began to change. The Bohemian element disappeared more and more, and the German prevailed. Subsequent to the year 1700 the language of the exiles was no longer used in public worship. The last clergyman who preached in that tongue was John Tobian.[3]

[1] Jablonsky's De Ordine et Successione, Acta Fratrum, p. 114.

[2] Fischer, II. pp. 345 and 346; Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XV.

[3] Lissaer Geschichte, p. 15; Fischer, II. pp. 160 and 161.

It was at Lissa that the two Bishops had their seat. Their associated work came to an end in 1675, in which year Bythner died, on the second of February, at the age of seventy-three years. A learned man; set to govern the Church in a time of sore tribulations; he maintained his position with heroic courage, and never grew weary of traveling from parish to parish, often amidst great dangers, encouraging the Brethren and strengthening them in the faith. To his efforts chiefly the renewed Unitas Fratrum owes that unbroken succession which it has inherited.[4]

It was with the object of keeping up this succession that, on his death-bed, he nominated John Zugehör for the episcopacy. This nomination found favor with the Synod. On the occasion of its meeting at Dantzic in the following year (1676), Zugehör was elected and consecrated by Bishop Hartmann, August the thirteenth, in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul.[5]

For the next fifteen years these two Bishops conjointly stood at the head of the Unity, laboring for its welfare, striving to establish its churches, and endeavoring to promote the cause of its College and schools.

Hartmann was successful in enlisting the aid of foreign princes. In 1674 the Elector of Brandenburg instructed his ambassador at the Polish court to give the Brethren financial support; in 1683 he commissioned his councilor Ursinus to come to an understanding with Hartmann in relation to four scholarships which had been created, for students of the Unity, in a gymnasium at Berlin and in the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder; and in the following year he induced the Elector of the Palatinate to institute four additional scholarships in the University of Heidelberg.[6]

[4] Fischer, II. p. 345. Bythner's principal literary work was a postil in Polish, now one of the rarest books in that language.

[5] Jablonsky's De Ordine et Successione, Acta Fratrum, p. 114. John Zugehör was born at Lissa and ordained to the priesthood prior to the Swedish War, in the course of which he fled to Silesia. On his return he labored at Lissa and subsequently at Zychlin. In 1673 he was ordained to be an Assistant Bishop.

[6] Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XXXVII.

No less encouraging was Hartmann's success in reawaking the sympathies of England. He visited that country in 1680, bearing a commission from the Synod, and appealed for aid. This appeal was commended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and resulted in the creation, for the benefit of students of the Unity, of three scholarships in the University of Oxford; which ancient seat of learning conferred upon Hartmann himself the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.[7]

In 1657, when coming to England for the first time, his brother Paul accompanied him and remained in that country. Paul rose to be chaplain of Christ Church College at Oxford, and subsequently became rector of the parish of Shellingford, near Farrington. Now the idea was broached, that this Paul Hartmann might be invested with the episcopate of the Unitas Fratrum, and superintend, in addition to his other duties, the Brethren who had made England their home. Bishop Hartmann had several consultations on the subject with the Anglican prelates; "but through some impediments, the thing did not come to pass."[8]

On his return he transferred his seat to Memel and took charge of the Bohemian parish at that place. In 1690 he set out again for England, in order to visit his brother. At Rotterdam he fell ill and died on the twenty-ninth of May, 1691.

His death was a heavy blow to the Unity. When Bishop Zugehör received the sad intelligence, he took steps to have a successor appointed. The Synod responded to his wish, and elected Joachim Jülich, whom he consecrated, at Lissa, on the twenty-sixth of June, 1692.[9] Jülich made that town his seat;

[7] Lissaer Gymnasium; Fischer, II. p. 346; Rieger, VI. p. 738. In the diploma Hartmann was fully acknowledged as a Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum. During the reign of James the Second the scholarships came to an end, in 1685; Charles the Second seems to have favored the Unity in many ways. Benham, p. 111, speaks of what seems to be a second appeal made by Paul Hartmann in 1683.

[8] Jablonsky's De Ordine et Successione, Acta Fratrum, p. 114.

[9] *Ibid.* Jülich was born at Weissholz, in Silesia. His father, Dr. John Jülich, fled to Poland in the Thirty Years' War. Jülich graduated at the

Zugehör continued to reside at Zychlin until his death, November the twenty-ninth, 1698.

The Synod which met at Lissa in the following year adopted Jülich's proposition to elect two bishops. Daniel Ernst Jablonsky and John Jacobides were chosen. On the tenth of March, 1699, they received consecration at the hands of Bishop Jülich.

Jablonsky deserves a more extended notice. He was the son of Bishop Peter Figulus and the grandson of Amos Comenius, and was born at Nassenhuben, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1660. After having received a preparatory training at the College of Lissa, he entered the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder and, in addition to a theological and classical course, took up the study of the oriental languages with great enthusiasm. In 1680 he accompanied Bishop Hartmann to England, and spent three years at Oxford, enjoying the privileges of one of the scholarships of the Unity. His first charge was a newly organized Reformed church at Magdeburg. In 1686 he accepted a vocation to the German parish at Lissa and, in the same year, was installed as the Rector of its College. The fame of his learning, eloquence and zeal spread far and wide. In 1691 he was appointed court-preacher at Königsberg and, two years later, called to fill the same position at Berlin, where he enjoyed the favor of King Frederick the First and of his son, Frederick William the First. Jablonsky's labors in the latter city embraced a period of forty-eight years, until his death. He rose to be a councilor of the consistory, a church-councilor, and president of the Royal Academy; and received from the University of Oxford the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His efforts, in which he was supported by Leibnitz, to bring about a union between the Lutherans and Reformed, were unsuccessful. He died on the twenty-fifth of May, 1741, in the

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University of Frankfort; was ordained to the priesthood in 1657 and took charge of the German church at Lissa. In 1675 he was ordained to be an Assistant Bishop.

eighty-first year of his age, the fifty-eighth of his ministry, and the forty-second of his episcopate.[10]

When he was asked to accept the episcopate, he had scruples touching his residence in a foreign country and his consecration by only one bishop; and under date of January the second, 1699, wrote to his friend, Doctor John Ernst Grabe, of the Anglican Church, in London, asking his advice. In regard to the latter point Doctor Grabe satisfied him fully; in regard to the former he found that two bishops would reside in Poland; that his brethren would be satisfied with whatever part he could take in the oversight of their churches; and that he was to be consecrated chiefly in order to prevent the succession from dying out.[11] And yet, after the death of Bishop Jülich (November the fourteenth, 1703), Jablonsky became the virtual head of the remnant of the Unity, and with great zeal and untiring faithfulness promoted its interests in Poland, Hungary and Prussia.[12]

This he did in various ways. He held frequent Synods to strengthen the things which remained, that were ready to die. He endeavored to bring about, for mutual protection, a closer union among the Protestants of Poland. He exerted his influence at the Prussian court to such a degree that Frederick the First, following the example of his father, the Great Elector, became an ardent supporter of the Brethren, helped them financially, and secured for them four scholarships at the University of Leyden, in addition to those founded at

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[10] Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XVI., etc. At one time Jablonsky suggested the Anglican episcopacy and liturgy as a bond of union between the Lutherans and Reformed; and corresponded with the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject. When this became known in Germany, it gave great offence. In addition to his Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis, and the work mentioned in Note 16, he published a new edition of the Hebrew Bible (1699) and of the Talmud (1715–1721), as also a Collection of Sermons in five volumes.

[11] Rieger, VI., pp. 752, etc.; Acta Fratrum, p. 114.

[12] The Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XVII., says: "Er benutzte die Gelegenheit (of his being court-preacher at Berlin) für die Böhmischen Reformirten aller Orten in Polen, Preussen und Ungarn in jeder Weise zu wirken."

Frankfort, Heidelberg and Berlin.[13] At the same time he was the connecting link through which the episcopal succession of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum was transferred to the Renewed.[14]

While Jablonsky labored, in these ways, for the Church of his fathers, the immediate superintendence of its parishes was committed to Bishop Jacobides, who had his seat at Lissa.

Momentous events were transpiring in Poland. After the death of Sobieski (1696), Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, a Lutheran, secured the crown by becoming a Romanist. But Charles the Twelfth, the young hero of Sweden, snatched it from his head and gave it to Stanislaus Leszcynski, lord of Lissa (1704). Under the mild sway of this new monarch the Confederation of Warsaw was established, which granted the Protestants full liberty to found churches and schools, and exempted them from the jurisdiction of Romish tribunals. Unfortunately, however, Stanislaus was not acknowledged by the entire nation. To the calamities entailed by the invasion of the Russians and Saxons were added the horrors of civil strife. A time of dire tribulation began. Many a fair domain was laid waste; many a village made desolate; many a town sacked. Upon Lissa the demon of war again laid a merciless hand. Twice it was spared through the intervention of the King of Prussia whose sympathy Jablonsky succeeded in rousing; on several other occasions it escaped by paying a heavy ransom; at last its fate could no longer be averted and the day of its second destruction came on. It was the twenty-ninth of July, 1707. Early in the morning a body of Russians, under command of Colonel Schultz, attacked the town, pillaged its houses, abused its inhabitants most barbarously, and then rode through the streets

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[13] Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XXXVII. These scholarships continued until the nineteenth century.

[14] On the thirteenth of March, 1735, Jablonsky, with the concurrence of Bishop Sitkovius, his colleague in Poland, consecrated David Nitschmann; and on the twentieth of May, 1737, Jablonsky and Nitschmann, again with the concurrence of Sitkovius, consecrated Count Zinzendorf.

throwing about balls of burning pitch. In a short time the whole place was wrapped in flames. This conflagration was even more fearful than the first. In four hours Lissa was swept from the face of the earth. Not a few of its people perished in the flames; the rest fled saving nothing but their lives. Stretched on the grass, near the charred remains of a windmill, lay Schultz enjoying the horrible spectacle.[15]

However appalling this new catastrophe was, the Brethren, encouraged by Jablonsky and Jacobides, did not lose heart. In unison with their fellow Protestants they began a persistent and manful struggle for their rights. It was a struggle which excites unqualified admiration; at the same time it led them to lean upon the Reformed more heavily than ever, and helped to put an end to their independence.

In 1708 Bishop Jablonsky published a work setting forth the rights and privileges of the Polish Protestants.[16] Its purpose was, to let the world see the ground upon which they stood, and thus to excite a general interest in the cause which had, for so many years, been upheld by the Evangelical party and antagonized by the Roman Catholics. The defeat of Charles the Twelfth at Pultawa, in the following year (1709), and the consequent return of Frederick Augustus to the throne, although an unexpected disaster, did not quench the courage of the Protestants.

In April, of 1710, representatives of the Brethren and the Reformed met at Warsaw and agreed to call a Union Synod. To this convocation the former, assembled at Heiersdorf in the following June, chose six delegates and instructed them to bring about, if possible, a confederation among the Evangelical churches of Poland and to devise means by which they could regain their civil and religious liberties.[17] Other meetings of the Synod, under the presidency of Jablonsky, took place.

[15] Lissaer Gymnasium, p. XXXVIII.; Lissaer Geschichte, pp. 16 and 17.

[16] Jura et Libertates Dissidentium in Religione Christiana in Regno Poloniæ et M. D. Lithuaniae ex Legibus Regni et aliis Monumentis authenticis excerpta. Anno Christi 1708. Berolini. Ex typographia regia.

[17] Lukaszewicz, pp. 182 and 183.

In 1712, he convened it at Züllichau, in Brandenburg, because the bitter feud which had broken out between the King and the nobles rendered a meeting in Poland impracticable. On that occasion—Bishop Jacobides having died in 1709—Solomon Opitz was elected to the episcopacy and, on the eleventh of July, consecrated by Jablonsky.[18] In the autumn of the same year the Synod met at Thorn, and chose a third bishop, in the person of David Cassius, who was consecrated by Jablonsky and Opitz, on the fourth of November.[19]

At this convocation representatives both of the Reformed and Lutherans were present, so that it assumed the character of a Union Synod preparatory to the General Synod. The steps to be taken in order to secure the rights of the Protestants were discussed; Jablonsky was commissioned to prepare, in conjunction with the Lutheran delegates, a petition to the Diet setting forth the grievances of the Evangelical party; a common fund for the benefit of suffering parishes was agreed on; and it was left to Jablonsky to appoint, after consultation with the Lutherans, the time for the meeting of the General Synod.[20]

In the interests of the fund he opened a correspondence with Doctor William Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and sent Christian Sitkovius to England in order to present the cause in person. It met with favor; and on the tenth of March, 1715, was brought to the notice of the Privy Council. This body adopted the following minute:

"Upon a Representation on this Day made to his Majesty, by the most Reverend Father in God, William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, of the deplorable Condition of several Episcopal Protestant Churches in Poland and Transylvania, occasioned by the long Continuance of War in those Countries, and other Miseries that have befallen them, his Majesty, in Commiseration

[18] Acta Fratrum, p. 115.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Lukaszewicz, pp. 183 and 184; Con. Send., p. 156–165 The following were the representatives of the Unity present at the Synod of Thorn: Bishops Jablonsky and Opitz, Benjamin Vigilantius, Paul Cassius, Samuel Majowski, David Cassius, Francis Samuel Prüfer, Samuel David Sitkovius, John Samuel Musonius, and seven lay delegates.

of the said poor Sufferers, is graciously pleased, with the Advice of his Privy Council, to order, as it is hereby ordered, That the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain do cause Letters Patent to be prepared, and passed the Great Seal in the usual Manner, for the Collection of the Charity of all well-disposed Persons, for Relief of the said poor Sufferers, throughout Great Britain, or such Part thereof as their Agents shall devise."

Upon the strength of this order the King, George the First, issued his letters patent, recommending to all the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Wales, that they should "give a particular Direction to all the Parsons, Vicars and Curates, of all and every Parish for the Advancement of this so charitable and good Work;" and appointing the Archbishop of Canterbury, the High Chancellor of Great Britain (Lord Cowper), the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Carlisle, Sarum, Norwich and Bristol, to be Trustees for the advancement of said charity.[21] Liberal donations were received, but to what extent is not known.

Jablonsky carried on a further correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury and, in 1717, sent him his *De Ordine et Successione Episcopali in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum conservato*. In a letter to Count Zinzendorf, dated October the thirty-first, 1729, he mentions the occasion which called forth this work. "In England about twelve years ago," he says, "certain enemies of all Evangelical Churches asserted and even published through the press, that the Bohemian Brethren had never had, and had not then, lawful bishops. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor William Wake, thereupon wrote to me and asked for information on this subject. I replied by giving him a circumstantial account of our succession with which account the Lord Archbishop declared himself to be perfectly satisfied."[22]

Through the intervention of the Russian Czar the feud between Frederick Augustus and the Polish states was brought to an end in 1716. This pacification, however, instead of furthering the interests of the Protestants, restricted their

[21] Acta Fratrum, pp. 22 and 23.

[22] Kölbing's Nachricht, p. 26.

liberties still more. Nor did they succeed in effecting a change at the Diet held the next year.

On the second of September, 1718, the long projected General Union Synod of the Brethren, Reformed and Lutherans, convened at Dantzic. Christopher Arnold, the Lutheran Superintendent in Great Poland, was chosen President, and Count Bonawentuna Kurnatowski, a member of the Brethren's Church, Director. Bishop Jablonsky was not present.

The principal enactments were the following: First, the petition to the Diet, drawn up by Jablonsky, is approved; second, the Protestants of Poland are to act in unison; third, representatives of the three Churches are to be appointed in all the provinces, in order that through them this compact may be furthered; fourth, deputies are to be sent to the Protestant courts of Europe asking their intervention on behalf of the Evangelical party.[23]

The petition was presented in October. But so little did it avail that the only Protestant who seems to have been a member of the Chamber of Deputies, was expelled; while Zebrowski, a prebendary of Wilna, preached before the Diet a sermon in which he ascribed all the sufferings that had come upon Poland, by reason of wars and pestilences, to its scandalous toleration of the Protestants. Nevertheless they still persisted in contending for their rights and, in the course of the next few years, held three more Union Synods at Dantzic. A course so determined and fearless brought about intense bitterness among the Roman Catholics, which culminated in the tragedy of Thorn (1724).[24] This event roused all Europe. Instructions were given by England, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, to their several ambassadors, to remonstrate with the Polish government on its treatment of the

[23] Lukaszewicz, pp. 185, 186 and 187.

[24] A riot deliberately provoked by the students of the Jesuit College was made the pretext, contrary to all law and all the evidence offered at the trial, for the execution of the aged burgomaster of Thorn and of nine other of its most distinguished citizens.

Protestants. But their condition was not ameliorated; on the contrary they were made to suffer all the more because of the interference of these powers.

In the seventeen years that had elapsed since the fall of Lissa, this town had risen, for the second time, like a phenix from its ashes. Liberal gifts from Prussia and other Continental countries were sent to the Brethren, so that, with what they received from England, they had at their disposal a large amount of money. On the old site, where amidst crumbling walls and blackened timbers Solomon Opitz had held, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1707, the first religious service after the conflagration, they rebuilt their College, church and parsonages. The injunction laid upon this undertaking by the Bishop of Posen, and persisted in, despite the remonstrance of Frederick the First, was withdrawn in 1715, after the King had ordered the commandant of Rastenburg, in East Prussia, to retaliate in kind upon the Roman Catholics of that town.[25]

During this whole period, however, the Brethren of Poland and Polish Prussia were continually decreasing. In 1715 the

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[25] Lissaer Geschichte, p. 17; Lissaer Gymnasium, pp. XXXVIII and XXXIX. The buildings put up at that time are still standing, within a large yard planted with trees and surrounded by a wall. They are the St. John's church, two parsonages and the old college. The last named edifice is now used as a parochial school, the college having been transferred to the Leszcynski palace. We visited Lissa in 1879, and in the vestry of the church saw some of the chalices and altar cloths of the early Brethren that had been saved from the fires. In 1790 the ill-fated town was destroyed by a third conflagration, which originated through an accident; but the buildings belonging to the Brethren were saved. At the present day the Jewish element predominates at Lissa. In the vestry of the St. John's church we also saw the old wall-closet in which the Lissa Folios were found. These Folios, as has been said in another connection, were saved, in 1656, from the first conflagration and conveyed to Ursk, in Silesia; subsequently they were taken to Carolath; and finally transferred to Breslau. There they remained for several decades. About the year 1720 they were brought back to Lissa, where they were kept until their transfer to Herrnhut. Some of the documents were lost at Berlin, after the death of Jablonsky, who had taken them to that city when writing his Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis. Lukaszewicz, p. 407, Polish edition.

number of their parishes had been reduced to about fifteen.[26] Those that remained, assumed more and more of a Reformed character. In the reign of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, who ascended the throne in 1763, a few isolated churches, with which was connected an insignificant membership including about ten noble families, formed the remnant of the Polish branch of the Unity.[27] Toward the end of the eighteenth century even this remnant had been practically absorbed by the Reformed; it ceased to have a legal existence in 1817, when Frederick William the Third, of Prussia, constituted the *Unirte Kirche*—the Evangelical Union of Lutherans and Reformed—the established Church of his realm. Down to that year ordination vows still included a promise to uphold the Consensus Sendomiriensis.[28]

In the same way the parishes in Hungary, Transylvania and Silesia, gradually lost their independence and were absorbed by other Churches. Of this decline the details are wanting.

And yet, even at the present day, there is found in what was formerly Poland an interesting memorial of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum. This memorial consists of five so-called *Unitätsgemeinden*—churches of the Reformed type connected with the *Unirte Kirche*, but legitimately descended from the Polish branch of the Unity and keeping up its episcopate. It is an episcopate which, in modern times, has been revived through the instrumentality of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum. Down to the year 1841 it remained unbroken. In that year, Samuel David Hanke, the last Bishop, or Senior, of the *Unitätsgemeinden* died, without having consecrated a successor.[29]

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[26] Acta Fratrum, p. 22.

[27] Lukaszewicz, p. 204.

[28] *Ibid.*; Müller's Reports. Pastor Cassius, of Orzeskowa, used the form of the Unitas Fratrum, at baptisms, as late as the year 1838.

[29] The Bishops subsequent to the time of David Cassius, down to 1841, were the following: Paul Cassius, Christian Sitkovius, Frederick William Jablonsky, John Theophilus Elsner, John Alexander Cassius, Paul Lewis Cassius, Christian Theophilus Cassius, John Lewis Cassius, John Benjamin Bornemann, and Samuel David Hanke. Lukaszewicz, p. 384–387. Polish edition.

Thereupon, at the suggestion of Frederick William the Fourth, of Prussia, their superintendent, Doctor Siedler, was consecrated a Bishop, by Bishops Peter Frederick Curie, Levin Reichel and John Martin Nitschmann, on the sixteenth of June, 1844, at Herrnhut, in Saxony. In the course of time Siedler severed his connection with the *Unitätsgemeinden*, which were again left without a bishop. Accordingly they elected Doctor Charles Göbel to that office who, on the sixteenth of May, 1858, at Gnadenberg, in Prussia, received consecration at the hands of John Martin Nitschmann and other Moravian Bishops. Göbel ordained an assistant bishop; but died without consecrating a bishop. The result was that the *Unitätsgemeinden*, for the third time, sought aid of the Moravian Brethren. On the twenty-first of October, 1883, Doctor Eugene Borgius was consecrated, at Herrnhut, by Bishops Henry L. Reichel, Frederick W. Kühn, and Gustavus B. Müller.

CHAPTER LVI.

The Bohemian and Moravian Hidden Seed which developed into the Renewed Unitas Fratrum. A.D. 1671–1722.

Condition of the Brethren not Ameliorated.—The Hidden Seed in General.—Its Bohemian Centres.—Jacob and John Pechatschek.—Moravian Centres.—The Kutschera and Schneider Families.—New Signs of Life.—Evangelical Literature—Wenzel Kleych.—Churches of Grace.—Fruits of the Testimony of the Fathers.—Awakening in Bohemia and Moravia.—Samuel Schneider at Zauchtenthal and His Dying Testimony.—George Jaeschke at Sehlen and His Dying Prophecy.—The Prospect Dark.—Christian David.—His Missionary Tours to Moravia.—Augustin and Jacob Neisser Emigrate.

In the last thirty years of the seventeenth century the history of the Seed which remained in Bohemia and Moravia, is less obscure than in the earlier period of its existence. Narratives have come down to us from the refugees who took part in the resuscitation of the Unitas Fratrum. It is true that such narratives are not complete. Amidst the secret emigrations which were going on and at a time when the oppressor still lived, caution was necessary and details might have been fraught with danger. Nevertheless there are glimpses given which enable us to see a Hidden Church preparing for its redemption.

The condition of the Brethren and other Protestants was not ameliorated. Leopold the First continued to lay upon them heavy burdens; while the Jesuit Missionaries were unceasing in their efforts to intensify the darkness in which Bohemia and Moravia had been shrouded. From north to south, from east to west, they traversed these countries, searching for

Evangelical books, spying out religious meetings, demanding to see the certificates of auricular confession.[1] That amidst such circumstances the Hidden Seed did not perish, was the Lord's doing and it is marvelous in our eyes.

The parishes to which the Brethren belonged were occasionally in charge of humane and well-disposed priests whom they won by gifts, so that no notice was taken of their books and religious services. Instances occurred in which they even received timely hints of the coming of the Jesuit Missionaries. But as a general thing they were treated with great harshness and if detected in their practices, severely punished. And yet they lived. Nor could their life be crushed. It was in God's keeping. He had heard the prayer of Comenius on the mountain-top. A seed of righteousness was preserved in the homes of the Brethren; and in God's own time there should grow from it a tree in whose refreshing shade their children should rest, and their children's converts from all parts of the earth.

In Bohemia, Landskron and Leitomischl were centres of the Hidden Seed. Its older generation remembered the congregations that thronged the chapels at Lititz, Landskron, Hermanitz, and Rothwasser, listening to the pure Gospel, singing the songs of Zion, and celebrating the Supper of the Lord. To that generation belonged an aged father, Jacob Pechatschek, distinguished by his fervent faith and holy walk.[2] Among his own people he was a preacher of righteousness; cherished the traditions of the past; and delivered them to his descendants. He took a particular interest in his grandson,

[1] The certificates of auricular confession testified that the bearer had been at the confessional. They were particularly required in connection with the confession at Easter. Hence the secret Protestants were accustomed to buy such certificates of their Catholic friends, inducing these to attend the Easter confession two or three times, each time selecting a different priest and obtaining a new certificate. Elsner's Verfolgungsgeschichte, p. 505. On moral grounds this practice, although it was the outcome of an unrighteous oppression, cannot be defended.

[2] Narrative of Zacharias Hirschel, a refugee from the vicinity of Landskron. Croeger, II. p. 434.

John Bittman, instructed him in the true knowledge of God and made him acquainted with the history and constitution of the Brethren.[3]

His son, John Pechatschek, trod in his footsteps. Upright and godly he enjoyed the respect of all who knew him. At social gatherings he bore himself "as a priest of God among his people." Living to a great age he transmitted the traditions of the Brethren's Church to his children's children. At times he spoke of its resuscitation, which the next generation would live to see. Another patriarch in that neighborhood, who fostered the Hidden Seed, was John Schallman.

In Moravia its principal centres were at Zerawic, Fulneck, Zauchtenthal, Kunwald, and in that whole fruitful region along the Oder known as the *Kuhländl*, or Kine-land.

Near Zerawic lived a family, by the name of Kutschera.[4] The mother of that household was descended from a priest of the Unity; her husband was the son of another priest, who had had charge of the parish of Zerawic and was still living in the vicinity, having in some wonderful way escaped the perils of the Anti-Reformation. This venerable sire took delight in telling his grandson, Tobias Kutschera, of the old times, of the work of the Brethren, and of the principles of their Church. The chapel in which he had been accustomed to preach was still standing. His brother, who lived to be a very aged man, held three religious services, every Sunday, in the house of Tobias Kutschera's parents. Such gatherings were continued long after the death of these fathers, until a severe persecution broke out, which forced the Brethren to meet only in very small numbers and with the utmost secrecy.

Round about Fulneck and in the Kuhländl the Hidden Seed was very numerous. The most prominent family connected with it bore the name of Schneider and lived at Zauch-

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[3] This John Bittman was born in 1673, escaped from Bohemia in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and died, as a member of the Brethren's Church at Rixdorf, near Berlin, in 1769, aged 96 years.

[4] Narrative of Tobias Hirschel, a refugee, who died at Rixdorf, in 1757. Croeger, II. pp. 435 and 436.

tenthal.[5] At the head of this family stood Martin Schneider, a cotemporary of Amos Comenius and a man of strong faith. He had witnessed the destruction of the Church; now he labored to preserve its memory and, as far as possible, maintain its principles. At his house, as well as in other homes, secret services were held, sometimes by clergymen from Skalic, more frequently by Schneider himself. On such occasions he used the Hymnal of the Brethren, read an Evangelical sermon, and instructed the young in the catechism of Amos Comenius. His fearlessness exposed him to danger. He was frequently cast into prison, and on one occasion would have been burned at the stake, had not the lord of the domain interfered in his behalf. He lived to an extreme old age; and his five sons handed down to the next generation the reminiscences, the godly lessons, the pious hopes which they had heard from his mouth.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Hidden Seed, both in Bohemia and Moravia, showed signs of new life. Such life can be traced back to several sources. It flowed, in the first place, from that Evangelical literature which began to spread in richer streams than at any previous time since the Anti-Reformation.

At Lazan, on the domain of Leitomischl, lived Wenzel Kleych. He was born in 1678 of parents descended from the old stock of the Brethren's Church. Its traditions were dear to his heart. He nourished them by reading every work that he could find relating to the subject. Of Evangelical books in general he was passionately fond. This brought upon him severe persecutions, and he resolved to seek a country where he could breathe the atmosphere of religious liberty and follow his literary inclinations in peace. One night, in the year 1705, he and his wife Catharine, forsaking their rich farm and taking along but twenty *Thaler*, escaped from Lazan, with their two little children whom they carried on their backs,

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[5] Narratives of the Schneider family, Croeger, II. p. 438, and G. E. B., pp. 9 and 10.

and made their way to Zittau, in Saxony. There they eked out an existence by gardening, spinning and washing. In time they became more prosperous, and Kleych ventured to begin a project which he had long entertained. He published a devotional work—*Motesicky's Manual*—in the Bohemian language for secret distribution in his native country (1708). This enterprise proved so successful, that he resolved to devote himself altogether to the spread of Evangelical literature in Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary. He issued a new edition of the Bohemian New Testament and caused a large number of other religious works to be reprinted. His undertakings kept the press of Hartmann and Stremel, at Zittau, busy. Not content with being a publisher he essayed authorship; compiled a new Hymnal; and wrote several original works. In the parsonage at Teschen, in Silesia, he stored his books; and had them conveyed, by night, across the frontier to Bohemia and Moravia, with such success that, in all the years in which he carried on this business, not a single lot was confiscated. Kleych stood high in the esteem of the Protestant ministers of Silesia and Hungary. From the Imperial Government he eventually secured a license to sell his books in the churchyard at Teschen. While traveling in Hungary, in 1737, God called him to his eternal reward.[6]

Kleych's labors were a blessing to the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia. The more opportunities they had to read devotional works, and especially the Word of God, the more they grew in knowledge and grace. But they were obliged to exercise the utmost caution. A new crusade against Evangelical literature was inaugurated and many books were burned. In not a few instances, however, such violence recoiled upon the Jesuits. In order to ascertain why Evangelical writings were destroyed, Catholics began to read them; and were led to see the errors of Rome and to recognize free grace in Jesus Christ.[7]

Another source of new life appeared in Silesia, where, ac-

[6] Müller's MS. Notes; Pescheck's Exulanten, p. 112.

[7] Augustin Schulze's Narrative, in the Church-Register of his Bohemian parish at Berlin; Elsner's Verfolgungsgeschichte, p. 506.

cording to the stipulations of the Peace of Westphalia, so called "Churches of Grace" had been opened at Schweidnitz, Glogau, and Jauer. In these sanctuaries Protestants were allowed to worship God in peace. And now, in 1706, came Charles the Twelfth, at the head of his victorious Swedes; concluded the pacification of Altranstadt in consequence of which Frederick Augustus renounced the crown of Poland; and forced the Emperor, Joseph the First, to restore to the Protestants one hundred and twenty-nine Silesian churches as also to open six additional "Churches of Grace."[8] These churches —at Freistadt, Hirschberg, Landshut, Militsch, Sagan, and Teschen—were put in charge of ministers educated in the institutions of Herman Francke at Halle and became centres of Evangelical power. Not only was all Silesia moved; but as several of the "Churches of Grace" stood near the frontier, their quickening influences were felt in Bohemia and Moravia likewise. Teschen, the parish in which John Adam Steinmetz labored with apostolic zeal, constituted a place where the soul of many a Protestant, coming secretly from a dry and thirsty land, was refreshed.

The testimony borne by the fathers of a former generation formed the last source of new life. About 1720, on the domains of Landskron and Leitomischl, an awakening began which spread throughout that whole region. The village of Hermanitz was the centre of this movement. Before long, however, a persecution broke out which was owing, in part, to unfortunate extravagances into which the Brethren fell. This persecution was severe. They were imprisoned and whipped until their bodies ran with blood; or they were harnessed to ploughs and with cruel blows forced to drag them through the soil. So great a panic ensued that, for a number of years until 1730, all outward signs of the awakening disappeared. In secret it continued to ripen and even-

[8] Joseph the First succeeded his father, Leopold the First, in 1705, but died six years later, in 1711, and was followed by his brother, Charles the Sixth, during whose reign the Unitas Fratrum was renewed. The six additional "Churches of Grace" were opened in 1709.

tually yielded a harvest which the Renewed Unitas Fratrum gathered in.[9]

In Moravia the signs of life were marked. The work which Martin Schneider had inaugurated, his grandson, Samuel Schneider, continued. A hero of faith and burning with zeal, he exhorted, comforted, and warned his people, from day to day. As he rejoiced in hope, was patient in tribulation, and continued instant in prayer; so he encouraged them to stand fast and endure, looking for the time of their redemption. Religious services were statedly held in his house. At the close of these services it was his custom to offer a brief prayer and then to dismiss the assembly with the following benedictory hymn, which he seems to have chanted alone:

"Geht hin, die ihr gebenedeit
Und in Christo auserwählet seid,
Geht hin in Freude und Fried';
Gott richt all' eure Tritt!

"Gesegnet sei euer Ausgang,
Gesegnet sei euer Eingang,
Gesegnet all euer Thun,
Durch Christum, Gottes Sohn!"[10]

In close fellowship with Schneider were Melchior Kunz, Andrew Beyer, Matthew Stach, John and David Zeisberger, all of Zauchtenthal; the Jaeschke and Neisser families, of Sehlen; the Grasman family, of Senftleben; and the Nitschmann family, of Kunwald.[11]

"Samuel Schneider's fervent testimony and venerable appearance I will never forget," writes David Nitschmann, his nephew who as a boy of six years attended the secret meetings, visited him during his last illness, and was present

[9] Zacharias Hirschel's Narrative.

[10] "Depart ye that are blessed and chosen in Christ, depart in joy and peace; God direct all your steps; blessed be your going out, blessed be your coming in, blessed be all your works, through Christ, the Son of God." Croeger, II. p. 438.

[11] All these individuals and families became, more or less, prominent in the history of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum.

when he died.[12] It was the fourth of March, 1710. In the days previous Schneider had repeatedly professed his trust in Christ, rejoiced in His grace, and longed to be forever with the Lord. "There," he had said, "I will see His beloved apostles and the prophets who foretold His coming. Yea I will see all those who became martyrs for His sake, the whole cloud of confessors and witnesses who loved not their lives unto the death.—Whose end consider!" And now he lay calm and peaceful, waiting for the summons to depart. Among those that visited him was Lamser, the Catholic priest, who proposed to administer extreme unction. "The Holy Ghost has anointed and sealed me unto eternal life," replied Schneider, "the unction which you wish to give me is therefore unnecessary." In great astonishment the priest asked whether he thought that he could be saved without extreme unction. Pointing to the sun Schneider rejoined: "As surely as your Reverence sees that sun shining in the heavens, so sure am I of my salvation." "We will let extreme unction be, Schneider," continued the Father, "but tell me, is it true that you are not a good Catholic and have no respect for the saints?" "Much has been said against me," was the answer of the dying man, "and much have I suffered without cause; but as regards the saints, I have always endeavored to walk in their footsteps and to follow their example." Lamser dropped the subject, took leave of Schneider, and said to the bystanders, as he left the room, "Let me die the death of this righteous man!"[13]

Another distinguished witness was George Jaeschke, of Sehlen. The memory of the Church of his fathers, who in the persecutions of the sixteenth century had been forced to flee from Bohemia to Moravia, was enshrined in his heart of hearts. He never ceased to pray for its resuscitation, to comfort the faint-hearted, to warn the careless. With the Brethren at Fulneck, Zauchtenthal, Schönau, Kunwald, Senftleben,

[12] MS. in Herrnhut Archives entitled: Originale Nachricht von dem Ausgang der fünf Kirchenmänner, written by David Nitschmann, surnamed the Syndic, and Frederick Neisser.

[13] *Ibid.*

and Seitendorf, he kept up a close fellowship. They met sometimes in one, and again in another village, edifying one another in the Lord and consulting on the state and prospects of the Hidden Seed.

Jaeschke's daughter Judith was married to George Neisser, and they had five sons; Jaeschke himself married a second time in his old age, and this union was blessed with one son, Michael, whom he tenderly loved.

In 1707, feeling that the time of his departure was at hand, he set his house in order and with a testimony glorious as that of a seer of old closed the work of his life. At his summons there gathered around his bed, his son Michael, six years old, and his five grandsons. In words instinct with love he besought them to remain true to Christ; and then broke out into a prediction that thrilled their souls. He said: "It is true that our liberties are gone and that our descendants are giving way to a worldly spirit so that the Papacy is devouring them. It may seem as though the final end of the Brethren's Church had come. But, my beloved children, you will see a great deliverance. The remnant will be saved. I do not know positively whether this deliverance will come to pass here in Moravia, or whether you will have to go out of Babylon; but I do know that it will transpire not very long hence. I am inclined to believe that an exodus will take place, and that a refuge will be offered in a country and on a spot where you will be able, without fear, to serve the Lord according to His holy Word. When that time of deliverance comes, be ready, and give diligence that you may not be the last, or remain behind. Remember what I have told you. And now as to this my little son, he is to be the property of Jesus. I commend him into your keeping, and especially into yours, Augustin. Take care of him, and when you go out from this country, on no account leave him behind." Thereupon he laid his patriarchal blessing upon Michael and each of his grandsons, and soon after died in peace, aged eighty-three years.[14]

[14] Narrative of the Neisser family. Croeger, G. E. B., I. pp. 8 and 9.

After the death of Jaeschke, Schneider, and other fathers, the Jesuits tried their utmost to uproot the Hidden Seed in that part of Moravia. One means which they employed was to bring about marriages between Catholics and the young people of the villages where the Brethren lived. In this way a new element was introduced; the secret meetings were betrayed; while such as had formed alliances with Romanists grew indifferent. The danger was great that the coming generation would forget the traditions of the Unitas Fratrum; and nothing seemed more improbable than that Jaeschke's prediction would be fulfilled. And yet he had not been a false prophet. God's plan was maturing. He constrained the few that remained faithful to seek food for their souls at Teschen, whence they brought back to their villages a power which made itself felt, awakening the careless and giving courage to the despondent. He called that man through whom the redemption of the Hidden Seed was brought about.

His name was Christian David, born on the last day of the year 1690, at Senftleben, in Moravia; an ignorant shepherd, entangled in all the superstitions of Rome, unceasing in his invocations of St. Anthony, of Padua, his patron saint, falling upon his knees before every image and picture of the Virgin which he chanced to see;—but through the Son made free indeed, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, inspired to work for Christ with a zeal which nothing could quench, an evangelist, an apostle, "the servant of the Lord."[15]

In 1713, after having learned the trade of a carpenter, he left Moravia, looking for work as a journeyman and seeking Christ as an awakened sinner. He visited Hungary, Austria, Silesia, Saxony and Prussia; joined the Protestant Church; passed through many trying experiences; at the siege of Stralsund served as a soldier in the Prussian army; lay sick unto death in a hospital; escaped from the hands of the Jesuits—all the time growing in grace and the knowledge of

[15] This is the title by which Christian David is commonly known in the history of the Church.

God—and at last, in 1717, came to Görlitz, in Silesia, where he met with Melchior Schäfer, the pastor of the Kloster church, and other men of sterling piety.[16] He determined to make that city his home. But scarcely had three months passed by when he was moved in the spirit to visit his native country in order to proclaim the Gospel.

In the course of his journey he came to Sehlen and formed the acquaintance of the Neissers upon whose hearts he made a deep impression. A second but fruitless visit to Zauchtenthal he undertook in the following year. On his return to Görlitz he was seized with a severe illness and again brought to death's door. No sooner had he recovered, than he set out a third time, in accordance with a vow which he had made, and proceeded to Sehlen, where he proclaimed Christ with great power, testifying what He had done both to his body and his soul. His exposition of Christ's words, "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life,"[17] moved the Neissers to their inmost hearts. This exposition seemed to be the echo of their grandsire's dying charge. They begged Christian David to look for a retreat in a Protestant country, where they could worship God in spirit and in truth. He consented to do so; but for three long years they waited and hoped in vain. Steinmetz, at Teschen, where they sought comfort, dissuaded them from emigrating; the thought of remaining in Moravia gave them no peace; their only refuge was unceasing prayer. And in His own time God heard them. On Monday in Whitsunweek, the twenty-fifth of May, 1722, Christian David arrived at Sehlen with the intelligence that Count Nicholas Lewis von Zinzendorf, a pious young nobleman, was willing to receive them on his domain of Berthelsdorf, in Saxony. In the night of the following Wednesday, soon after ten o'clock, Augustin

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[16] C. David's Lebenslauf in Nachrichten aus d. B. G., 1872, p. 668, etc.
[17] Matthew 19: 29.

and Jacob Neisser, their wives and four children, together with Michael Jaeschke and Martha Neisser, ten persons in all, leaving behind houses and farms and whatever else they possessed, took their silent way afoot through the village, and led by Christian David turned toward the Silesian frontier. They were the first of those witnesses that had been ordained to go into a strange land and build unto God a city, at whose sacred fire the dying Unitas Fratrum should renew its youth like the eagle's.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE WORK OF THE RENEWED UNITAS FRATRUM IN BOHEMIA.

Protestantism remained absolutely suppressed in Bohemia and Moravia for one hundred and fifty-three years. On the thirtieth of May, 1781, the Emperor Joseph the Second annulled that Patent of the Roman Catholic Religion with which Ferdinand the Second had crowned his Anti-Reformation, and on the thirteenth of the following October issued an Edict of Toleration. This Edict permitted the followers of the Augsburg and Helvetian Confessions to register, until the thirty-first of December, 1782, as Protestants; and granted religious liberty, although with many restrictions, to all such as would make use of this privilege. In spite of the fact that, as has been said in another connection, there came forward one hundred and fifty thousand Bohemians and Moravians who claimed to be Bohemian Brethren, the Unitas Fratrum, by a special decree, was excluded from the benefits of the Act.

The Lutherans and Reformed organized under the government of a common Consistory at Vienna. In consequence of the revolutionary wave which swept over the Continent of Europe in 1848 and 1849, many of the restrictions hindering their progress were removed; in 1861 the Protestant Law was published establishing the religious equality of Protestants and Catholics; in 1864 a General Synod of Lutherans and Reformed convened, which adopted an ecclesiastical constitution, sanctioned by the Emperor in 1866; and in 1874 the Austrian Diet extended religious liberty to all such Churches as would secure recognition on the part of the Imperial Government.

Thereupon the Renewed Unitas Fratrum, which in the face of many obstacles and great annoyances had ventured, in 1870, to begin a missionary work in Bohemia, sought such recognition at Vienna. The negotiations dragged wearily through six years but were successful at last. In the spring of 1880, the Minister of Public Worship issued a proclamation permitting the Unitas Fratrum to establish itself in the Austrian Empire. Thus, after the lapse of two hundred and fifty-two years, the Brethren who had been so ignominiously driven out of Bohemia and Moravia and so persistently debarred from returning, were authorized to resume their work in the seats of their fathers. This work is extending and full of promise. Its issue is in the hand of the God of Gregory and Luke and Comenius.

B.

THE CONFESSIONS OF THE UNITAS FRATRUM.

We here present a chronological list of the Confessions published by the Brethren. The Historical Preface to the Latin and German Confessions of 1573 treats of this subject; but in a concise and unsatisfactory way. Nor does the lengthy discussion into which Koecher enters, in his "Glaubensbekenntnisse der Böhmischen Brüder," throw the proper light upon the investigation. Gindely's two tables contradict each other: in the first, found in the Notes to his "Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder," he counts up thirty-six Confessions; in his second, contained in the "Quellen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder," thirty-four; in both he reckons as a new Confession each new edition of the same Confession. The subject is therefore exceedingly complicated; and we do not claim absolute accuracy for the list which follows. It professes, however, to set forth those Confessions which, as far as the sources at our command seem to show, the Brethren themselves looked upon as distinct Confessions. We add references to our History.

I. CONFESSION. 1468.

Presented to Rokycana in 1648; written in Bohemian by Gregory; not printed; but extant as a MS. in Lissa Folio, II. Herrnhut Archives. (See History, pp. 158 and 159.)

II. CONFESSION. 1468.

Presented to King George Podiebrad, in 1468; written in Bohemian; not printed; but extant as a MS. in Lissa Folio, II., Herrnhut Archives. (See History, p. 159.)

III. CONFESSION. 1471.

Presented to those royal cities from which the Brethren were expelled; written in Bohemian; not printed; but extant as a MS. in the library at Raudnitz, in the Schönfeld Miscellanea. (See History, p. 164.) The Historical Preface of 1573 says:— "When our people were driven from the royal cities, they sent them a Confession which was more lengthy and complete" than the two preceding ones.

IV. CONFESSION. 1503.

Sent to King Uladislaus, at Ofen, in Hungary; written in Bohemian; translated into Latin; and printed in both languages at Nuremberg. This Confession, with the wrong title prefixed, is found in the "Waldensia of Lydius," Tom. I., part II., p. 1, etc. The correct title is the following: "Oratio Excusatoria atque satisfactitva Fratrum Waldensium, Regi Vladislao ad Vngariam missa." It occurs also in "Freheri Rerum Bohemicarum antiqui scriptores aliquot insignes." Hanoviae, MDCII., p. 238, etc., and in Brown's "Fasciculus," London, MDCXC., p. 162. (See History, p. 186.)

V. CONFESSION. 1504.

Sent to King Uladislaus, at Ofen, in 1504, as a supplement to the Confession of 1503, (No. IV.); written in Bohemian; translated into Latin; and printed in both languages at Nuremberg. This Confession, with the wrong title prefixed, is found in the "Waldensia" of Lydius, Tom. I., Part II., p. 21, etc. The correct title is the following: "Confessio Fidei Fratrum Waldensium, Regi Vladislao ad Hungariam missa." It occurs also in Freherus, p. 245, etc., and in Brown, p. 168, etc. (See History, p. 188.)

VI. CONFESSION. 1507.

Addressed but not sent to King Uladislaus; written in 1507, in Bohemian; and printed at Nuremberg. The Metropolitan

Library at Prague contains a copy of this Confession. A second edition came out at Jungbunzlau in 1518. (See History, p. 190.)

VII. CONFESSION. 1507 AND 1508.

This Confession, which forms a reply to Dr. Augustin Käsebrot's bitter attack upon the Unitas Fratrum, appeared in two editions.

1. *The Bohemian Edition of* 1507, being a reprint of Käsebrot's letters with the answers interpolated. A copy of this edition is, says Gindely, in the library of "Herr Hanka."

2. *The Latin Edition of* 1508, which omits Käsebrot's letters; gives merely the answers of the Brethren; and was published at Nuremberg. Its title is: "Excusatio Fratrum Waldensium, contra binas literas Doctoris Augustini, datas ad Regem." This Confession is found in the "Waldensia" of Lydius, Tom. I., Part II., p. 34, etc.; in Freherus, p. 249, etc.; and in Brown, p. 172, etc. (See History, pp. 190 and 191.)

THE LETTER OF THE BRETHREN TO KING LEWIS. 1524.

The Historical Preface of 1573 reckons as the next Confession a letter written by the Brethren to King Lewis in 1524; Gindely also assigns to it the rank of a Confession, adding however that he is not acquainted with it. The original, in Bohemian, is lost; a German translation has been preserved, which plainly shows that it is not, in any sense, a Confession, but a mere letter, or petition, asking the King to protect the Brethren's Church. In pointing this out Czerwenka, in his "Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen," says, that the only copy known to exist is found in the Wallerstein Library, at Kloster Maihingen, near Nördlingen, in Bavaria; and that he is the first to make known its contents. While we do not dispute this latter claim, we are happy to add, that he is mistaken as to the former. The Malin Library of Moravian Literature, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, contains another copy of the same book (No. 882). We append the title: "Eyn sende brieff der bruder aus Behem die mann bis hieher Pickarten vnnd Waldenser genant an den grossmechtigen herrn herrn Luwig Vngerischen vnde Behemischen König gesant ym iar 1525. Verdolmetzt vom Behmischem yns Deutzsche. Durch Johannem Zeysinck." (s. a. et l.) A curious arabesque surrounds the title. (See History, p. 237.)

VIII. CONFESSION. 1532, 1533 AND 1538.

This Confession was prepared for the Margrave of Brandenburg and appeared in several editions.

1. *The Bohemian original of* 1532. Printed at Jungbunzlau in 1532, and again at Leitomischl in 1536, both of which editions are lost. (See History, p. 244.)

2. *The first and incorrect German Version of* 1532. Prepared by Michael Weiss, containing errors of translations and interpolations of his own; printed at Zurich without the knowledge, and contrary to the wishes, of the Brethren, who tried to buy up the edition. Of this very rare work there is a copy in the Malin Library, No. 808. (See History, pp. 244 and 245, and Note 10 for the title.)

3. *The second and correct German Version of* 1533. Finished in the beginning of 1533 and printed, in the same year, at Wittenberg, under the supervision of Martin Luther, who wrote the Preface. A second edition appeared in Germany, in 1568, but is no longer extant. This version was presented to the Margrave. It is exceedingly rare, but the Malin Library contains two copies, Nos. 344 and 345. (See History, p. 245, and for the title, Note 11.)

4. *The Latin Version, or the "Apologia Verae Doctrinae," of* 1538, published by request of the divines of Augsburg. It was printed at Wittenberg in 1538, simultaneously with the Confession of 1535. (Vide No. IX.) This version was thoroughly revised and greatly improved. (See History, pp. 252 and 253, and for the title, Note 21.) There is an original copy in the Malin Library, No. 198; it is found also in the "Waldensia" of Lydius, Tom. I., Part II., p. 92, etc.

IX. CONFESSION. 1535.

Drawn up in Bohemian by Bishops Horn and Augusta; translated into Latin; signed by twelve barons and thirty-three knights of the Unitas Fratrum; and presented on the fourteenth of November, 1535, by a deputation of nobles, to the Emperor Ferdinand the First, at Vienna. This Confession came out in various editions.

1. *The Bohemian Original of* 1535. Printed, but not extant; a second edition printed at Leitomischl, but also lost.

2. *The Latin Version of* 1535. This version was, no doubt, presented to the Emperor, although Gindely asserts that a German translation was handed him. The Latin version was printed, in 1538, in the office of George Rhaw, at Wittenberg, under the supervision of Martin Luther, who wrote the Preface, and was bound up with the Apology (Vide No. VIII., 4) in one volume. At the same time a number of copies of both works were issued in separate volumes. (See History, p. 251 to 254, and for the title, p. 253, Note 21.) Of this Confession there are two copies in the Malin Library: the one, No. 341, in a separate volume; the other, No. 198, bound up with the Apology; it is found also in the "Waldensia" of Lydius, Tom. II., Part II., p. 1, etc., and in "Niemeyer's Collectio Confessionium in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum," p. 771, etc.

3. *The Second Edition of the Latin Version published at Tübingen in* 1558. This edition was edited by Vergarius who, in addition to Luther's preface appended favorable testimonials from other divines. (See History, p. 299, and Note 8.) It is found in "Koecher's Glaubensbekenntnisse der Böhmischen Brüder," p. 98, etc.; and in "Corpus et Syntagma Confessionium, Fidei," p. 217, etc.

A third edition came out at Dort.

4. *The Polish Version of* 1563, printed in 1563; and presented by a deputation of nobles to King Sigismund Augustus, in 1564. (See History, p. 338.)

X. CONFESSION. 1564.

This Confession, which is based on that of 1535, was presented to the Emperor Maximilian, at Vienna, in 1564. It appeared in two editions.

1. *The Original Bohemian, printed in* 1564. According to Gindely there is a copy in the library of "Herr Hanka.

2. *The German Version, printed in* 1564; prepared by Peter Herbert; and corrected by Dr. Crato. This version was presented to the Emperor. (See History, pp. 363 and 364.) There is a copy in the Library of the Bohemian Museum at Prague. The work is exceedingly rare.

XI. CONFESSION. 1573.

This last Confession of the Unitas Fratrum was prepared by Professor Esrom Rüdinger, of Wittenberg; printed in that city;

and supplied with a testimonial from the Theological Faculty of the University. It appeared in several editions.

1. *The Latin Version of* 1573. It is a revised Latin translation of the German Confession of 1564 (Vide No. X., 2); was to take the place of the Latin Confession of 1535 (Vide No. IX., 2); and to present the faith of the Brethren in its maturity. This Confession appeared in March, 1573, with the Historical Preface to which we have, several times, referred. (See History, pp. 372 to 375, and for the title, p. 373, Note 37.) It is found in the "Waldensia" of Lydius, Tom. II., Part II., p. 95, etc A second edition came out at Basle, in 1575.

2. *The German Version of* 1573. A German translation of the preceding Latin Confession (No. XI., 1); prepared and printed at Wittenberg, under the supervision of Professor Rüdinger, in the same year in which the Latin version appeared. (See History, p. 373 and Note 13.) The Malin Library contains two copies, No. 810; it is found also in Koecher, p. 161, etc. Its title is the following: "Confessio. Das ist Bekentnis des Christlichen Glaubens. Dem aller Durchleuchtigsten vnd Grosmechtigsten Römischen zu Vngeren vnd Behem, etc. König Ferdinando, Von den Herren vnd Ritterschaft der Kron Behem, welche der reinen Lere, in den Christlichen Gemeinen, so man der Behemischen Brüder einigkeit nennet, zugethan vnd verwand sind, zu Wien in osterreich auff den 14. Nouembris im 1535. Jar vberantwortet vnd verdeutscht, im Jar 1564. Diese bekentnis ist auch Keiser Maximiliano dem andern, etc., und König Sigemund in Polen, etc., vbergeben. Psalm 119. Ich rede von deinen zeugnissen fur Königen, vnd scheme mich nicht." Wittenberg, 1573.

3. *The Herborn Edition of* 1612, being a revised edition of the Latin version. Of this edition the Malin Library contains a copy, No. 767.

C.

THE BISHOPS OF THE UNITAS FRATRUM, TO THE TRANSFER OF THE EPISCOPACY TO THE RENEWED CHURCH.—A.D. 1467–1735.

(The names of the Presidents of the Executive Council are printed in *italics*.)

No.	*Names.*	*Time and place of Consecration.*	*Ecclesiastical Prov.*	*Died.*
1.	*Matthias of Kunwald.* (President 1467–1500.)	In 1467, at Lhota, Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Jan. 25, 1500, at Leipnik, Moravia, buried at Prerau.
2.	*Thomas of Prelouc.* (President 1500–1517.)	In 1499, in Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Feb. 23, 1517, at Prerau.
3.	Elias of Chrenovic.	In 1499, in Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	March 23, 1503, at Prossnitz, Moravia.
4.	*Luke of Prague.* (President 1517–1528.)	In 1500, in Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Dec. 11, 1528, at Jungbunzlau, Bohemia.
5.	Ambrose of Skuc.	In 1500, in Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	1520, at Jungbunzlau.
6.	*Martin Skoda.* (President 1528–1532.)	In 1517, in Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	1532, at Prerau.
7.	Wenzel Bily.	In 1529, in September, at Brandeis, Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	In 1533.
8.	Andrew Ciklowsky.	In 1529, in September, at Brandeis.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Oct. 28, 1529, at Jungbunzlau.
9.	*John Roh* (*Horn*). (President 1532–1547.)	In 1529, in September, at Brandeis.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Friday before the 2d Sunday in Lent, 1547, at Jungbunzlau.

No.	*Names.*	*Time and place of Consecration.*	*Ecclesiastical Prov.*	*Died.*
10.	*John Augusta.* (President 1547–1572.)	In 1532, April 14, at Brandeis.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Jan. 13, 1572, at Jungbunzlau.
11.	Benedict Baworinsky.	In 1532, April 14, at Brandeis.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Sunday before St. Bartholomew, 1535, at Jungbunzlau.
12.	Veit Michalek.	In 1532, April 14, at Brandeis.	Bohemian–Moravian.	The 1st Friday in Lent, 1536, at Leitomischl, Bohemia.
13.	Martin Michalek.	In 1537, at Prossnitz.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Jan. 24, 1547, at Prossnitz.
14.	Mach Sionsky.	In 1537, at Prossnitz.	Bohemian–Moravian.	April 16, 1552, at Gilgenburg, East Prussia.
15.	John Czerny	In 1553, June 5, at Prerau.	Bohemian.	Feb. 5, 1565, at Jungbunzlau.
16.	Matthias Cerwenka.	In 1553, June 5, at Prerau.	Bohemian.	Dec. 13, 1569, at Prerau.
17.	*George Israel.* (President 1572–1588.)	In 1557, August 24, at Slezan, Moravia.	Polish.	July 15, 1588, at Leipnik, Moravia.
18.	John Blahoslaw.	In 1557, August 24, at Slezan.	Moravian.	Nov. 24, 1571, at Kromau, Moravia.
19.	Andrew Stephan.	In 1571, October 11, at Eibenschütz, Moravia.	Moravian.	July 21, 1577, at Jarmeritz, Moravia.
20.	*John Kalef.* (President 1588.)	In 1571, October 11, at Eibenschütz.	Bohemian.	Monday after the first Sunday in Advent, 1588 at Brandeis.
21.	John Lorenz.	In 1571, October 11, at Eibenschütz.	Polish.	June 24, 1587, at Ostrorog, Poland.
22.	*Zacharias of Leitomischl.* (President 1588-1590.)	August 30, 1577, at Holleschau, Moravia.	Moravian.	In 1590, Wednesday before the 4th Sunday in Lent, at Slezan.

No.	Names.	Time and place of Consecration.	Ecclesiastical Prov.	Died.
23.	*John Aeneas.* (President 1590-1594.)	Aug. 30, 1577, at Holleschau.	Moravian.	Feb. 5, 1594, at Eibenschütz.
24.	John Abdias.	In 1587, at Leipnik.	Moravian.	June 24, 1588, at Prerau.
25.	*Simon Theophilus Turnovius.* (President 1594-1608.)	In 1587, at Leipnik.	Polish.	March 22, 1608, at Ostrorog.
26.	John Ephraim.	In 1589, in the week after the first Sunday after Trinity, at Leipnik.	Bohemian.	On the twenty first Sunday after Trinity, at Jungbunzlau.
27.	Paul Jessen.	In 1589, in the week after the first Sunday after Trinity, at Leipnik.	Moravian.	May 24, 1594, at Bezauchow, Moravia.
28.	*Jacob Narcissus.* (President 1608-1611.)	In 1594, July 14, at Prerau.	Bohemian.	In 1611, at Brandeis.
29.	John Nemcansky.	In 1594, July 14, at Prerau.	Bohemian.	On the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity, 1598, at Drewohostic, Bohemia.
30.	Samuel Sussicky.	In 1599, July 6, at Jungbunzlau.	Bohemian.	On the ninth Sunday after Trinity, 1599, at Jungbunzlau after an episcopate of 6 weeks.
31.	Zacharias Ariston.	In 1599, July 6, at Jungbunzlau.	Moravian.	Feb. 8, 1606, at Eibenchütz.
32.	*John Lanetius.* (President 1611-1626.)	In 1601, May 5, at Jungbunzlau.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Nov. 17, 1626, at Kralitz, Moravia.
33.	Bartholomew Nemcansky.	In 1601, May 5, at Jungbunzlau.	Bohemian.	In 1609, at Jungbunzlau.

No.	Names.	Time and place of Consecration.	Ecclesiastical Prov.	Died.
34.	John Cruciger.	In 1606, a few days after St. Mark, at Jaromir, Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	In 1612, at Eibenchütz.
35.	Matthias Rybinski.	In 1608, at Leipnik.	Polish.	May 20, 1612, in Poland.
36.	*Martin Gratian Gertich.* (President 1626-1629.)	In 1608, at Leipnik.	Polish.	March 7, 1629, at Lissa, Poland.
37.	Matthias Koneczny.	In 1609, in Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Feb. 8, 1622, at Brandeis.
38.	Matthias Cyrus.	In 1611, in Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	March 14, 1618, at Prague.
39.	*John Turnovius.* (President 1629.)	In 1612, in October at Ostrorog, Poland.	Polish.	April 8, 1629, at Thorn, Poland.
40.	*Gregory Erastus.* (President 1629-1643.)	In 1612, in Oct. at Ostrorog.	Bohemian–Moravian.	May 8, 1643, at Lissa.
41.	John Cyrill.	In 1618, in Bohemia.	Bohemian–Moravian.	May 30, 1632, at Lissa.
42.	Daniel Mikolajewski.	In 1627, in December, at Ostrorog.	Polish.	April 4, 1633, at Dembritz, Poland.
43.	Paul Paliurus.	In 1629, July 6, at Lissa.	Polish.	Nov. 27, 1632, at Ostrorog.
44.	*Laurentius Justinus.* (President 1643-1648.)	In 1632, October 6, at Lissa.	Bohemian–Moravian.	In 1648, at Ostrorog.
45.	Matthias Prokop.	In 1632, October 6, at Lissa.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Feb. 16, 1636, at Lissa.
46.	*John Amos Comenius.* (President 1648-1670.)	In 1632, October 6, at Lissa.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Nov. 15, 1670, at Amsterdam.
47.	Paul Fabricius.	In 1632, October 6, at Lissa.	Polish.	In 1657, at Lissa.
48.	Martin Orminius.	In 1633, April 17, at Ostrorog.	Polish.	Dec. 31, 1643, in Poland.

No.	*Names.*	*Time and place of Consecration.*	*Ecclesiastical Prov.*	*Died.*
49.	John Rybinski.	In 1633, April 17, at Ostrorog.	Polish.	Sept. 13, 1638, at Obrzycho, Poland.
50.	Martin Gertich.	In 1644, April 15, at Lissa.	Polish.	Dec. 10, 1657, in Silesia.
51.	John Bythner.	In 1644, April 15, at Lissa.	Polish.	Feb. 2, 1675, at Lissa.
52.	Nicholas Gertich.	In 1662, November 5, at Milenczyn, Poland.	Polish.	May 24, 1671, at Liegnitz, Silesia.
53.	Peter Figulus (Jablonsky).	In 1662, Nov. 5, at Milenczyn.	Bohemian–Moravian.	Jan. 12, 1670, at Memel, Prussia.
54.	Adam Samuel Hartmann.	In 1673, October 28, at Lissa.	Polish.	May 29, 1691, at Rotterdam.
55.	John Zugehör.	In 1676, August 13, at Dantzic, Prussia.	Polish.	Nov. 29, 1698, at Zychlin, Poland.
56.	Joachim Jülich.	In 1692, June 26, at Lissa.	Polish.	Nov. 14, 1703, at Lissa.
57.	Daniel Ernst Jablonsky.	In 1699, March 10, at Lissa.	Polish.	May 25, 1741, at Berlin.
58.	John Jacobides.	In 1699, March 10, at Lissa.	Polish.	In 1709, at Lissa.
59.	Solomon Opitz.	In 1712, July 11, at Züllichau, in Brandenburg.	Polish.	
60.	David Cassius.	In 1712, November 4, at Thorn.	Polish.	In 1716, in Poland.
61.	Paul Cassius.	In 1725, February 26, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder.	Polish.	
62.	Christian Sitkovius.	In 1734, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder.	Polish.	
63.	David Nitschmann.	In 1735, March 13, at Berlin.	The first Bishop of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum.	

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[Throughout this index U. F. stands for Unitas Fratrum.]

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